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FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE,

A.D. 1453—1871.

BY THOMAS HENRY DYER, LL.D.

(*SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED.*)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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Francis I. . . 1835	Republic . . . 1804	George III. . . 1820	Selim III. . . 1807	Charles IV. . . 1808
Ferdinand I. . 1848	Napoleon I.* . 1815	George IV. . . 1830	Mustapha IV. . 1808	Ferdinand VII. 1833
Francis Joseph I. —	Louis XVIII. . 1824	William IV. . . 1837	Mahmoud II. . 1839	Isabella II. . . 1868
	Charles X. . . 1830	Victoria . . . —	Abdul Medjid . 1867	
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	Republic . . . 1852			
	Napoleon III. . 1870			
	(* Napoleon II. a nominal sovereign.)			

ITALY.
Victor Emmanuel (acceded 1861).

POPES.	DENMARK.	PRUSSIA.	RUSSIA.	SWEDEN.
Pius VI. . . . 1800	Christian VII. . 1808	Frederick W. II. 1797	Paul I. . . . 1801	Gustav. Ad. IV. 1809
Pius VII. . . 1823	Frederick VI. . 1839	Frederk. Wm. III. 1840	Alexander I. . 1825	Charles XIII. . 1818
Leo XII. . . . 1829	Christian VIII. 1848	Frederk. Wm. IV. 1861	Nicholas I. . . 1855	Chas. John XIV. 1844
Pius VIII. . . 1831	Frederick VII. . 1863	William I. . . . —	Alexander II. . —	Oscar I. . . . 1859
Gregory XVI. . 1846	Christian IX. . —	(Emperor 1870.)		Charles XV. . —
Pius IX. . . . —				

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

CHAPTER LVIII.

WE now return to the affairs of France. The *Parti Thermidorien*, having effected the fall of Robespierre, assumed, after that event, the conduct of affairs; and, in a few days, sent upwards of eighty of Robespierre's friends and accomplices to the *guillotine*. As these were, for the most part, members of the *Commune*, the influence of that body was completely destroyed. The Government was still conducted by the two Committees, but they were reorganized. Barère, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois resigned, September 1st, 1794. Barère had sat in the Committee of Public Welfare ever since its institution in April, 1793. He was a small poet, and seasoned his exterminating reports with a certain wit, and even hilarity, whence Burke called him the Anacreon of the *guillotine*.[1] Wholesale slaughter was arrested; though Lebon, David the painter, and a few other terrorists, but not, perhaps, the worst among them, were executed. The *guillotine*, by being overworked, had lost its former terrors, and, according to the remark of a French historian, had become only wearisome.[2] Numbers of prisoners were released; Robespierre's horrible law of the 22nd *Prairial* was abolished; trials were conducted with more care and moderation. The daily assemblies of the Sections were reduced to one in each *decade;* and the pay of forty sous a day to the indigent members who attended was stopped.

Matters were thus far tending to a counter-revolution. A party began to be formed among the middling and richer classes, which, from its being chiefly composed of young men, obtained

[1] Montgaillard, t. iv. p. 282.
[2] "Elle ennuyait."—L. Blanc, t. xi. p. 276.

the name of *La jeunesse dorée* (the *gilded youth*); or *La jeunesse dorée de Fréron*, from its being patronized by that demagogue. The *Jeunesse dorée* adopted a peculiar dress, called *costume à la victime*, consisting of a short grey coat with black collar, low shoes, enormous green cravats; the hair, hanging low at the front and sides, was tressed up behind; a short stick, loaded with lead, served at once as a weapon and a badge. The women also affected a peculiar costume called *bonnets d'humanité* and *corsets à la justice*. Persons of this party saluted one another with a gesture which resembled the falling of a head into the basket.[1] Some of them were Royalists; others only followed the impulse for restoring order. The fashionable saloons began again to be frequented. Madame de Staël reappeared in the Parisian circles. Madame Recamier and Madame Tallien, two beautiful women, were the chief leaders of fashion. The loose apparel of Hébert's Goddess of Reason still formed a model, and women of *bon ton* appeared in the semi-nudity of Greek and Roman courtesans.

The Jacobin Club, though deprived of its chief leaders, still showed signs of vitality. They and the *Jeunesse dorée* were at open war; and they frequently attacked one another in the streets with cries of *Vive la Convention! Vive la Montagne!* But on the evening of November 8th, 1794, the *Jeunesse dorée*, armed with sticks, stones, and other weapons, broke into the Hall of the Jacobins, drove out the members; and shortly after the club was put down by the Government. The counter-revolution now proceeded with rapid strides. On December 8th the seventy-three deputies, who had protested against the arrest of the Girondists, were readmitted into the Convention. Before the close of 1794 the decrees for the banishment of priests and nobles, and for putting English and Hanoverian prisoners to death, were reversed; divine worship was restored, the *maximum* assigned for the price of corn suppressed. The effects of the *maximum* were now cruelly displayed. The scarcity was so terrible that it became necessary to fix the daily consumption of bread of each inhabitant of Paris.[2] The proscription of the higher class had aggravated the crisis by lessening the demand for labour. Specie was hoarded, while the value of *assignats* fell so rapidly that they became hardly passable.

On the report of a Committee of the Convention, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barère, and Vadier were arrested,

[1] *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvi. p. 408.

[2] Montgaillard, t. iv. p. 314.

tried, and sentenced to transportation, April 1st, 1795. Carrier, the sanguinary monster of Nantes, had been executed in December. Fouquier Tinville, the *çi-devant* Public Accuser, and fifteen judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal, were, after a trial of forty-one days, condemned and executed on the Place de Grève, May 7th. On the condemnation of Billaud Varennes and his associates an insurrection was attempted; but such was the altered state of public feeling, that the Convention, not the insurgents, caused the *tocsin* to be rung, to summon the well-disposed Sections to their aid. The successful attack on the Hôtel de Ville on the 9th *Thermidor* had inspired the reactionary party with confidence, and they had, moreover, the advantage of military skill, their movements being directed by Pichegru and Barras. Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barère were conducted to Rochefort for transportation without any effectual attempt at resistance on the part of the mob. The escape of Barère was connived at, and he was permitted to live quietly in his department of the Hautes Pyrénées. Vadier also contrived to escape.

The ultra-democratic party was still further weakened by the arrest of nine of the most violent of the *Crête*, or remains of the *Montagne* (April 5th). Their last and most violent attempt at insurrection was made at the commencement of *Prairial* (May 20th, 21st, 1795). A mob from the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, taking for their watchword, "Bread and the Constitution of 1793," broke into the Convention, and levelled their muskets at the members. Féraud, a deputy, was shot, his head cut off, and brought into the Assembly on a pike. It was not till after many hours of uproar and disturbance that the National Guards succeeded, about midnight, in clearing the hall at the point of the bayonet. On the following morning the attempt was renewed. Cannons were planted on the Place du Carrousel, and the most terrible extremities were apprehended. But after some parley the mob retired, on receiving an assurance that the Convention would provide a supply of corn, and that the organic laws of the Constitution of '93 should be presented for discussion. The Convention now proceeded to decree the arrest and trial of several members of the *Montagne*, including Panis and Sergent, for having signed the infamous circular of September 3rd, 1792.[1] On the 23rd of May an army of 30,000 men, raised from the orderly Sections, under the command of Menou, marched upon

[1] *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvi. p. 351 sqq. See vol. iv. p. 410.

the Faubourg St. Antoine, and compelled the inhabitants to surrender their cannon and small arms. Other doubtful Sections were treated in a similar manner; and all citizens were called upon to give up their pikes and other non-military weapons, so that only the richer classes retained their arms.[1] The Committee of Public Welfare was retained, but with an altered constitution. The Convention was made the centre of government, with an executive of sixteen committees. The National Guard was reorganized on pretence of relieving indigent citizens from the duty of mounting guard. A camp was formed in the Tuileries gardens; and a strong garrison of troops of the line was introduced into Paris. A military commission condemned to death many of the rioters, including six members of the Convention. By death, transportation, imprisonment, or flight, the *Montagne* lost sixty-two of its adherents.[2] The abolishment of the Sections, of the pay of those who attended the meetings, and the division of Paris into twelve *arrondissements* or municipalities, were severe blows to faction. The Revolutionary Tribunal was finally suppressed, May 31st, 1795.[3]

By these measures the counter-revolution was established at Paris, and it could not be doubtful that the provinces would follow. The reaction, conducted at first by moderate republicans, fell more and more into the hands of the reactionists and royalists. The emigrants and priests returned in great numbers, and many new journals were established in the counter-revolutionary interest. It was in the provinces, and especially in the South, that the reaction was most violent, and accompanied with murders and massacres which have obtained for it the name of the *Terreur Blanche*. These execrable deeds have afforded ultra-democratic writers arguments for justifying, or, at all events, extenuating, the *Terreur Rouge*.[4] Bands of assassins were organized under the names of *Compagnies de Jésus*, or *Jéhu*, and *Compagnies du Soleil*, among the leaders of which were Isnard and other Girondists. The massacres perpetrated by the proconsuls were now retaliated at Lyon, Toulon, Marseille, Tarascon, Nîmes, and other places. At Lyon a system of assassination began soon after the 9th *Thermidor*. On May 5th, 1795, a wholesale massacre took place there; ninety-seven persons were put to death in the prisons; those who had escaped were hunted down like wild beasts, killed, and flung

[1] Blanc, t. xii. p. 172 sqq.
[2] *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvi. p. 383 sqq.
[3] Montgaillard, t. iv. p. 334.
[4] See *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvi. p. 407; L. Blanc, t. xii. *La Terreur Blanche.*

into the Rhone. At Tarascon the victims were precipitated from a high tower. Almost all the towns of the South had their September 2nd; yet the Convention remained passive spectators of these atrocities.[1]

In order to obtain a connected view of the progress of the French Revolution, we have hitherto abstained from noticing the military operations during the years 1794 and 1795, of which we must now give a brief summary.

In 1794 the French had nominally thirteen armies on foot, forming a force of between 600,000 and 700,000 men,[2] inured to discipline, and animated with the confidence of success. On the other hand, the disastrous issue of the campaign of 1793, and the mutual reproaches of the Duke of Brunswick and Wurmser, had sown dissension between the Austrians and Prussians. The Duke had resigned the command, January 24th, 1794, and had been succeeded by Marshal Möllendorf. Pitt made strenuous efforts to reanimate the Coalition, which, however, failed through the jealousy which Thugut, who then directed the affairs of Austria, entertained of Prussia. Personally, however, the King of Prussia was desirous of prosecuting the war; and by the Treaty of the Hague with England and Holland, April 19th, 1794, he agreed to furnish 62,400 men, on receiving immediately 300,000*l.* sterling, 50,000*l.* monthly during the war, 100,000*l.* for the return of the troops, and 1*l.* 12*s.* monthly per man for their subsistence. The conquests made by his troops were to be assigned to the maritime Powers.[3]

At the opening of the campaign the allies were posted as follows: the English, Dutch, and Austrians, about 160,000 men, occupied a line extending from Ypres to Trèves. The Prussians, in considerably less numbers than were paid for, were posted on the Hundsrück on the left bank of the Rhine, between Trèves and Mentz. The army of the Empire, about 20,000 men, extended

[1] For details of the *Terreur Blanche*, see *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvi. pp. 405-484; Fréron, *Mém. Historique sur la réaction royale et les massacres du midi*; Blanc, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Archives du Ministère de la Guerre*, in *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiii. p. 271. It seems probable, however, that not nearly this force was ever actually in the field.

[3] Martens, *Recueil*, t. v. p. 610 (ed. Göttingen, 1826). The clause respecting the employment of the troops runs thus: "La dite armée sera employée d'après un concert militaire . . là où il sera jugé le plus convenable aux intérêts des puissances maritimes. The "puissances maritimes" were therefore clearly to be the judges where the troops were to be employed; though subsequently the words "d'après un concert militaire" were used by the Prussians as a pretext to give them a decisive *veto* on the subject. The context of the treaty shows the same thing. For the maritime powers were to have any conquests which might be made (Art. vi.); and they could hardly have desired any conquests on that part of the Rhine where the Prussians chose to station themselves.

along the Rhine, between Basle and Heidelberg. Opposed to these, from Dunkirk to Maubeuge, was the French army of the North under Pichegru; to the east of that, between Givet and Sedan, the army of the Ardennes under Charbonnier; between the Moselle and the Saar, Jourdan with the army of the Moselle. Michaud, with the army of the Rhine, was opposed to the Prussians and Imperialists.[1] Moreau served under Pichegru, Kléber under Charbonnier. The French generals were stimulated by the presence of the proconsuls St. Just, Lebas, Levasseur, and others. The Duke of York, who was at the head of about 40,000 British and Hanoverian troops, having refused to serve under Clairfait, the commander of the Austrian right, the Emperor was obliged to come in person and assume the nominal command. Accompanied by his brothers, Charles and Joseph, and his ministers, Thugut and Trautmannsdorf, he arrived at Brussels, April 9th, on pretext of being inaugurated Duke of Brabant.[2]

Mack's plan of the campaign was to take Landrecies and march with the Austrian left upon Paris by Guise and Laon, covering his right flank by inundations, his left, by an advance of the Prussians. Prince Coburg, in conjunction with the English, having driven the French, with tremendous loss, from their entrenched camp at Landrecies, April 17th, the siege of that place was formed by the Prince of Orange. With the view of saving it the French made an attack along the whole line, April 26th. At Cateau Cambrésis, or the redoubts of Troisville, they were defeated by the Duke of York, and driven back to Cambrai with a loss of thirty-seven guns. On the other hand, Jourdan was successful against Beaulieu at Arlon, and Pichegru in West Flanders against Clairfait. Menin was now threatened by Pichegru; Clairfait hastened to its aid, but was defeated at Moucron, April 29th, and Menin fell into the hands of the French. Ypres, the head-quarters of the allies, was now threatened, and the Duke of York was compelled to retreat to Tournai.

Mack still persisted in his plan of marching upon Paris, in which he was encouraged by the Emperor. But Thugut, and also what was called the Austrian party, that is, the statesmen who conceived that it would be better for the interests of Austria to relinquish the war against France, and even the defence of the Belgian Provinces, and to seek compensation on the side of Poland

[1] The archives of the French Ministry of War state the total force of these armies at 368,740 men (*Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiii. p. 271). But Marshal Jourdan, in a MS. quoted by Blanc (t. xi. p. 13), places them only at 284,000.

[2] *Ann. Register*, vol. xxxix. ch. i. p. 12 sq.

or Bavaria, were opposed to Mack's undertaking. Coburg did not move; the Flemings objected to inundate their country; Möllendorf could not be persuaded to march towards the Sambre.

The allies had formed a plan to cut the French line by attacking their camp at Courtrai, thus separating their left wing from Lille and the French frontier, and compelling them to fight with the sea at their back. To assure their communications with Lille, Souham and Moreau marched upon Tourcoign, and defeated the allies (May 18th). The Duke of York saved himself only by the swiftness of his horse. After an interval of four days Pichegru made another attack at Pont-à-chin, where the Emperor commanded in person. The battle had lasted ten hours when the fortune of the day was retrieved by some troops detached by the Duke of York, and especially by the decisive charge of a brigade of British infantry. The Reign of Terror, it will be remembered, was now in full vigour: Barère, in a rambling tirade against the English, resembling rather the ravings of a madman than the speech of a statesman,[1] proposed a decree that henceforth all English or Hanoverians should be put to death without quarter. The decree was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be sent to the representatives of the people who were with the armies; but the French generals had too much humanity to carry it into execution. The Duke of York replied by an order of the day, in which he exhorted his troops to confine their abhorrence to the National Convention, and to treat the vanquished French with the same humanity as before.

The efforts of the French were chiefly directed to the capture of Charleroi, the key of the allied position. After several repulses they succeeded in establishing themselves beyond the Sambre, and laid siege to that town. During this siege St. Just caused an officer of artillery to be shot, for having negligently constructed a battery. To Jourdan, who had refused to detach to the aid of Pichegru some troops which he deemed better employed before Charleroi, he observed: "Very well; but mind, if Pichegru is beaten, your head falls!"[2] While such were the stimulants applied to the French generals, those of Austria were purposely discouraged by the policy of their Government. It was even suspected that Thugut had come to an understanding with Robespierre.[3] In a council of war held at Tournai, May 24th, in which the opinions

[1] See *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiii. pp. 101-127. He ascribed the origin of the English to the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, and attempted to show all their history, down to modern times, stained by their barbarous descent!

[2] L. Blanc, t. xi. p. 27 sq.

[3] Von Sybel, iii. 444.

of Thugut and Coburg prevailed, the Duke of York alone dissenting, the campaign was represented as lost, through the French having established themselves in West Flanders; it was, therefore, proposed to evacuate the Netherlands, and to obtain a share of Poland, where the insurrection of Kosciuszko was now in progress. In compliance with these views, the Emperor, as already related in the preceding chapter, quitted Belgium for Vienna, June 9th. The fate of the Belgic provinces was now politically determined; and the military movements of the commander-in-chief had henceforth no other object than to bring about their abandonment, without too plainly discovering that motive. Coburg wasted his time in marches and counter-marches between the Lys and the Sambre, and left Clairfait to fight without reinforcements, although there were 30,000 Austrians unemployed at Tournai. The fruits of this conduct soon became apparent. Ypres surrendered to the army of Pichegru, June 17th. The allies were thus outflanked on the side of Flanders, and the road to Ostend opened to the French. On the other side, Jourdan again effected a passage of the Sambre, and came with all his forces to cover the siege of Charleroi, which was taken June 25th. Coburg attacked Jourdan at Fleurus, June 26th. The Austrians, who had rather the advantage in numbers, are thought to have been purposely defeated. Coburg broke off the contest, and retired with some captured guns, in excellent order, on learning the fall of Charleroi. He still occupied a strong position between Nivelles and Braine-le-Comte, yet he dissembled not his intention of abandoning Belgium. The Prince of Orange and Marquis Cornwallis represented to him, in vain, that such a movement would insure the conquest of Holland by the French: he declared that it was impossible to resist the armies of the Convention; that his communications with the Rhine were threatened; that he must shelter himself behind the Meuse. The Duke of York plainly told him that the British nation considered themselves betrayed and sold, and the Archduke Charles concurred in that opinion. Even the Austrian officers spoke without reserve of Coburg's incapacity.[1] Summoning Clairfait to join him, and thus leaving the English and Dutch to take care of themselves, he retreated by Tirlemont upon Liége, and crossed the Meuse at Maestricht. Jourdan, who was pursuing him, received instructions from the French Government to halt upon that river, till the four towns captured by the allies should be recovered; a sort of armistice ensued; and nego-

[1] Von Sybel, iii. 175 sqq.

tiations were entered into, which, however, had no result. The English Government, alarmed by the retreat of the Austrians, despatched Earl Spencer and Mr. Thomas Grenville to Vienna, to sound the intentions of the Emperor, to offer a subsidy, and to procure the dismissal of Prince Coburg, who was justly regarded as having chiefly caused the failure of the campaign. The English envoys, accompanied by M. Fagel, *greffier* of the States-General, visited on their way the quarters of Prince Coburg, at Fauron-le-Comte. They found him preparing to abandon Maestricht, and retreat beyond the Rhine; and it was only after some warm conferences that, with the aid of Prince Metternich, they persuaded him to remain. Arrived at Vienna, Earl Spencer succeeded in obtaining the recall of Prince Coburg, who resigned the command-in-chief of the Austrian army to General Clairfait, August 28th. Although it is believed that one motive for the retreat of the Austrians was to alarm the English Cabinet, and draw from it subsidies in turn, yet as Lord Spencer's offer of three millions was only conditional, the Cabinet of Vienna declined the immediate resumption of hostilities. But it consented that 25,000 Austrians, under General Alvinzi, should pass into the Anglo-Batavian service and pay, and should assist the Duke of York's army in the defence of Holland.[1]

After the retreat of Prince Coburg most of the Belgian towns fell, one after another, into the hands of the French. Pichegru took Mechlin, July 15th, and compelled the English and Dutch to retreat on Antwerp and Breda. He had been instructed by the Committee of Public Welfare to occupy West Flanders, and get possession of some place favourable for a descent upon England, a project which was still contemplated. Schérer was directed to reduce Landrecies, Le Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé, which still remained in the hands of the allies. Barère obtained a decree (July 4th), that if foreign garrisons in fortresses on French territory on the northern frontier did not surrender within twenty-four hours after being summoned, they should be put to the sword.[2] Schérer, however, by Jourdan's directions, to save the commandant of Landrecies from the disgrace of a hasty surrender, did not send the summons till strong batteries had been erected. The commandant of Le Quesnoy, asserting that no nation had a right to decree the dishonour of another, held out for several days; yet the decree was not exe-

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. pp. 42, 69, 81, 86.
[2] *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiii. p. 326; Decree in Martens, *Traités*, t. v. p. 374.

cuted. The four towns before named were captured in July and August. Towards the end of the latter month, Moreau, with a division of the army of the North, took Nieuport and Sluys. In Nieuport were 500 French emigrants, and 200 English; the emigrants were shot, but Choudieu, the national representative, to whom Moreau referred the matter, abstained from carrying out the decree of no quarter against the English.[1]

The Prussians proved as treacherous allies as the Austrians, and from baser motives; they condescended to accept the pay, but neglected to perform the duties, of mercenaries.[2] Lord Malmesbury, who had negotiated the treaty with Prussia, naturally concluded that England would have the disposal of the men for whom she paid. Haugwitz, the Prussian Minister, had left him under that impression; insomuch that, Colonel Manstein lamented, in a letter to Haugwitz, that he had granted the men without stipulating that they should be employed on the Rhine.[3] In vain the English and Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to persuade Möllendorf to march towards the Sambre, in other words, to assist those whose pay he was receiving; the Marshal had formed his own idea of the campaign, and refused to abandon his position for fear of exposing Mentz. When Malmesbury went, on the 20th of June, to the Prussian head-quarters to persuade Möllendorf to move, there were only about 40,000 men under the colours, instead of the 62,400 stipulated; and these without the necessary stores and ammunition. But these facts were carefully concealed. Möllendorf, in excuse for not moving, first pleaded that the English subsidy had not arrived, which, however, had been despatched from London May 25th, and then decidedly declared that his troops were indispensable on the Rhine.[4] The Prussians, however, did not long retain even the position which they had chosen. The French generals Michaud and Moreau drove them from the Hardt mountains, and captured Kaiserslautern, Neustadt, and Spires. In the middle of September Frederick William II. notified to the Court of Vienna that he wanted troops in Poland, and must withdraw those on the Rhine. As, after what had passed, the English subsidy due in October naturally did not arrive, Möllendorf was recalled, and

[1] *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiii. p. 310.

[2] "Il (Fréd.-Guillaume II.), arracha à l'Angleterre, sous prétexte de faire la guerre à la France, soixante millions de florins, qui facilitèrent ses acquisitions en Pologne."—*Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 202.

[3] Von Sybel, iii. 381 (Eng. Tr.). See above, p. 7. note 3.

[4] Von Sybel, iv. 100 sq. This author has here attempted to palliate the conduct of the Prussians, but he admits (p. 102) that the consciences of the Prussian ministers had been "pricked" during these negotiations.

20,000 of his troops, under Hohenlohe, were directed to march into Poland; thus betraying the real object of the Prussian breach of faith. Möllendorf crossed the Rhine October 20th and 21st; the Austrians had crossed it two or three weeks before. Jourdan had resumed the offensive against Clairfait in the middle of September, and compelled him to retreat upon the Roer. But he was driven from his position on that river, at Aldenhoven, near Jülich, October 2nd, and effected his passage over the Rhine on the 5th, at Bonn, Cologne, and Düsseldorf. After the retreat of the allies the French entered Cologne October 6th, Coblentz 23rd. Kléber, after an attempt to take Mentz by a *coup de main*, found it necessary to begin a regular siege. The Prussians left the defence of Mentz to the Austrians. At the end of the year this town alone, on the left bank of the Rhine, remained in the hands of the Coalition, though the Austrians still held Luxembourg.

The French arms were equally successful on the side of Holland. Pichegru having taken Bois le Duc, October 9th, the Duke of York found himself compelled to retreat beyond the Waal. Venloo fell October 27th, Maestricht, November 4th, and the capture of Nimeguen on the 9th opened to the French the road into Holland. The Duke of York resigned the command to General Walmoden, December 2nd, and returned into England. His departure showed that the English Government had abandoned all hope of saving Holland. It had, indeed, consented that the States-General should propose terms of accommodation to the French; and two Dutch envoys had been despatched to Paris to offer to the Committee of Public Welfare the recognition by their Government of the French Republic, and the payment of 200,000,000 florins within a year. But the Committee, suspecting that these offers were made only with the view of gaining time, paid no attention to them.[1] The French were repulsed in the first attempt to cross the Waal by General Duncan with 8,000 English; but a severe frost enabled them to pass over on the ice, January 11th, 1795. Nothing but a victory could now save Holland. But Walmoden, instead of concentrating his troops for the purpose of giving battle, retreated over the Yssel, and so into Westphalia, and over the Ems to Bremen, whence the troops were carried to England by sea. During this long and difficult march in the depth of a most rigorous winter, without tents, and exposed to all sorts of hardships and privations, the

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 121 sq.

English displayed unflinching courage and perseverance. General Alvinzi, who held the Rhine between Emmerich and Arnheim, having retired upon Wesel, Pichegru had only to advance. On entering Holland he called upon the patriots to rise, and his occupation of the Dutch towns was immediately followed by a revolution. The Prince of Orange, the hereditary Stadholder, embarked for England January 19th, on which day Pichegru's advanced columns entered Amsterdam. Next day the Dutch fleet, frozen up in the Texel, was captured by the French hussars! Before the end of January the reduction of Holland had been completed, and a provincial government established at the Hague.

The States-General, assembled February 24th, 1795, having received, through French influence, a new infusion of the patriot party, pronounced the abolition of the Stadholderate, proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and the establishment of the BATAVIAN REPUBLIC. A Treaty of Peace with France followed, May 16th, and an offensive alliance against all enemies whatsoever till the end of the war, and against England for ever. The sea and land forces to be provided by the Dutch were to serve under French commanders. Thus the new Republic became a mere dependency of France. Dutch Flanders, the district on the left bank of the Hondt, Maestricht, Venloo, were retained by the French as a just indemnity for the expenses of the war, on which account the Dutch were also to pay 100,000,000 florins; but they were to receive, at the general peace, an equivalent for the ceded territories. By secret articles the Dutch were to lend the French seven ships of war, and to support a French army of 25,000 men.[1] Over and above the requisitions of the treaty they were also called upon to reclothe the French troops and to furnish them with provisions. In short, though the Dutch patriots had *fraternized* with the French, and received them with open arms, they were treated little better than a conquered people.

Secret negotiations had been for some time going on between France and Prussia for a peace. Haugwitz had confidentially informed the Committee of Public Welfare that a revolution in Holland, and the abolition of the Stadholderate, would form no bar to a treaty.[2] Frederick William II., satisfied with his acquisitions in Poland, to which the English and Dutch subsidies had helped him, abandoned himself to his voluptuous habits, forgetful of his projects and his reverses, the dangers of the Empire, the

[1] Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 88; Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 250 sqq.
[2] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 118.

cause of legitimate monarchy, and the interests of his sister, the Princess of Orange. The changes in the French Government, after the overthrow of Robespierre, seemed to permit of overtures being made to it without too much disgrace. But, perhaps, not the least influential among Frederick William's motives was the refusal of the Maritime Powers any longer to subsidize him for doing nothing. The French, on their side, were not unwilling to dissipate the Coalition by means of separate treaties, and after some indirect overtures through the Ministers of the two Powers in Switzerland, conferences were opened at Basle, in January, 1795. The Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Rhine formed the chief difficulty of the negotiations. The French asserted their ancient pretensions to have that river for a boundary; while Frederick William, whose armies were still intact, could not consent to that sacrifice. The difficulty was obviated by adjourning, till a general pacification, the fate of those provinces. But such an arrangement implied that Prussia was then to obtain an equivalent for them out of conquests to be made by France; or, in other words, that she was to indemnify herself at the expense of neighbouring German Powers; and such an indemnification is said to have been stipulated in secret articles.[1] The Peace of Basle, between the French Republic and King of Prussia, was signed April 5th, 1795.[2] The French troops were allowed to continue the occupation of the Rhenish Provinces on the left bank. France agreed to accept the mediation of Prussia for Princes of the Empire. The more important secret articles, besides that already mentioned, were, that Prussia should engage in no hostile enterprise against Holland, or any other country occupied by French troops; while the French agreed not to push their enterprises in Germany beyond a certain line of demarcation, including the Circles of Westphalia, Higher and Lower Saxony, Franconia, and that part of the two Circles of the Rhine situate on the right bank of the Main. This line was established by a subsequent treaty dated May 17th,[3] by which France agreed to respect the neutrality of the districts specified, on condition that they should recall their contingents from the Imperial army, and furnish no more troops to Powers at war with France. This offer of mediation on the part of Prussia was an ambitious plan to acquire an undue influence in the Empire, and an unconstitutional

[1] *Homme d'état, ibid.* p. 146; cf. V. Sybel, iv. 284.

[2] Martens, t. vi. p. 45. About the secret articles, see Garden, t. v. p. 287.

[3] Martens, t. vi. p. 52.

breach of the German Confederation. Thus the King of Prussia, originally the most ardent promoter of the Coalition, was one of the first to desert it. By signing the Peace of Basle he sacrificed Holland; pusillanimously resigned, by the cession of the Rhenish provinces, the position of a great and leading Power; facilitated the invasion of the Empire by the French, and thus prepared the ruin of the ancient German constitution; struck a blow at his own reputation and the renown of the Prussian arms; and laid the foundation of that system of false policy which, ten years later, proved fatal to his own dominions.

The occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, the establishment of the Batavian Republic as a humble ally of France, the detachment of Prussia from the Coalition, were among the most surprising and important consequences of the campaign of 1794, which had begun under such disheartening prospects for France. The operations of the French armies in other quarters during that year were also ultimately attended with success, though with less important results. At first the French were beaten back both in the Eastern and Western Pyrenees, and compelled to retreat to Perpignan on one side, and Bayonne on the other. But in the East, Dugommier at length turned the tide of war; retook Bellegarde in September, the last position held by the Spaniards in France, and by the battle of the Montagne Noire, which lasted from November 17th to the 20th, opened the way into Catalonia. At the beginning of this battle Dugommier was killed. Figueras surrendered November 24th, through the influence of the French democratic propaganda. On the West, Moncey captured St. Sebastian and Fuentarabia in August, and was preparing to attack Pamplona, when terrible storms, which rendered it impossible to transport the sick and provisions, compelled him to retreat on the Bidasoa, and closed the campaign in that quarter.

On the side of Piedmont, the French, after some reverses, succeeded in making themselves masters of Mont Cénis and the passes of the Maritime Alps, thus holding the keys of Italy; but the Government, content with this success, ventured not at present to undertake the invasion of that country. The King of Sardinia had signed the Treaty of Valenziana with Austria, May 23rd, 1794, by which the Emperor agreed to support the Piedmontese with an additional body of troops under the command of General de Vins. Victor Amadeus remained true to this engagement, although the French Government, in conformity with their policy of breaking

up the Coalition by separate peaces, endeavoured to detach him from the Austrian alliance, by offering to guarantee his dominions if he would declare himself neuter, and allow the French a passage; or, if he would make common cause with France, the possession of the Milanese, and the exchange of the Island of Sardinia for territories more conveniently situated.[1] With the Grand Duke of Tuscany they were more successful. Alarmed at their occupation of the Alps this Prince sent Count Carletti to Paris to negotiate a peace. On February 9th, 1795, a treaty was signed by which the Grand Duke revoked his adhesion to the Coalition; and the neutrality of Tuscany was placed on the same footing as previously to October 8th, 1793.[2] Thus Ferdinand was the first to desert the Emperor, his brother. The example of Tuscany was followed by the Regent of Sweden, who despatched the Baron de Staël to Paris in the name of his nephew, to assure the Convention of his Sovereign's friendship for the French Republic. But these advances were without result, the French having neglected to subsidize the Swedes, and thus enable them to maintain a fleet which should make their neutrality respected by England.[3]

But although the arms and the policy of France were thus successful on the Continent, she could not boast of the same good fortune where matters depended on maritime operations. Hence her loss of Corsica. An insurrection, fomented by General Paoli, had broken out in that island early in 1793; the Corsicans, except in the towns of Bastia, San Fiorenzo, and Calvi, which were garrisoned by the French, refused to acknowledge the National Convention, withdrew their Deputies from that Assembly, established a new Government or Consulta-Generale, named Paoli, Generalissimo. The war which broke out between France and England was favourable to the Corsican revolution. With the aid of the English fleet, which now rode triumphant in the Mediterranean, the three towns held by the French were successively reduced in the course of 1794; Calvi, the last which held out, surrendered August 4th. It was in these operations that Nelson first distinguished himself; at Calvi he lost an eye. A General Assembly convoked at Corte, after the fall of Bastia, and presided over by Paoli, voted the annexation of Corsica to Great Britain, June 19th, and drew up a constitution modelled on that of England. The year 1794 was also marked by Lord Howe's memorable victory over the French fleet under Villaret Joyeuse off Ushant, June 1st,

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 296. [2] Martens, t. vi. p. 5; Botta, t. i. lib. iv. v.
[3] Ségur, t. iii. p. 219.

and by several English conquests in the West Indies. Admiral Sir John Jarvis captured Martinique in March, St. Lucie and Guadaloupe and its dependent isles in April; but the last-named conquest was not long retained. The reduction of St. Domingo, begun in the previous year, was also effected by Admiral Ford and General White.

In Europe France hardly sustained in the following year the brilliant position achieved by the campaign of 1794. All parties seemed desirous of repose, and the strife was not renewed on the German frontier till towards the approach of autumn. The inactivity of the French armies was occasioned as well by the distress, almost the disorganization, in which they were plunged, as by the crisis in the Revolutionary Government. Hence negotiations rather than feats of arms occupied the year 1795; but these also turned to the advantage of the French. The Emperor, naturally alarmed and irritated by the defection of Prussia, hesitated as to what course he should pursue. Several of the German States sent Ministers to Basle, and Francis, thus threatened with desertion by the Confederation, addressed a note to the Diet, requiring the various States of the Empire to declare, categorically and individually, whether they meant to adhere to the constitution, or to conclude partial arrangements through Prussian mediation; adding that he should take such measures as the interests of the Empire, as well as those of his own dominions, might dictate. He declared himself prepared to procure for the Empire a solid peace at the earliest possible period, and trusted that the States would not be enticed by insidious baits to make partial and momentary accommodations, in which the sole object of the enemy was the destruction of the German constitution.[1] At the same time he notified to several Courts his inclinations to make peace with France, but not without the concurrence of his allies, especially England and the German Empire. The English Cabinet, however, was for continuing the war; with which view it entered into some fresh treaties with Austria. By that concluded May 4th they undertook to guarantee a loan of 4,600,000*l.*, to be raised by the Emperor in England, on condition of his maintaining on foot, for the campaign of that year, an army of 200,000 men, with which English commissaries were to be present.[2] This treaty was followed by a defensive alliance concluded between Austria and Great Britain, May 29th. By a separate article the Empress of Russia was to be invited to form with the two con-

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 173. [2] Martens, t. vi. p. 65.

tracting Powers a triple alliance, in order to maintain the future peace of Europe; which alliance was eventually concluded at St. Petersburg, September 28th. The Russian treaty has not been published; but it is known that Catharine engaged to furnish either 30,000 men or a certain sum of money, and that subsidies were actually paid to the Emperor.[1] A defensive alliance had been previously concluded, February 18th, between Great Britain and Russia;[2] in consequence of which a Russian fleet joined that of England in the summer, and, in conjunction with Admiral Duncan, cruised off the coasts of Holland till the autumn of 1796.

The Diet of Ratisbon, by a *conclusum* of July 3rd, expressed its desire that the Emperor should take steps for a pacification with France, and that the mediation of the King of Prussia should be employed for that purpose. Although this last condition was very disagreeable to Francis, yet he ratified the *conclusum* of the Diet. He took, however, no active steps in the matter, but left it in the hands of the King of Prussia, who had accepted the office of mediator. Baron Hardenberg was accordingly again despatched to Basle; but the French Government refused to enter into negotiations. Another attempt to negotiate a peace through the mediation of Denmark proved equally unsuccessful. The Committee of Public Welfare would neither agree to a Congress at Augsburg, nor to a suspension of arms, as proposed in Count Bernstorff's note of August 18th.[3] It plainly appeared that the Committee wished not to make a peace with the Empire, a confederate body, but to detach the principal members of it, and thus entirely to isolate Austria. In this object they partially succeeded. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had been one of the most active of the German Princes against the common enemy, made a separate treaty with France at Basle, August 28th, and agreed to renounce his treaty of subsidies with England.[4] After the resumption of hostilities in September, and the passage of the Rhine by the French, the Elector Palatine, to save his town of Mannheim, entered into a secret convention of neutrality with Pichegru. The Duke of Würtemberg also obtained a suspension of arms from the French commanders, but the Convention refused to ratify it.[5] The French Government, however, assented, during the negotiations at Basle, to a proposal of the Emperor's for the exchange of *Madame*, daughter of Louis XVI., who was still

[1] Garden, t. v. p. 300.
[2] Martens, t. vi. p. 11; Garden, t. v. p. 298.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 294.
[4] Martens, t. vi. p. 130.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 263; Garden, t. v. p. 302.

immured in the Temple, against Camus, and the other Conventionals arrested by Dumouriez, and two or three other persons, including Drouet, the noted postmaster of St. Menehould, who had fallen into the hands of the Austrians. The matter was, however, delayed because the Court of Vienna refused to recognize the French Republic by signing a convention with it, and the arrangement was eventually carried out through the intervention of the Danish Government. The exchange was effected at Rhiechen, near Basle, December 26th. The young Princess was ignorant, at the time of her liberation, of the deaths of her mother, her aunt, and her brother!

The death of this young Prince in the Temple, June 8th, at the age of ten, is supposed to have been accelerated, if not occasioned, by ill-treatment and want of air and exercise.[1] It facilitated another triumph of French diplomacy, a peace with Charles IV. of Spain. Negotiations for this purpose had been entered into towards the end of 1794; but they had hitherto been fruitless because the Spanish monarch made it a point of honour to demand not only the liberation of Louis XVII., but also his installation as King in the bordering provinces of Spain. Jealousy of England is said to have been another motive in the counsels of Spain; and the tergiversation of Prussia had supplied a precedent. It is doubtful whether the conclusion of the treaty was hastened by the success of the French arms. This had not, indeed, been very marked on the side of Catalonia, where, though several bloody battles had been fought, the only signal triumph of the French was the capture of Rosas. But in the western Pyrenees Moncey had gained a series of victories in June and July between Deva and Pamplona. The French entered Vittoria July 18th. Madrid trembled for its safety, when it was relieved by the tidings that a peace had been concluded.

The Treaty of Basle, between France and Spain, was signed July 22nd, 1795. France restored all her Spanish conquests, and Spain ceded her portion of St. Domingo, at that time no very desirable possession.[2] The Court of Madrid also proclaimed its recognition not only of the French but also of the Batavian Republic, and engaged to employ all its influence to detach Portugal from the English alliance. This treaty, by which the

[1] It was suspected that Simon contrived the escape of the young king by substituting for him a dumb child. Hence he was subsequently personated by several impostors. The whole story is a mystery. See Blanc's *Mystères du Temple*, in t. xii.

[2] Martens, t. vi. p. 124.

Spanish House of Bourbon recognized the Power which had overthrown its eldest branch, was hailed with extravagant joy at Madrid. Emmanuel Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, under whose auspices it had been effected, was loaded with presents, and received the title of "Prince of the Peace."[1]

But while the French Government was thus disembarrassing itself of its foreign enemies, it was threatened with new dangers from within. The cruelties exercised by the Republicans in La Vendée excited a fresh insurrection there in 1794. Charette and Stofflet had been assisted by the Marquis de Puisaye and other gentlemen of Brittany. Bands of *Chouans*, composed of adventurers and smugglers, continued to exist in the Calvados and the Morbihan; and Puisaye applied to England to aid the insurrection with some troops, and with arms and ammunition. A small expedition was accordingly prepared in England in the spring of 1795, which was joined by French emigrants and released prisoners, to the number of about 3,000 men. This little band, with arms and equipments for a considerable army, was landed by Admiral Bridport, after defeating a French squadron, on the peninsula of Quiberon, June 27th.[2] On the appearance of the English fleet, Charette and Stofflet had flown to arms; 1,500 *Chouans* joined the invaders. Fort Penthièvre was seized; but General Hoche and the Republican army, after a blockade of three weeks, surprised and captured the fort on the night of July 20th. Some of the garrison succeeded in reaching the English fleet, but, the night being stormy, a far greater number perished in the attempt; the remainder surrendered, on the condition, as they understood, that their lives should be spared. There seems to have been a verbal convention to that effect between Hoche and M. de Sombreuil, one of the leaders of the expedition, which, however, was not ratified by the representatives of the people.[3] The ferocious Tallien incited the Convention not to spare the prisoners. All who had emigrated, including De Sombreuil and the Bishop of Dol, were shot at Vannes; the rest were spared. Charette retaliated by causing some hundreds of Republicans who were in his power to be massacred.

[1] In a Decree of September 12th, among several honours conferred on Godoy, he was allowed to add to his armorial bearings the somewhat equivocal distinction of a Janus, or double-faced bust, over his ducal crown, typifying his prudence in tracing past causes and foreseeing future events! See the diploma in the *Politisches Journal*, 1796, B. i. S. 113; Garden t. v. p. 307.

[2] For this expedition, see the *Mémoires de Puisaye*, t. vi.

[3] *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvi. p. 482.

In spite of the disastrous issue of this expedition another was attempted a few months later, under the conduct of the Count d'Artois. Several thousand English troops and French emigrants were landed at the Isle Dieu, a few leagues from the coast of La Vendée, October 2nd. The prince, however, hesitated to throw himself into that district, and the weather having become stormy, the expedition returned after a few weeks to England. Hoche now directed his arms against Charette. That leader and Stofflet were soon after captured and shot, and the remains of the insurrection dissipated.

The Count d'Artois's hesitation to land in La Vendée is thought to have been connected with the failure of an insurrection at Paris, 13th *Vendémiaire* (October 5th), caused by an important revolution.[1] The progress of the reactionary movement having produced a wish for the abolishment of the Constitution of 1793, a Committee was appointed to draw up a fresh one. The new scheme[2] was characterized by the rejection of the ultra-democratic principles which had marked that of 1793. To the Declaration of Rights was appended a Declaration of Duties, in the eighth article of which it was declared that social order depends on the maintenance of property. The two degrees of election, or the primary and electoral assemblies, were re-established: a residence of at least a year was required as a qualification for the former, and moderate conditions of property for the latter. Thus the middle class recovered its political importance. The legislative power was vested in two chambers; a lower one of 500 members, called the Council of FIVE HUNDRED, and an upper one of 250 members, called the Council of the ANCIENTS. The Five Hundred, whose members must have attained the age of thirty years, alone possessed the right of proposing laws; while the Ancients, consisting of men past the age of forty, and either married or widowers, had only the privilege of a *veto*. The Ancients were elected from the same class as the Five Hundred; and thus the distinction between the two chambers, besides the qualification of marriage, namely, the difference of ten years in the period of eligibility, was not very great, as old men were not excluded from the Five Hundred. By this arrangement, however, measures were at least submitted to more mature deliberation, and the danger of being carried away by sudden impulses, to which popular assemblies, and especially those of France, are liable, was obviated. The Ancients, except in urgent cases, were

[1] Blanc, t. xii. p. 569. [2] See *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvi. end.

not to decide till a bill had been read three times, with an interval of at least five days between each reading. A third part of each Council was to be replaced every year by new members.

The executive power was entirely separated from the legislative, and instead of being vested in committees of the National Assemblies, was intrusted to a DIRECTORY, consisting of five persons, to whom a guard was assigned, a civil list, and a residence in the Luxembourg. The Directors were to be selected by the Ancients from a list of ten persons presented by the Five Hundred. Each Director in turn was to preside over the Directory for a space of three months; and one Director was to be replaced every year by a fresh election. Thus the Royal prerogative, as established by the Constitution of 1791, was now divided between the Ancients, who had the *veto*, and the Directory, which had the executive power. The Directors were to appoint six ministers, to conduct negotiations, manage the finances, the army, &c., and they were to be responsible for the acts of their Ministers and Generals. This Government was humorously compared with a chariot with six horses, whose reins were held by five coachmen, while 750 superintendents administered the whip. What could be expected but that the horses should run away, and dash the chariot to pieces? However, amid the shock of passions and opinions, and the mistrust and suspicions of the Republican leaders, it was perhaps as good a Government as the conjuncture allowed.

Warned by the example of the Constituent Assembly, who, by handing over their Constitution to an entirely new legislature, soon saw it utterly destroyed, the moderate party in the Convention, led by Daunou, called the *Parti conventionnel*, which desired neither the triumph of the Royalists nor of the ultra-Democrats, carried a Decree, 13th *Fructidor* (August 30th), that two-thirds of each of the new Chambers should be elected from among the members of the Convention. The new Constitution, as well as this decree, was submitted to the approval of the Primary Assemblies throughout France, and the acceptance of both by large majorities was proclaimed in the Assembly, 1st *Vendémiaire* (September 23rd, 1795).[1] But this was an artifice. The Constitution had indeed been accepted, and the Conventional party pretended that the decree of 13th *Fructidor* formed part of it, although a great majority of the assemblies had declared themselves against it.[2] Hence the insurrection of 13th *Vendémiaire*. It was principally the work of the Royalists, and of the higher and middle classes.

[1] *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvii. p. 25.

[2] Montgaillard, t. iv. pp. 371, 379.

The emigrants and priests had now returned to Paris in great numbers; the Faubourg St. Germain had begun to recover its former gaiety; the *Chouan* uniform was the fashionable costume. On the other hand, the populace having not only been disarmed, but finding itself deceived in its hopes, misled by artifices and calumnies, and without work or bread, was occupied solely with care for the passing day, and had sunk into a state of the profoundest apathy about political affairs. Among the leaders of the insurrection were the old Duke of Nivernais, the Generals Miranda and Servan, Laharpe, Quatremère de Quincy, and other distinguished persons. Petitions were got up against the decree of 13th *Fructidor;* thirty-two of the forty-eight Sections joined the movement, and the Convention soon discovered that an appeal to force was contemplated. The Convention could rely upon the regular army. Troops were moved up to Paris, and the command of them was given to Barras, the General of 9th *Thermidor.* Barras demanded, as his second, Napoleon Bonaparte, who, having returned from the army of Italy, was now in Paris, and apparently in very distressed circumstances. The sketch of a plan for an Italian campaign, which he afterwards executed himself, had procured him the post of chief of the *Bureau Topographique.* Scarcely, however, had he obtained this appointment when the Committee of Public Welfare struck his name out of the list of Generals on active service, for having refused to command a brigade of artillery in the war of La Vendée. In this turn of his fortunes Bonaparte had entertained the idea of proceeding to Constantinople and entering the Sultan's service, when he was diverted from it by the events of 13th *Vendémiaire.*[1]

Bonaparte acted with promptitude and decision. He caused the artillery at the camp of Les Sablons to be seized and brought to Paris, planted it round the Tuileries, before which he also marshalled the army of the Convention, some 5,000 men. The armed insurgents, numbering from 25,000 to 30,000 men, under the command of General Danican, made their attack about three in the afternoon, on one side by the bridges, on the other by the

[1] This account differs in some essential particulars from that given by Napoleon himself in the *Mémorial de S. Helène*, ch. v.; where he represents himself as elected *general-in-chief* by the Convention, without mentioning Barras, and is made to deny the project of going to Constantinople. But Barras, in his *Report* to the Convention concerning the insurrection, says: "Le général Bonaparte . . . fut nommé, sur ma proposition, commandant *en second.*"—*Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvii. p. 50 sq. And there exists among the Registers of the Committee of Public Welfare not only an *arrête* authorizing him to proceed to Constantinople, but also a note or *rédaction* of the project by Bonaparte himself. Blanc, t. xii. p. 552 sqq. and notes.

Rue St. Honoré. Danican having sent a flag of truce to the Convention requiring them to disarm their troops, Boissy d'Anglas and some other members were for negotiating; but Chénier flew to the tribune, and declared that there was no alternative but death or victory. Volleys of musketry soon afterwards announced that the conflict had begun; 700 muskets were brought into the Assembly, and the members armed themselves as a *corps de réserve*. As the insurgents were crossing the Pont Royal with cries of *Vive le Roi!* the artillery, taking them in front and flank, threw them into disorder and flight. The combat was more obstinate on the side of the Rue St. Honoré and Palais Royal; where it was not before nine o'clock in the evening that the insurgents were driven from all their posts; but, after a loss of life, variously estimated, order was entirely restored.[1] The Convention used its victory with moderation. Of the military leaders of the insurgents Lafond alone was executed. On the motion of Barras, Bonaparte was named second in command of the Army of the Interior, Barras himself retaining the command-in-chief.

The Convention now proceeded to form the two new Chambers and the Directory. As the electors had not returned two-thirds of its members to the new Chambers, those who had been elected formed themselves into an Electoral Assembly to supply the deficiency. The late Royalist insurrection influenced the choice of Directors, who were selected from among the members of the late Convention, and, indeed, the majority of them had been regicides. They were La Réveillère-Lepaux, Sieyès, Rewbel, Letourneur, and Barras. Sieyès, however, declined to serve, and was replaced by Carnot. Of these men none had particularly distinguished himself except Carnot, who, in the popular phrase, had "organized victory" by his military projects and reforms. Barras, a gentleman of Provence, had been a representative of the people at the siege and massacre of Toulon. Menaced on that account by Robespierre, he had taken part against that demagogue on the 9th *Thermidor*, and had subsequently joined the reactionary party. Réveillère-Lepaux, a gentleman of Anjou, had voted in the Convention against the death of the King, and had been proscribed as a Girondist. Rewbel had been *procureur fiscal* in Alsace, and had served with Merlin at Mentz as representative of the people; but was accused of not having done his duty, and

[1] For this insurrection see Barras's *Report*, already quoted, and that of Merlin in the same vol. of the *Histoire Parlementaire*.

suspected of having received Prussian gold. Of Letourneur little or nothing was known. Rewbel, of an imperious character, took the lead in the Directory, assumed the Departments of Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Justice. Barras, ignorant and idle, though capable of acting with decision on an emergency, had the direction of the police, for which the suppleness of his character seemed to qualify him. Réveillère-Lepaux, a visionary belonging to a sect called *Theophilanthropes*, but, in spite of his absurdities, of a mild and moderate character, presided over education, science, art, manufactures, &c. Carnot had the war office, and Letourneur the administration of the navy and colonies.

The Convention held its last sitting 4th *Brumaire*, an IV (October 26th, 1795), when it passed a general amnesty, with only a few exceptions, changed the name of the *Place de la Révolution* to that of *Place de la Concorde*, and declared its session terminated.[1] It had lasted rather more than three years.

What was now the condition of France after six years of revolution, and the reign of *virtue* enforced by *terror?* The work of a Republican, a member of the Convention and of the Council of Five Hundred,[2] will convey some idea of it. There was not a sou in the treasury. *Assignats* were almost valueless;[3] the quantity absolutely necessary for the service of the following day was printed over night. Public credit was annihilated; there was no regular system of revenue, not a tax whose produce was worth carrying to account. Yet in this state of things it was necessary to feed the capital *gratis*, to supply the great towns and the army of the interior. Each inhabitant of Paris of the poorest sort received only two ounces of bread a day or a handful of rice, and even this wretched supply was often wanting. Meat, oil, sugar, and other necessaries could scarcely be procured. The state of the provinces was not better. The conveyance of a load of corn from one village to another could often be effected only by an exchange of musket-shots. The forests were exposed to pillage. The armies were without clothes or bread. All the main roads, canals, bridges, and other public works were in a deplorable state of dilapidation. The moral state of France was as bad as the physical. There was

[1] *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvii. p. 88.

[2] Bailleul, *Examen crit. de l'ouvrage de Madame de Staël sur la Rév. Fr.* t. ii. p. 276 sq.

[3] On the 22nd *Brumaire*, a few weeks after the installation of the Directory, when they demanded from the Legislature some means to obviate the prevailing famine, the exchange for the *louis d'or* was from 3,000 to 3,180 *livres* in *assignats*. *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvii. p. 110. The issue of *assignats* ceased January 30th, 1796, as they no longer paid the expense of manufacture. At this time the exchange for the *louis d'or* was 5,300 *livres* in paper. Montgaillard, t. iv. p. 419.

no longer any public education; the recent convulsions had produced a shameless cynicism; public decency was openly outraged in every posssible manner. Bands of brigands, called *chauffeurs*, had been organized, who scoured the country in all directions, committing the most horrible excesses. Thus the French nation, by attempting to carry into practice the theories of Rousseau, had almost attained the *beau idéal* of that philosopher's anti-social state, and become dissolved into its primitive and barbaric elements. Indeed, a French historian of the Revolution [1] observes with much *naïveté*, "This epoch—that of the Directory—beheld the termination of the movement towards freedom, and the commencement of that towards *civilization*." The first dream of the French, he proceeds to observe, had been liberty and a Constitutional Monarchy; the next, equality, fraternity, and a Republic: but at the commencement of the Directory, people no longer believed in anything; all had been lost in the great strife of parties, the virtue of the middle classes, as well as that of the populace. The public amusements, in which, we suppose, may be included the Republican and Atheistical fêtes and processions, and the exciting little interlude of the *guillotine*, had ceased, and people began to direct their thoughts towards the pleasures of private life. The revival of *civilization* was marked by the balls, feasts, debauches, display of sumptuous equipages, and other luxuries, which again became the order of the day.

As the year 1795 drew to a close the aspect of her foreign affairs was hardly more encouraging for France than that of her domestic state. Her fleets were nearly destroyed; Corsica was in the hands of the English; Prussia, Spain, and Tuscany had, indeed, been detached from the Coalition, but a large part of Europe still remained arrayed against her; Switzerland, though neutral, was the centre of plots against the Republic; Holland, by reason of the anarchy which reigned there, was rather an encumbrance than a help. The submission of the United Provinces to French domination had produced a war with England. The Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, in the West Indies, those of Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, and other of their settlements in the East Indies, as well as the Cape of Good Hope, fell into the hands of the English. The French had, indeed, recovered the islands of St. Lucie and St. Vincent, which they were destined to lose again the following year. In the interior, the troops were deserting in bands, with their arms and

[1] Mignet, *Hist. de la Rép. Fr.* t. ii. p. 145.

baggage. There was no concert or unity of views either in the Legislative Chamber or in the Directory. The French arms had been successful in Italy, but the war on the Rhine had terminated in disaster. To these campaigns we must now advert.

Owing to the negotiations at Basle, as well perhaps as to the distressed condition of the French armies, no military operations took place on the north-eastern frontier till September; except that Marshal Bender, despairing of being relieved, surrendered Luxembourg to the French, June 5th. The following was the position of the armies on the Rhine. Pichegru occupied the left bank of that river from Hüningen to Mannheim, while the Austrians under Wurmser were opposed to him on the other bank. Clairfait, who had the command-in-chief of the Austrian army and also of that of the Empire, was posted on the Rhine from Mannheim to Düsseldorf, with his centre at Mentz. Opposed to him was Jourdan with the army of the Sambre and Meuse. The Prussians, as an army of observation, occupied the line of demarcation already described (p. 15). On September 6th two divisions of the army of the Sambre and Meuse crossed the Rhine at Duisburg and Neuss, when the Austrians retired behind the Lahn. On the 15th Jourdan crossed at Neuwied with his centre. Pichegru had appeared before Mannheim on the 14th, and on the 18th that town capitulated, when the Elector Palatine made the arrangement mentioned before (p. 19). After the fall of Mannheim Clairfait retreated between the Main and Neckar; but Quosdanowich and Klenau having beaten the French at Handschuheim, September 24th, and thus restored the communications between Clairfait and Wurmser, Mannheim was blockaded, and the Austrians in their turn began to advance. Clairfait, crossing the Main at Aschaffenburg, defeated the French at Bergen, October 11th, pushed on beyond Wetzlar, driving away the Prussian pickets, and violating the neutral line, and was thus in a position to turn the left wing of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, which fled in disorder over the Rhine. Abandoning its pursuit Clairfait suddenly turned towards Mentz, which Jourdan had invested, and surrounded with enormous lines of circumvallation. The French, surprised by the unexpected attack of the main body of the Austrians, were driven from their lines, thrown into disorder, and so terribly cut up by Clairfait's cavalry that this battle decided the campaign. Their baggage, ammunition, and whole park of artillery fell into the hands of the victor (October 29th). Clairfait's success was aided by the treachery of Pichegru.

That general, who contemplated playing the part of Monk, and restoring the monarchy, entered into correspondence with the Prince of Condé, and was tempted with the most magnificent offers; but he hesitated when required to arrest at once the representatives of the people and proclaim Louis XVIII. on the left bank of the Rhine. He disconcerted, however, the French operations by neglecting, after the capture of Mannheim, to march, as instructed, with the greater part of his forces on the Main, to cut off Clairfait's retreat and form a junction with Jourdan. He contented himself with sending 10,000 men to Heidelberg, who were soon completely beaten.[1]

In consequence of these defeats the French held, on the right bank of the Rhine, only Mannheim and Düsseldorf; and Mannheim they were forced to surrender by capitulation to Wurmser (November 22nd). Yet, in spite of his successes, Clairfait concluded with the French an unaccountable armistice, December 31st, for an indefinite period, and terminable at ten days' notice. It seems probable that he acted on secret instructions from Thugut.[2] Nevertheless, on his return to Vienna, he was called to a severe account by the Aulic Council of War, and dismissed from the command. The Archduke Charles, the Emperor's brother, was appointed in his place. In Italy, as we have said, the French arms were more prosperous. The peace with Spain proved of great service to them in the Italian campaign. Schérer, with the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, proceeded into Italy, and inflicted a severe defeat on De Vins, the Austrian general, at Loano, on the Genoese Riviera, November 23rd and 24th. This battle, the only one deserving the name during four campaigns in Italy, cost the Austro-Sardinians 7,000 men killed, wounded, or prisoners, eighty guns and all their magazines, compelled them to retreat to their entrenched camp at Ceva, and by the occupation of Savona opened Piedmont to the French in the following year. The victory is chiefly ascribed to Masséna.

The establishment of a new and apparently more firm and orderly Government in France had inspired the British Ministry with the hope that it might not be impossible to effect a peace. A bad harvest and other causes had produced a good deal of distress in England; discontent had manifested itself in sedition and riots, and cries for *Bread* and *Peace*. The King, in a message to Par-

[1] Blanc, *Hist. de la Révol. Fr.* t. xii. p 475 sqq.

[2] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 274. Montgaillard, t. iv. p. 412, says, that it was entered into on account of the negotiations between Condé and Pichegru, of which Condé had informed the Austrian generals.

liament, December, 1795, announced that the new order of things in France would enable him to enter into negotiations should the enemy be so disposed; and Mr. Wickham, the English Minister in Switzerland, was authorized to make some propositions, of an unformal kind, to M. Barthélemy, the French ambassador there, in order to sound the intentions of the Directory. But the English advances were met with a contemptuous answer, the motives for making them were coarsely and sneeringly impugned, and a flat refusal was given to restore any conquests which had been incorporated, like the Netherlands, with France, not, be it observed, by any regular treaty, but by a mere Decree of the French Legislature. Thus all negotiation was necessarily at an end. Some overtures made by Austria were also disregarded. Under these circumstances Pitt advanced the Austrians, in the course of 1796, on the responsibility of the Ministry, a subsidy of 1,200,000*l*. In December the Parliament not only allowed this sum on the next budget, but also granted a further subsidy of 1,800,000*l*.[1] In fact, the Directory took no pains to conceal that they were desirous of war, as appeared from their official journal, the *Rédacteur*.[2] There seemed to be little, either in the state of France or of the armies, to justify their confidence. But they were to give another proof of that vigour of action with which revolutionary governments are frequently accompanied. The Directors were indefatigable. They assembled every morning at eight o'clock, and after working till four or five, met again at eight in the evening, and prolonged their labours till late in the night.[3] Their cares were crowned with success. Confidence was restored, and was followed by commerce and abundance. After a month Paris could be left to find its own supplies; in half a year all France had wonderfully recovered from its state of prostration. The Revolution had not been attended with unmixed evil. The abolishment of corporations, *maîtrises*, and other exclusive privileges, had stimulated private industry; the sales of landed property had elevated the peasant in the social scale. Under a more moderate government these happier results began to develop themselves. But as tranquillity returned at home the French Government began more and more to direct its views abroad. From this period the Revolution assumes a military character. A *propaganda*, enforced at the cannon's mouth, pretends to establish

[1] Garden, t. v. p. 312. [2] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 286 sqq.; Garden, t. v. p. 310. [3] Bailleul, t. ii. p. 287.

Republican reforms, while its real objects are the extension of French dominion by conquest, and the spoliation of the conquered. But under this system of treachery, and falsehood, and ambition, the French Republic itself at last yields to the fortunate general whom it had intrusted with the execution of its schemes.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE Directory having resolved upon war, adopted a plan for the campaign of 1796 upon a scale of grandeur hitherto unparalleled in the annals of modern strategy. Two armies were to penetrate into Austria, one by Southern Germany, the other by Northern Italy and Tyrol, and, having formed a junction, were to dictate a peace to the Emperor in his capital. Conquests were to be achieved in Italy which might serve to exchange against the Austrian Netherlands, and the Directory made no secret that Venice especially was destined to be the victim. By way of picking a quarrel they required the Venetian Government to dismiss from Verona the Count of Provence, who, since the death of his nephew in the Temple, had assumed the title of Louis XVIII. The Venetian Senate itself had, indeed, never publicly recognized Louis in that new dignity, but he had received at Verona ministers from the Courts of St. Petersburg, Madrid, and London. The Venetian Senate, with that mean compliance which marks their conduct at this period, and which proved the chief cause of their destruction, having ordered him to depart from their dominions, Louis, with natural indignation, demanded that the name of the Bourbons should be erased from the Golden Book of the Republic, and that the armour presented to it by his ancestor Henry IV. should be restored; and, under the name of Count Grosbois, betook himself to the army of the French emigrants, at Freiburg in the Breisgau.[1]

The projected campaign was to be carried out in Germany by the army of the Rhine, now under Moreau, and by that of the Sambre and Meuse still commanded by Jourdan. Moreau was to penetrate into Suabia and advance by the Lake of Constance, keeping pace with the assumed successes and advance of the army of Italy; while the army of the Sambre and Meuse, leaving its right wing on the Rhine, was to advance into Germany on a more northern line, parallel to and supporting Moreau's left. The neutrality of Switzerland secured the flanks both of the armies of

[1] Botta, t. i. liv. vi. p. 310 sqq.

Italy and of the Rhine. The war, especially in Italy, was to be made to support itself by confiscations; and the smaller Italian Princes were to be forced to join the French. Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed to the command of the army of Italy, the first important step in his marvellous career. Schérer had been condemned for not pushing his advantages after the victory of Loano. Bonaparte, now aged twenty-six, had not yet proved himself as a commander-in-chief; but he had shown talent and decision at the siege of Toulon, and in the insurrection of 13th *Vendémiaire*, for which last feat the Directors were personally his debtors; while the plan of the Italian campaign betrayed a genius which might be well intrusted with its execution. Barras had become his friend, through Bonaparte's marriage with Josephine, widow of General Beauharnais; which fascinating Creole seems to have made a lasting impression on his heart. He was also supported by the friendship of Carnot and Tallien.

Bonaparte arrived at Nice to take the command of his army, March 27th, 1796.[1] It counted some 45,000 troops, good soldiers, but in a wretched state of destitution. He adopted from the first the custom of working upon the imagination of his men, one of the great secrets of his success. He electrified them by an address conceived in the style of antiquity, in which he promised them not only honour, but also wealth and glory in the fertile plains and rich cities of Italy. His course was facilitated by the want of cohesion and hearty co-operation among the Austro-Sardinians. The Cabinet of Vienna had hardly shown good faith in the Treaty with Sardinia. It had been stipulated that the Germans should fight only in the plains; and the Aulic Council of War had instructed the generals to avoid perilous engagements, to keep close together, and reserve their soldiers for the defence of Lombardy.[2] Austria had only 28,000 men in Italy, now commanded by Beaulieu, De Vins having been superseded. The Sardinian army numbered 40,000 men, but of these 15,000 under the Duke d'Aosta were employed in watching Kellermann, who occupied Savoy, and some 5,000 men were in garrisons. The main body, commanded by Colli, stretched from the Bormida on its left, to the Stura on its right, covering Coni, Mennovì, and Ceva, at which last place it had an entrenched camp. The main body of the Austrians, in order to cover Lombardy, was cantoned in the environs of Ales-

[1] For the Italian campaigns of Bonaparte, to which we can devote only space enough for a very meagre sketch, see, besides Jomini, *Campagnes du général Bonaparte en Italie pendant les années IV et V*, par un Officier Général (M. de Pommereul).

[2] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 297.

sandria and Tortona, and of the two roads leading to Genoa and Milan.

On the French side, the divisions of Masséna and Augereau were posted at Loano, Finale, and Savona; Serrurier was ordered to proceed to Garessio, to observe the entrenched camp at Ceva; and Laharpe was directed to march on Voltri and threaten Genoa. Two roads were open to the invaders: that of Genoa by the defiles of the Bochetta, and that of Savona, between the Col St. Jacques and Col di Cadibone. Bonaparte chose the latter. From Savona to Carcare was only nine miles, over a mountainous route indeed, but which might be made practicable for artillery; and from Carcare several roads led through the Montferrat into the interior of Piedmont. Bonaparte's route lay through the valley of the Bormida; and here he was to separate the Sardinians and the Austrians, threatening at once Lombardy and Piedmont. The French minister loudly demanded from the Genoese the keys of the fortress of Gavi; thus pretending, in order to cover the real design, that the French army would penetrate into Lombardy by Genoa and the Bochetta. Beaulieu, however, had received information of the real plan of attack, and resolved to seize Montenotte, the key of the French position, which Bonaparte had neglected sufficiently to strengthen, before it could receive further reinforcements. For this purpose he detached D'Argenteau, with instructions to attack Montenotte by April 6th. Thinking, however, that Voltri was not to be neglected, where Cervoni had arrived with Laharpe's advanced guard, he himself marched thither with his left wing; and being assisted from the sea by an English squadron under Nelson, he compelled the French to a precipitate retreat, April 8th. But by this movement he had receded with his left wing to a distance from the real point of attack at Montenotte, and D'Argenteau, to whom he had intrusted that point, proved incompetent and failed. He had, indeed, nearly succeeded in the first assault, and took two of the French lines out of three. But he had delayed too long. On April 10th, at daybreak, Bonaparte in person, with Augereau's and Masséna's divisions, debouched from behind Montenotte, attacked D'Argenteau, and drove him back in such confusion that he retreated to Paretto, three leagues beyond Dego, thus abandoning that important post. On hearing the state of affairs Beaulieu hastened to the scene of action, but was detained several hours by the breaking down of his carriage. At Acqui he succeeded in rallying 6,000 or 7,000 men. Boyer, however, interfered, and prevented his forming a junction with

D'Argenteau, and Dego fell into the hands of the French. Bonaparte, in his despatches to the Directory, pretended that he had defeated here Beaulieu in person, although that general was many miles off. He called his victory in these parts the battle of Millesimo, apparently because Augereau seized the gorges so named in order to attack the castle of Cosseria, which made a spirited resistance. The battle of Millesimo is, therefore, a fiction, nor is that of Montenotte much better, having been merely an affair of outposts.[1] Bonaparte's fame in these affairs must rest on his general plan and his manœuvres.

By advancing his left rapidly on the Tanaro, Bonaparte now attained his chief object, of separating the Sardinians and Austrians. Augereau and Serrurier were directed to combine their forces and march on Colli's camp at Ceva. It is said that, in a military point of view, Bonaparte should rather have attacked Beaulieu at Acqui before he could rally his scattered forces. But the French general was a politician as well as a soldier. His object was to force the King of Sardinia to a separate peace. Striking to the left, he crossed the Tanaro, with the intention of turning the camp at Ceva; but Colli abandoned it in the night of April 16th, and repassing the Tanaro, retired behind the Corsaglia, in the direction of Mondovì: a movement which consummated his separation from the Austrians. Beaulieu informed Colli that if he held out three days at Mondovì he should be relieved. But Bonaparte, leaving Ceva behind, had followed Colli thither, drove him thence after a skirmish which he dignifies with the name of a battle, when Mondovì was abandoned to pillage. Colli now retreated behind the Stura, and took up a position between Coni and Cherasco, in order to cover Turin, where the consternation was extreme. Beaulieu, on learning his retreat, moved his headquarters from Acqui to Bosco, his left leaning on Novi, his right on Alessandria, to enable him to form a junction with Colli at Asti; and knowing that there was at Turin a party in favour of peace, he demanded to be put in possession of Alessandria, Tortona and Ceva: but Victor Amadeus refused the demand. Meanwhile Bonaparte had pushed on to Cherasco, a very strong place at the confluence of the Stura and Tanaro, the only obstacle to his marching on Turin. At the news of his advance Victor Amadeus recalled Colli under the walls of that capital. In a Council held April 22nd, the King, at the persuasion of Cardinal Costa, Archbishop of Turin, determined to treat

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 319.

at Genoa for a peace with France, under the mediation of Spain. Colli now demanded an armistice; which, however, was refused by Bonaparte, unless the three fortresses of Coni, Alessandria, and Tortona were put into his hands. Pursuing his march, the French general appeared before Cherasco, which, at the first summons of his aide-de-camp, Marmont, surrendered without a blow. Victor Amadeus now sent to accept the conditions of the conqueror. A suspension of arms was signed at Cherasco, April 28th, till a definitive peace should be concluded, the treaty for which purpose was signed at Paris, May 15th. The King of Sardinia engaged to renounce the Coalition, to cede to France Savoy, and the counties of Nice, Tenda, and Beuil, to permit no French emigrants to sojourn in his States, to grant an amnesty to all his subjects prosecuted for their political opinions. The French troops were to occupy, till a general pacification, Coni, Ceva, Tortona, the fortresses of Exilles, La Sieta, Suza, Brunetta, and Château Dauphin, and either Alessandria or Valenza, at the option of the French commander-in-chief. The French troops to be allowed free passage through the King's dominions.[1] By this pacification Kellermann's army of the Alps was rendered available.

Victor Amadeus III., debilitated by age, rendered himself by this humiliating treaty little more than the vassal of the French Republic. He had yielded to a surprise. No important place was yet in the hands of the French; who, having entered Piedmont through a defile, had not even siege artillery. Bonaparte acknowledged, twenty years later at St. Helena, that the slightest check would have ruined all his plans. In refusing to shelter the French emigrants, Victor Amadeus did not even except his two daughters, married to the brothers of Louis XVI., who had been placed on the list of emigrants, and it lay in the power of a French Commissary to tear them from their father's arms. His misfortunes and disgrace probably accelerated his death. He expired October 16th, 1796, in the seventieth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign, and was succeeded by his son, Charles Emmanuel IV. This Prince is said to have advised the treaty with France; it is, at all events, certain that immediately after his accession, he expressed in the most humble terms his attachment to the French Republic.[2]

Beaulieu had advanced to Nizza della Paglia with 15,000 men, but halted on hearing of the negotiations. He formed a plan to

[1] Martens, t. vi. p. 208 sqq. (2de Ed.). [2] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 487.

seize by surprise Alessandria, Valenza, and Tortona, which succeeded only at Valenza. Victor Amadeus, however, had required him to withdraw the Neapolitan dragoons, who had seized that place, and to put it into the hands of Bonaparte. But the French general, after animating his troops with one of those magniloquent proclamations which he understood so well how to season to their taste, proceeded by forced marches to Piacenza, where he crossed the Po; thus turning Beaulieu's position, who had crossed at Valenza, and taken the road to Pavia. Beaulieu now retired upon the Adda, with the view both of securing his retreat by Tyrol and throwing a garrison into Mantua; leaving, therefore, his rear-guard at Lodi, with orders to defend the bridge over the Adda, he pursued his march towards the Oglio. On the following day, May 10th, Bonaparte arrived at Lodi, and carried the bridge after a desperate fight, which, however, has been much exaggerated by French writers.[1] Beaulieu's object was only to detain the French twenty-four hours. Milan, already passed by ten leagues, and now at Bonaparte's mercy, sent its keys. He entered that city May 14th, not with republican simplicity, but regal pomp, took up his lodging in the Archducal Palace, organized a new municipal government. The citadel, however, held out till June 29th. Bonaparte did not revolutionize the Milanese; it was to be kept to serve as an exchange in negotiations with Austria.

Bonaparte's rapid and splendid conquests had excited the jealousy and suspicion of the Directory. They apprehended his ambitious schemes, and, in order to defeat them, resolved to transfer to Kellermann the command of the army of Italy. Bonaparte was to be detached on an expedition to Leghorn, Rome, and Naples, which they represented to him as a much more glorious field of enterprise. Had this measure been carried out Bonaparte would probably never have risen above the rank of a general. But he strained every nerve to defeat it, and succeeded. He represented to the Directory, in the strongest terms, the impolicy of dividing the command. He gained Barras by informing him that a million livres were at his disposal, at Genoa. Josephine's influence was exerted with that Director and with Carnot. Both were conciliated; which was the more important, as each had his party. At a second meeting, the Directory recon-

[1] See General von Klausewitz, *Der Feldzug von* 1796, ap. Schlosser, *Gesch. des* 18*en Jahrhunderts*, B. v. S. 747. The Austrians had only 7,000 men and 14 guns. The French represent their forces at 10,000 men and 30 guns.

sidered the matter, and gave Bonaparte their entire confidence. Thus he became virtually the master of Italy.[1]

The Directory had resolved to seize the spoils of Italy, and Bonaparte had adopted the Roman maxim, that the war must support itself. Immense contributions were levied on the conquered States. The Lombards had to contribute twenty million francs. The Duke of Parma, although he had not joined the Coalition, obtained a suspension of arms only through the good offices of the King of Spain, his brother-in-law, and by signing a treaty, May 8th, by which he agreed to pay two million livres, to find 700 horses, and to allow the French general to select twenty pictures from his collections.[2] This was the first time in the history of modern warfare that works of art had been subjected to spoliation. The Duke of Modena, a Prince of the House of Este, hastened to follow the example of his neighbours. He purchased an armistice by agreeing to pay within a month 7,500,000 livres, and 2,500,000 more in goods and warlike stores: also, to deliver twenty pictures (May 12th).[3] This enormous sacrifice, however, did not save him. Bonaparte revoked the armistice in October, on the pretext that the Modenese had supplied Mantua with provisions. The Duke had fled to Venice with his private treasures. Other small Italian Princes were also forced to purchase peace. The hatred engendered by these oppressions produced an insurrection against the French in Pavia. Bonaparte instantly marched thither with a small body of troops, battered down the gates with artillery, abandoned the town to pillage, shot the leaders of the insurgents, and returned to his army. Rather later, symptoms of hostility, encouraged by the Austrian Minister at Genoa, began to show themselves in that Republic. The routes through Genoa, Savona, and Nice were almost intercepted: the Genoese nobles secretly supported every plot against the French army. Bonaparte caused the château of the Marquis Spinola, at Arquata, the centre of these plots, to be razed.

The van of the French army in pursuit of Beaulieu entered Brescia, May 28th. This town belonged to the Venetians, who despatched *proveditori* to protest against this breach of their neutrality. But it was a natural result of their irresolute conduct. Placed between two great belligerent Powers, they had not the courage to declare for either, nay, not even to establish an armed

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 348 sqq. [2] Martens, t. vi. p. 223.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 232.

neutrality, and they were consequently subjected to the insults of both. Beaulieu also violated Venetian neutrality by seizing Peschiera, a strong fortress on the Mincio, where it issues from the Lago di Garda; behind which river he had determined to make a stand, in order to protect Mantua, to which his left extended. But Bonaparte, after some feints upon Peschiera, attacked his centre at Borghetto, May 30th; and after two days' hard fighting, attended with great loss, carried all the Austrian positions, and effected the passage of the Mincio. It was in consequence of Bonaparte's threats to the *proveditore* Foscarini, at Peschiera, May 31st, that the Venetians resolved to arm; recalled their ships towards the city, and ordered Slavonian regiments to be raised in Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania.[1] Beaulieu, after throwing 13,000 men into Mantua, now retreated on the Adige, pursued by Augereau, and, traversing the Venetian territory, took up a position with 15,000 men in the gorges of Tyrol; while Bonaparte seized Peschiera, and began to threaten and intimidate the Venetians.[2] Venice, one of the oldest European States, was to fall by its indecision and cowardice. Sending for Foscarini, *proveditore* of Verona, Bonaparte told him that he should march upon Venice; that he was inclined to burn Verona to its foundations, for sheltering the Pretender, Louis XVIII., thus affecting to be the capital of France; that he had sent Masséna to destroy it. To appease his anger the *proveditore* threw open the gates of Verona. Bonaparte entered that city June 3rd, and immediately seized the citadel, arming it with Venetian guns. Mantua was then invested by the French.

The King of the Two Sicilies hastened to make an arrangement with the French, while his neutrality might still be of some value. By an armistice signed at Brescia, June 5th, he agreed to withdraw his troops from the Austrian army, his ships from the English fleet.[3] Ferdinand IV. did not, however, disarm; he made preparations to defend his frontiers in case of attack, kept 60,000 men on foot, and by this spirited conduct obtained more moderate conditions in the definitive treaty of peace than the Directory had attempted to impose upon him. Bonaparte deprecated a war

[1] Botta, t. ii. lib. viii. p. 64.

[2] Bonaparte thus describes his own policy towards the Venetians: "Vénise nous a déjà fourni trois millions pour la nourriture de l'armée. Pour en tirer davantage je suis obligé de me fâcher contre le provéditeur, d'exagérer les assassinats qui se commettent contre nos troupes, de me plaindre amèrement de l'armément, et par là je les oblige à nous fournir, pour m'apaiser, tout ce qu'on voudra. Voilà comme il faut traiter avec ces gens-ci. Il n'y a pas au monde de gouvernement plus traître et plus lâche." —*Lettre au Directoire, Corr. de Nap. I.* t. i. p. 483.

[3] Martens, t. vi. p. 234.

with Naples, for which he calculated that a reinforcement of 21,000 men would be necessary.[1] By the treaty signed at Paris, October 10th, Ferdinand agreed to be neutral, and to shut his ports against all vessels of war belonging to belligerents, that should exceed the number of four.[2] Bonaparte now also despatched Augereau's division to invade the States of the Church. The Bolognese had sent a deputation to him at Milan, to solicit his aid in relieving them from the yoke of Rome, and restoring them to that liberty which they had acquired at the period of the Lombard League.[3] The French entered Bologna June 19th. Bonaparte, who was accompanied by the regicide Salicetti, the Commissary of the French Government, published a manifesto on the 20th, declaring that the relations which had subsisted between Bologna and the Court of Rome since 1513, were at an end, and the Sovereign Power restored to the Bolognese Senate; the Senators were to swear fidelity to the French Republic, and to exercise their authority in dependence upon it. This oath they accordingly took to Bonaparte, seated on a sort of throne in the *Sala Farnese*. But Bonaparte, as usual, imposed a heavy contribution on the city; and the inhabitants found to their surprise that they were treated rather as enemies than allies; a title with which the Generalissimo had honoured the Republic of Bologna. He and Salicetti even laid their hands on the *Mont de Piété*, excepting only pledges of less value than 200 lire. But first of all, though surrounded by their victorious bands, they took the precaution to disarm the citizens.[4] Urbino, Ferrara, and Ravenna were next successively occupied by the French troops, and were also amerced in contributions. The Pope, now aged and infirm, and alarmed by the progress of the invaders, despatched the Chevalier D'Azara, the Spanish Ambassador at Rome, to mediate for him with Bonaparte and Salicetti. He could not have placed his interests in worse hands. Spain, under the influence of Godoy, was sinking every day more and more into French vassalage. D'Azara delivered, as it were, the Pope and the Holy See bound into the hands of the young and imperious conqueror. It was only on very hard terms that a suspension of arms was granted. Pius VI. engaged to give satisfaction for the murder of Basseville in 1793 (vol. iv. p. 424); to liberate all persons confined for political opinions, to shut his ports against the vessels of Powers at war with France. The legations of Bologna and Ferrara were to

[1] See his letter of October 2nd to the Directory, *Corr. de Napoléon I.* (Paris, 1859), t. ii. p. 32.

[2] Martens, t. vi. p. 636.

[3] Botta, t. i. p. 444.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 446 sq.

continue in the occupation of the French troops, who were also to be put in possession of the citadel of Ancona; but Faenza was to be evacuated. The Pope was to deliver 100 pictures, busts, vases, or statues, to be selected by commissaries appointed for that purpose; in which were to be comprised the bronze bust of Junius Brutus, and the marble one of Marcus Brutus; also 500 manuscripts. He was further to pay 15,500,000 livres in money, and 5,500,000 in merchandise, horses, &c., independently of the contributions of the legations; and he was to permit the passage of French troops through his territories.[1] In these negotiations Bonaparte seems to have followed the instructions of the Directory, and to have disapproved, as at all events premature, the harsh treatment to which the Pope was subjected, on account of his vast moral influence, which would be exerted against France.[2]

While these negotiations were going on with the Pope, Bonaparte, in violation of the Treaty of Paris, establishing the neutrality of Tuscany, despatched General Vaubois to take possession of Leghorn. All the English merchandise there was seized. Fortunately, however, the English merchants had obtained information of the approach of the French, and had shipped off the greater part of their goods. Bonaparte himself proceeded into Tuscany, and was entertained by the Grand Duke at Florence with almost royal honours. The rigid Republicans observed that he already betrayed a disposition to familiarize himself with Princes, and to extend his protection to them, as well as to the clergy and nobles. Salicetti, the Commissary of the Directory, by way of tacit reproof of Bonaparte, declined the Grand Duke's invitation. The English, in retaliation for the proceedings at Leghorn, landed 2,000 troops at Porto Ferrajo, the capital of Elba, declaring that they should hold that island till the peace, to prevent its incurring the fate of Leghorn. The neutrality of Genoa was no more respected than that of the other Italian States. From the beginning of the year the French had pressed upon the Genoese a series of demands which they could not grant without incurring the resentment of the allies, and which were constantly refused. Among these demands was a secret loan of five million francs, for the immediate necessities of the French army; but the English Minister at Turin, having received information of it, declared to the Genoese, that if it was granted, their city would be bombarded by the

[1] Martens, t. vi. p. 239.

[2] See his letter to the Directory, October 8th, *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. ii. p. 42. The Directory, in their correspondence with Bonaparte, did not even give the Pope his proper title, but called him the Prince of Rome. *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 482.

English fleet, which was then blockading the Riviera. The French, after their victories, renewed their demands in a tone which showed they would take no refusal (June 21st); and the Senate, after long hesitating between the dangers which awaited them from the French armies on one side, and the English fleet on the other, at length decided for the French. A treaty was concluded at Paris, October 9th, 1796, by which the Genoese agreed to close their port against the English, to pay two million francs to the French, and to grant them a loan for a like sum.[1]

The ill success of General Beaulieu determined the Austrian Cabinet to supersede him by General Wurmser, who was then commanding the Austrian army on the Upper Rhine. At the time of Wurmser's recall the campaign in that quarter was on the point of commencing. The armistice had been terminated by the Austrians giving notice that hostilities were to begin on June 1st. At this time the position of the opposing forces was as follows: Wurmser, with an army of 60,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, occupied the right bank of the Rhine from Basle to Mannheim, having its right wing extended on the opposite bank to Kaiserslautern, in the Vosges mountains. Another Austrian army, under the Archduke Charles, which, including the contingents of some German Princes and the garrisons of Mentz and Ehrenbreitstein, numbered 70,000 foot and 20,000 horse, was posted lower down the stream, between the rivers Sieg and Lahn. Moreau was opposed to Wurmser with the army of the Rhine, consisting of 70,000 foot, and 6,500 horse, cantoned along the left bank of the Rhine, from Hüningen to Germersheim in Alsace, and thence across the Vosges by Pirmasens to Homburg. Over against the Archduke stood Jourdan with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, 65,000 infantry and 11,000 cavalry. The numerical superiority was therefore at first rather in favour of the Austrians; but was lost the day before hostilities began by the departure of Wurmser for Tyrol with 25,000 men. Wurmser was succeeded by Latour, and the command-in-chief of both armies was assumed by the Archduke Charles. That Prince, now aged twenty-five, was destined to achieve in this campaign a military reputation only short of that of Bonaparte, his youthful competitor on the other side of the Alps.

We can give only a brief outline of the somewhat complicated German campaign of 1796.[2] The army of the Sambre and Meuse

[1] Martens, t. vi. p. 252.

[2] The best sources for those who would study it are the Archduke Charles's own work, *Grundsätze der Strategie, erläutert*

took the initiative by crossing the Rhine, Kléber on June 1st, and Jourdan on the 12th, at Neuwied. The Germans in this quarter, under the Prince of Würtemberg, were driven back as far as Wetzlar, but here Jourdan was defeated by the Archduke Charles, June 15th, and compelled to recross the Rhine. Kléber, who covered his retreat, after engaging the Austrians under Kray at Uckerath and Kircheim, also repassed the Rhine. Moreau crossed that river higher up, and seized the fort of Kehl, June 25th. The Archduke, leaving Wartensleben between the Lahn and Sieg with 36,000 men to oppose Jourdan, hastened with the remainder of his army to the aid of Latour, but, being defeated by Moreau in an engagement at Malsch, July 9th, retreated to Pforzheim. Meanwhile Jourdan had again crossed the Rhine, and driven Wartensleben beyond Frankfort. Hence that General continued his retreat by way of Würtzburg to Amberg, with the view of covering the magazines in Bohemia, thus separating himself more and more from the Archduke, and rendering the latter's situation still more difficult. Charles continued his retreat along the right bank of the Neckar pursued by Moreau, and on July 21st, there was some fighting at Cannstadt and Esslingen. At this crisis of the campaign the Archduke was suddenly deserted by some of the Princes of the Empire with their contingents. The Duke of Würtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, and the petty Princes of the Circle of Suabia, on the invasion of their territories by Moreau, separated their forces from the army of the Confederation, and obtained from the French General, by heavy contributions, a suspension of arms.

At the same time the perfidious Cabinet of Berlin took advantage of the dangers and misfortunes of the German Fatherland to push its own interests. The advance of the French, which seemed to threaten both Empire and Emperor with destruction, and which might have been averted had the Prussians acted with loyalty as members of the Confederation, was employed by them to draw closer their connection with France. On August 5th, as the French armies were penetrating into Franconia and Bavaria, two treaties, one patent, the other secret, were signed at Berlin with the French Minister Caillard. The first of these treaties modified the neutral line established by the Treaty of Basle. The new line comprised Lower Saxony and the greater part of

durch die Darstellung des Feldzuges von 1796. 3 B. 8vo.; Jourdan, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. de la campagne de* 1796; Marshal de St. Cyr-Gouvion, *Mém. sur les campagnes des armées du Rhin et de Rhin-et-Moselle, de* 1792 *jusqu'à la paix de Campo Formio.* 4 vols. 8vo.

the Circle of Westphalia. The States included in it were to withdraw their contingents from the Imperial army and cease their contributions for the war, and the King of Prussia was to assemble an army of observation to guarantee the line of neutrality.[1] The secret treaty was still more important. By this Frederick William II. agreed not to oppose the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to the French, and that the temporal Princes who might suffer from this arrangement should be indemnified by the secularization of ecclesiastical domains in Germany. To the King of Prussia himself was to be assigned the Bishopric of Münster, with the district of Rechlinghausen by way of compensation for his trans-Rhenane provinces. That part of the Bishopric on the left bank of the Ems was to be united to the Batavian Republic. The House of Hesse was also to be indemnified by secularizations, and the branch of Cassel was to be elevated to the electoral dignity. If, at the future pacification, the re-establishment of the House of Orange in the Stadholderate should be deemed inadmissible, the French Republic was to use its influence to procure for the Prince of Orange the secularized Bishoprics of Würtzburg and Bamberg, also with the electoral dignity. In case the Prince should die without male issue the Bishoprics were to devolve to the House of Brandenburg.[2] The Elector and the other States of Upper Saxony, whose territories were not included in the neutral line, now hastened to accede to the neutrality, by the Treaty of Erlangen, August 13th, under the mediation of Prussia. The line of demarcation was extended so as to include the Bishopric of Fulda, the County of Henneberg, Upper Saxony, and Lusatia, and the Elector undertook to defend it with 20,000 men.[3] The Saxon contingent was now also withdrawn from the Imperial army. The Diet of the Empire, assembled at Ratisbon, trembling for their safety, had also sent to Jourdan to negotiate the neutrality of that place, and informed him that they had urged the Emperor to take measures for a peace. But Jourdan declared that he had no power in the matter, and referred them to the Directory.[4]

Prussia, by making concessions to France for which she was to be indemnified at the expense of the Empire, not only ruined the

[1] Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 359.

[2] This secret treaty was betrayed by the French Foreign Minister himself in his negotiations with Lord Malmesbury in the following October, by way of proof that Prussia did not insist upon the left bank of the Rhine. Menzel, *N. Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vi. S. 366.

[3] Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 360.

[4] *Politisches Journal*, 1796, S. 915; Menzel, B. vi. S. 350.

German cause, but also placed herself at the mercy of the French Government in a future settlement. Thus was initiated that selfish and fatal policy which resulted in depriving fifty millions of the German name of their proper weight in the European balance. The English Cabinet viewed her proceedings with alarm. Pitt despatched Mr. Hammond to Berlin to persuade that Cabinet to resort to an *armed* mediation between the belligerents. But Hammond, who arrived at Berlin five days after the conclusion of the treaty, found Haugwitz inexorable; nor did he succeed any better in an interview with Frederick William himself.[1]

On the appearance of the French in Franconia the Council of Nuremberg sent deputies to their headquarters at Würtzburg, who signed there a Convention of neutrality, August 7th; and two days after, when the French troops arrived at Nuremberg, they were received and quartered as friends. But they had scarcely entered the town when they began to purchase goods, for which they tendered *assignats*, then worthless even in France; they demanded clothing and provisions to the amount of 550,000 Rhenish gulden, and a war contribution of two and a half million francs. The commander-in-chief, alleging that he had not ratified the convention signed by a subordinate officer, ordered the town to be treated as a conquered place. The inhabitants being unable to raise the sums demanded, the French carried off nineteen of the principal of them as hostages.

The Archduke Charles, whose army had been reduced to 25,000 men by the desertions of the Imperial contingents, gave battle to Moreau at Neresheim, August 11th. The result was indecisive, but it enabled him to cross to the right bank of the Danube, down which he advanced, with the intention of aiding Wartensleben, whom Jourdan had driven beyond the Naab. Moreau was marching on the opposite side of the Danube. Latour, with 30,000 men, including Condé's corps of French emigrants, was posted on the Lech, which they occupied from Landsberg to Rain. The Archduke, having ordered Latour not to risk a battle, but to retire on the approach of Moreau, who had crossed the Danube at Donauwörth, continued his march down the right bank of that river, which he crossed at Ingolstadt, August 17th. Having formed a junction with Wartensleben, he defeated Bernadotte's division at Neumarkt, August 22nd, and again, on the 23rd, at Teiningen. He was now on Jourdan's right flank,

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 400.

whose headquarters were at Amberg, and whom he attacked and defeated, August 24th. The French general now retreated to Schweinfurt, and the Archduke marched to Würtzburg. As this movement threatened Jourdan's communications with Frankfort, he attacked the Austrians at Kornach, near Würtzburg, September 3rd; but, Wartensleben having come up, the French were entirely defeated. Jourdan now commenced a precipitate and disorderly retreat by way of Gemünden and Hammelburg to the Lahn, during which his troops suffered severely at the hands of the enraged peasantry. After some affairs between the Lahn and Sieg, the army of the Sambre and Meuse, now under the command of Beurnonville, by whom Jourdan had been superseded, recrossed the Rhine.

Meanwhile the Archduke Charles was threatened by a danger which he had not anticipated. Latour, instead of obeying his orders, had attempted to arrest Moreau's progress, and had suffered a crushing defeat at Friedberg, August 24th, the day of Charles's victory at Amberg. Latour now retreated on Munich, followed by Moreau. On the approach of the French the Elector of Bavaria fled to Saxony, and the Bavarian States, in the Elector's name, hastened to conclude an armistice with the victorious general, September 7th, by which they agreed to withdraw the Bavarian contingent, to allow free passage to the French, to pay ten million francs, deliver 3,300 horses, 200,000 quintals of corn, the same quantity of hay, 100,000 pairs of shoes, 10,000 pairs of boots, 30,000 ells of cloth, and twenty pictures to be selected from the Elector's galleries.[1] But a fortunate turn in the campaign speedily relieved the Elector from this onerous agreement. Latour had been driven beyond the Great Laber when Moreau, hearing of Jourdan's misfortunes, which placed him in a critical position, commenced his famous retreat. He was pursued by Latour; Nauendorf, with an Austrian division, was in Ulm; while Charles, with part of his forces, threatened Moreau's line of retreat. His path lay through the Black Forest, which, though beset by Austrian troops, he chose in preference to violating the neutral Swiss territory. To disembarrass himself of Latour before Charles could come up, he attacked and defeated the former general at Biberach, October 2nd, and threaded the narrow and dangerous pass of the Höllenthal without molestation, though pursued by the Archduke. Having emerged into the valley of the Rhine, he engaged the Austrians at Emmendingen, October

[1] Martens, t. vi. p. 294.

19th, and at Schliengen, October 24th, in the hope of maintaining himself on the right bank of the Rhine; but, being worsted in both actions, he re-crossed that river at Hüningen, October 26th. An armistice was now agreed upon between the Austrians and the army of the Sambre and Meuse. The French abandoned the *tête-du-pont* of Neuwied and the right bank of the Rhine from that place to Mühlheim, and went into winter quarters. The Archduke Charles wishing to despatch a large part of his forces to the relief of Mantua, now besieged by the French, would willingly have abandoned Kehl, but he received directions from Vienna to retake it at whatever cost. Kehl surrendered by capitulation, January 9th, 1797, while the *tête-du-pont* of Hüningen held out till February 2nd. The Cabinet of Vienna attained its object, but Mantua fell.

Wurmser, who had taken the command of the Austrian army in Tyrol early in July, 1796, was also prevented from pursuing his own plans for the relief of Mantua. The Aulic Council of War, by directing him to divide his forces, marred all his efforts. Agreeably to their instructions, Wurmser having advanced his headquarters to Trent, divided his army into three columns. One of these, under Quosdanovich, was to march by the shore of the Lago di Garda on Brescia; another, under Meszoroz, proceeded by the eastern side of the lake; while Wurmser himself, with the main body, marched straight upon Mantua. The operations of Quosdanovich were attended with success. He seized Salò and Brescia, and advancing thence on the road to Mantua, threatened the French rear. Wurmser at first was no less successful. By July 31st he had forced all the French posts upon the Adige, and was in full march upon Mantua. Bonaparte, thus placed between two fires, was preparing to retire beyond the Adda, when Augereau is said to have counselled him to raise the siege and direct all his forces against Quosdanovich. The Austrian General was thus crushed by a superior force at Lonato, August 3rd, and compelled to regain the defiles of Tyrol, while Brescia and Salò were recovered by the French. Having struck this blow, Bonaparte immediately turned, with 28,000 men, against Wurmser, who had only 18,000, attacked him, August 5th, near Castiglione, and, after a series of combats, which lasted five days, completely defeated him, with great loss of prisoners and guns. Wurmser was now compelled to retire to Trent with the shattered remains of his army. The absence of the French had enabled him to revictual Mantua, but after his defeat they resumed the siege of that place.

Bonaparte was now instructed by the Directory to force Wurmser's positions in Tyrol, and to form a junction with Moreau, who, as we have said, was at this period victoriously advancing.[1] Moreau's right wing having seized the important position of Bregenz, was about to enter Tyrol; and the Directory dreamt for a moment of realizing the vast plan by which they were to unite their armies in the heart of Germany, a hope speedily dissipated by the defeat of Jourdan and consequent retreat of Moreau. Wurmser, on his side, undismayed by the posture of affairs, having rallied his scattered forces and received reinforcements, which brought up his army to 50,000 men, had resolved on another attempt to relieve Mantua. Thus both he and Bonaparte advanced simultaneously in the pursuit of entirely separate and independent objects. Wurmser marched by the Val Sugana towards Bassano, whilst Bonaparte took the direct road to Trent, which place he entered September 5th, after defeating, the day before, at Roveredo, an Austrian division of 25,000 men, commanded by Davidowich. The news of this disaster did not arrest the march of Wurmser, who, on the contrary, pushed on more rapidly towards Bassano. Bonaparte was now in an embarrassing position. To advance further into Tyrol would be to abandon all Italy to the enemy; he, therefore, resolved to retrace his steps. Advancing against Wurmser by forced marches, he surprised and captured nearly all his advanced guard at Primolano, and entirely defeated Wurmser himself before Bassano, September 8th. The Austrian General had now no resource but to throw himself into Mantua. During this retreat he suffered great losses in several battles, the last of these being at St. Giorgio, a suburb of Mantua, September 15th, after which he entered that place with from 12,000 to 15,000 men. The siege was now resumed by Bonaparte, who, on learning the retreat of Moreau, abandoned, for the present, the thought of penetrating into Austria.

The Austrians were not, however, discouraged. A third army of 50,000 men was formed, commanded by Alvinzi and Davidowich. Alvinzi passed the Piave, November 1st, with 30,000 men, defeated Bonaparte on the 6th in a pitched battle at Bassano, and again at Caldiero on the 12th, and compelled him to retreat upon Verona. Bonaparte was in a state of discouragement, almost of despair. Fortunately Davidowich and his division, whom Alvinzi had detached with directions to advance along the course of the

[1] Bonaparte himself has given a different account of these circumstances; but see the *Mém. d'un Homme d'état*, t. iii. p. 444.

Upper Adige, made no movement at this critical juncture, and thus enabled Bonaparte to direct all his forces against Alvinzi. On the evening of November 14th, crossing the Adige at Verona with his army, as if in full retreat, he suddenly turned to the left, and pursuing his march down the right bank of the river, recrossed it at Ronco, with the intention of turning Alvinzi's position. The French assaulted the Austrian entrenchments at Arcole during three successive days, November 15th, 16th, and 17th, with great loss on both sides. Bonaparte himself was precipitated, with his horse, into the marshes, and was in imminent danger of being killed or made prisoner, when he was rescued by his grenadiers. On the third day Alvinzi began his retreat to Vicenza, disregarding the remonstrances of his bravest and most devoted officers, who urged him to effect a junction with Davidowich, and to march upon Verona, which would have received him with open arms.

Meanwhile Davidowich, advancing along the Adige, after gaining several advantages over the French, especially at La Pietra, November 7th, and at Rivoli, 17th, had succeeded in penetrating to Castel Nuovo, near Peschiera; but at the approach of Bonaparte, who now hastened against him with his victorious army, he was compelled to retreat. Thus the Austrians again lost the campaign by the injudicious plan of dividing their forces.

In January, 1797, Alvinzi, who had received large reinforcements, made, at the summons of Wurmser, a last attempt to deliver Mantua. Despatching General Provera with 12,000 men towards Ponte Legnano on the Lower Adige, he himself transferred his head-quarters to Roveredo, on the Upper Adige. From these places both generals were to pursue their march to Mantua and form a junction at that town. Provera was successful over Augereau's division, and compelled that General to retreat on Bevilacqua and thence on Ponte Legnano, January 9th. Alvinzi, on his side, after some hard fighting, drove the French under Joubert from their entrenchments at La Corona (January 13th), who then retired to Rivoli. Bonaparte, who was at Bologna, at the news of the Austrian advance, flew to the scene of action, and on January 14th defeated Alvinzi in a decisive battle at Rivoli; which the Austrian General, unaware of the arrival of Bonaparte with reinforcements, had advanced to attack. On the following day Joubert completed, at La Corona, Alvinzi's discomfiture, while Bonaparte, with the greater part of his victorious army, marched in pursuit of Provera. That General had arrived at Mantua, and,

by concert with Wurmser, was preparing to attack the suburbs of San Giorgio and La Favorita, held by the French, when he found himself surrounded by the troops of Bonaparte and of Augereau, and was compelled to lay down his arms (January 16th). These disasters proved fatal to the Austrian power in Italy. Mantua surrendered by capitulation February 2nd. The garrison had long been on short allowance; but it was not till tobacco began to fail that the troops showed any symptoms of discontent. The Commandant, Canto d'Yrles, a Spaniard, was so confident of the temper of his soldiers and the strength of the fortress, that it was with the greatest reluctance he had admitted Wurmser; and there can be no doubt that the necessity of providing for so many additional mouths accelerated the fall of the place. It has been thought by good military authorities that, with a garrison of from 12,000 to 15,000 men, with provisions and medicines for two years, Mantua might be defended against an army of 100,000 men.[1]

France had strengthened herself by an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain, which secured to her the aid of that Power, but, during the present war, only against England. Spain, since the affair of Toulon, conceived that she had some grievances against England; a feeling which the French Government used all their endeavours to inflame. They also cajoled and flattered the vain, insolent, and greedy favourite Godoy, who, at this time, ruled supreme in Spain. It is difficult to divine his motives for the French alliance. He neither liked the French people nor their Revolution; while his Sovereign must have viewed with horror and disgust a Government which had murdered or expelled the elder branch of his family. The Treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded by Godoy with the French Directory, August 19th, 1796, was modelled on the *Family Compact* of 1761. Its object was to render the wars of one Power common to both; or, in other words, under present circumstances, to place the resources of Spain at the disposal of France. Each Power agreed to provide the other, at three months' notice, with fifteen ships of the line, six frigates, and four smaller vessels; and with 18,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and artillery in proportion. The eighteenth article of the treaty is the most remarkable and important, being virtually a declaration of war against Great Britain. This article stated that, England being the only country against which Spain had any direct complaints, the present alliance should be valid solely

[1] See note in Garden, t. v. p. 386.

against her during the actual war, and that Spain should remain neuter with regard to other Powers at war with the French Republic.[1]

After the execution of this treaty the English and Spanish Ministers were reciprocally withdrawn; and the Spaniards prepared to lay siege to Gibraltar. The manifest of Spain against Great Britain, containing her alleged grievances, appeared October 6th. They were mostly futile, and even if true, no ground for war.[2] Among them was the arrest of the Spanish ambassador at London, against whom an execution for debt had been issued by an ignorant magistrate, who had been disavowed by the Government, and had made the most humble apologies.

Soon after the declaration of war, a Spanish fleet of twenty-four sail of the line proceeded to Toulon; when Admiral Jervis, the English commander in the Mediterranean, being now no longer strong enough to blockade that port, was directed to carry off the British troops at Corsica, Elba, and Caprera, and to quit the Mediterranean. This was the principal motive with the Court of Naples for making peace with France. Bonaparte, after his expedition to Leghorn, had, through his emissaries, excited an insurrection in Corsica against the English, and before the end of October the French regained possession of that island.

The French and Spanish alliance, as well as mistrust of Austria, which seemed to be retained in the Coalition only through fear of Russia, were probably the principal motives which induced Pitt to attempt negotiations with France for a peace. Seizing the opportunity of Jourdan's defeat at Amberg, Lord Grenville addressed a note, September 6th, to M. Charles Delacroix, the French Foreign Minister, which was conveyed to him through the Danish Ambassador at Paris. The French Government having captiously refused to treat, except directly, Lord Grenville, encouraged by the Archduke Charles's further victories, sent another note, September 25th, by a flag of truce direct to Paris, when passports were forwarded for Lord Malmesbury, the English Plenipotentiary, and the persons in his suite. The Directory appear at this period to have been sincerely desirous of peace, at least with Austria. Their situation was by no means secure. They were threatened at once by the remains of the Jacobin party and by the Royalists; several conspiracies had been organized against them; they had found it necessary to establish camps in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to banish all suspected

[1] Martens, t. vi. p. 255. [2] See Garden, t. v. p. 365.

persons from that capital. One of the most formidable of these conspiracies was that of Francis Noel Babœuf, a journalist and ultra-democrat, who had assumed the name of Caius Gracchus Babœuf. In conjunction with Drouet, the celebrated postmaster, and other persons, Babœuf had plotted an armed insurrection (May, 1796); but his design having come to the knowledge of the Directory, he and the other leaders were seized before they could execute it. Babœuf was ultimately condemned by the High Court of Vendôme, and stabbed himself on hearing his sentence of death. The reverses of the French armies in Germany had produced a painful impression on the public mind, which was aggravated by the distressed state of the country, and loud cries had arisen for peace. Under these circumstances, the Directory had instructed Bonaparte to make overtures to the Emperor; who accordingly addressed from Milan an insolent letter to Francis, October 2nd, in which he threatened that Monarch with the destruction of Trieste and the ruin of all Austrian establishments on the Adriatic, unless he immediately despatched plenipotentiaries to Paris.[1] This communication was treated by Emperor with silent contempt.

Lord Malmesbury arrived in Paris October 21st, and was received with lively demonstrations of public joy. But the Directory, as their conduct soon showed, did not wish a peace with England. Their policy was to isolate that Power by concluding a separate treaty with Austria, and to continue the war against it with the aid of Spain. The English plenipotentiary was treated with open insult by the Government, while General Clarke, an Irishman in the service of France, was despatched to Vienna by way of Italy to make another attempt at negotiation. Thugut was inclined for a separate peace with France; but the English Ambassador, Sir Morton Eden, persuaded the Emperor not to separate his cause from that of England, and Clarke's passports were refused. Clarke had only some interviews with the Austrian generals in Italy. But, even if the Cabinet of Vienna had been disposed to receive him, the jealousy of Bonaparte, who was indignant at seeing the matter taken out of his hands, and who already began to entertain a contempt for the authority of the Directory, would never have allowed Clarke to proceed.[2]

[1] *Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. ii. p. 34.

[2] Bonaparte told Clarke, in one of his communications: "Si vous venez faire ma volonté, je vous verrai avec plaisir; sinon, vouz pouvez retourner vers ceux qui vous envoient." Clarke "ne répondit mot, et il se mit à réfléchir sur le caractère et les vues du général en chef."—*Homme d'état*, t. iv. p. 133.

The Austrian Cabinet now communicated to that of England their views with regard to the negotiations at Paris; and on the 17th December Lord Malmesbury presented to the French Government an *ultimatum* drawn up in conformity with them. England agreed to restore to France all her conquests in the East and West Indies, on condition of the restitution of the Emperor's possessions on the same footing as before the war, of peace with the Empire, and of the evacuation of Italy by the French troops, coupled with an engagement not to interfere in the domestic affairs of that country. But the French Government refused to restore the Austrian Netherlands, a point which the English and Austrian Cabinets made a *sine quâ non*. Delacroix insisted, that the Netherlands having been annexed to France by a legislative decree, it would be *unconstitutional*, and out of the power of the Directory, to give them back: thus making the law of France override the law of nations. The Directory declined to offer any counter-scheme; and on December 19th Lord Malmesbury was directed to leave Paris in forty-eight hours. The death of the Empress Catharine II., already recorded, on November 17th, just as she was on the point of signing the Triple Alliance, had an effect on the negotiations unfavourable to the Coalition.[1] Paul I. adopted a different line of policy, and revoked the *ukase* which had been issued for a general levy. It was foreseen that the consequences of Catharine's death would be a freer exercise on the part of Prussia of its self-interested and partial neutrality, and a more complete isolation of Austria on the Continent.

The Punic faith of the Directory was proved by their urging on during these negotiations the preparation of an armament destined for a descent upon Ireland. The French fleet sailed from Brest December 15th, two days before Lord Malmesbury delivered his *ultimatum*. The Directory had used their authority over the Batavian Republic, now a mere appendage of France, to fit out another fleet for the same purpose in the Texel. The disastrous result of this expedition is well known to the English reader. Part of the vessels of the French armament arrived in Bantry Bay, the remainder were dispersed by storms. Among these last was the frigate conveying General Hoche, the commander of the troops of debarcation, in whose absence the French admiral refused to land them. Contrary to expectation, the Irish

[1] The advantages which the French promised themselves from the accession of Paul are explained in Delacroix's letter to Clarke, December 30th, 1796. *Homme d'état*, t. iv. p. 135. But their hopes were not altogether realized.

showed themselves hostile to the invaders, and the expedition was compelled to return, after suffering considerable losses both from the weather and by capture. The naval actions and colonial affairs of 1796 were not of much importance. A squadron, despatched by the Dutch for the recovery of the Cape of Good Hope, was captured in August by Admiral Elphinstone in Saldanha Bay, about thirty leagues from the Cape. In the West Indies, St. Lucia and St. Vincent's were taken by the English, but their attempt on St. Domingo failed. We now return to the affairs of Italy.

Bonaparte had scarcely dictated the terms of the capitulation of Mantua when he announced to Pope Pius VI. the termination of the armistice of Bologna (February 1st, 1797), and marched with his troops in the direction of that city, while General Victor, with his division, was ordered to enter the Romagna. After the conclusion of that armistice, Pius VI. had sent two Plenipotentiaries to Paris to treat for a peace; but the bases proposed by the Directory were so unreasonable that the Papal Ministers declined to adopt them, and were ordered to leave Paris (August, 1796). It is said to have been proposed that the Pope should sanction the constitutional oath of the French clergy, surrender to France for ever the possession of Cività Vecchia and Ancona, pay a tribute for Charlemagne's donations, &c. &c.[1] Negotiations were afterwards renewed at Florence with no better success. The Pope then prepared for war; increased his army to upwards of 40,000 men, which he intrusted to the command of the Piedmontese General Colli; and entered into negotiations for an alliance with the Court of Vienna. The expedition of the French into the States of the Church was, however, little more than a military promenade. The Papal troops entrenched behind the Senio were routed on the first attack; Faenza, Forlì, Cesena were successively entered; Bonaparte in person proceeded to Urbino and Ancona, whence, despatching a detachment to occupy Loreto, he took the road to Rome by Macerata and Tolentino.

After the fall of Mantua, Pius, to whom and his prelates Bonaparte appeared another Alaric or Attila—and, indeed, some parts of his conduct might justify a comparison between him and those warlike barbarians—had sent to propitiate the conqueror and sue for peace. At the news of his approach, the Pope solicited an armistice, when the French general required him to dismiss

[1] See Schirach, *Polit. Journal*, 1796, p. 1066, ap. Garden, t. v. p. 388 note.

his newly levied troops and foreign commanders, and accorded him the space of five days to send plenipotentiaries to Tolentino. The Directory had invited Bonaparte to effect the entire destruction of the Papal Government, which had always shown itself the implacable foe of the Republic.[1] But Bonaparte did not share the rabid hatred of the Pentarchs for the Holy See; and there were circumstances which induced him to come to terms with it. The Austrians were preparing another army; the King of the Two Sicilies had sent a message that he should not behold with indifference the French advance upon Rome, nor consent that conditions should be imposed upon the Pope that were contrary to religion and the existing Papal Government. Bonaparte agreed upon the Peace of Tolentino with the Pope's envoys, February 19th. The See of Rome withdrew from all leagues against the French Republic, ceded to it Avignon and the Venaissin and the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna; and accorded to it the possession of Ancona till a Continental pacification should be effected. Besides the pecuniary contributions stipulated in the armistice of Bologna, of which only a part had been liquidated, the Pope was to pay fifteen millions more in cash, diamonds, or other valuables. The contributions in objects of art and manuscripts remained the same.[2] Thus the Holy See purchased a peace by sacrificing more than a year's revenue and a third part of its temporal dominions. After thus mulcting the Pope, Bonaparte addressed to him a most respectful letter, in which he expressed his veneration for the Holy Father in terms quite at variance with the spirit of his instructions from the Directory, and such as might have become the most devout son of the Church.[3] A little previously the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been compelled to purchase a confirmation of his neutrality.[4] After the conclusion of the Peace of Tolentino, Bonaparte sent a message to the little Republic of St. Marino, the oldest in Italy after Venice, offering it an augmentation of territory. The Gonfalonier wisely declined the dangerous honour; and this small State, consisting of only 6,000 souls, preserved its independence through all the convulsions of Europe.

Thus, in less than a twelvemonth, Bonaparte had conquered Piedmont, and reduced the King of Sardinia to an ignominious

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. iv. p. 181. (Letter of the Directory to Bonaparte.)
[2] Garden, t. v. p. 390. [3] *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. ii. p. 347.
[4] Garden, t. v. p. 392.

peace; had subdued Lombardy and Mantua; destroyed four Austrian armies; detached the King of Naples, as well as Parma and Tuscany, from the Coalition; laid Venice and Genoa under contribution; deprived the Pope of a large part of his dominions; and occupied all the north of Italy to the Piave. He could boast that he had not only supported his army during eleven months, and handsomely rewarded his generals, officers, and soldiers, but had also been able to send thirty million francs to France.

But notwithstanding Bonaparte's rapid and brilliant conquests, the main object of the war, the compelling of the Emperor to make peace, still remained unaccomplished. To attempt such a task required all Bonaparte's genius and good fortune. The physical obstacles to a march from Italy to Vienna, if properly taken advantage of by the Austrians, seemed almost insuperable. The resources of the Emperor were far from being exhausted. His hereditary dominions displayed an enthusiastic loyalty. The Hungarian Diet assembled at Presburg, elected the Archduke Joseph to the vacant dignity of Palatine, voted a considerable subsidy in money, extraordinary supplies in kind, a large levy of recruits, and an *insurrection* of the nobles, on a scale so extensive that the cavalry alone amounted to 24,000 sabres. Bohemia and Tyrol accorded a *levée en masse*.[1] The Archduke Charles, whose campaign in Germany had inspired the greatest confidence in his military abilities, was appointed generalissimo of the Austrian forces. But the Emperor's resources could only be made slowly available, a fatal defect in the face of so active and enterprising a general as Bonaparte. Scarce had he returned from Tolentino, when he resolved at once to open the campaign without waiting for the spring, and to strike a blow before the Austrians could receive their new levies and drafts from the army on the Rhine. He had been reinforced by the divisions of Bernadotte and Dehmas, and a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was in progress with Charles Emmanuel IV., by which he was to receive the aid of a considerable body of Piedmontese troops.[2] The French had also been recruited from the conquered districts of Italy. To an army of 45,000 men, inured to service and flushed with victory, the Archduke could oppose only about 24,000 troops in a state of disorganization and discouragement. Faults were also committed in the conduct of the campaign. Had the Archduke Charles concentrated his forces in Tyrol he might have easily prevented the

[1] Mailath, *Gesch. des Oestr. Kaiserstaates*, B. v. S. 218.

[2] Signed at Turin, April 8th, 1797. Martens, *Recueil*, t. xi. p. 620.

French from penetrating through those difficult passes, while at the same time Bonaparte would probably have been deterred from taking the route of the Julian and Noric Alps, for fear of seeing his communications intercepted, and himself attacked in the rear. Instead of this, by direction of the Aulic Council, he assembled the main body of his army in the Friuli, and exposed it to the attacks of the French in a long and feeble line on the Tagliamento. The Austrians were driven from their position at Valvassone, on that river, at the first attack, March 16th, in which action Bernadotte particularly distinguished himself. The Archduke now retreated beyond the Isonzo. Bonaparte, in close pursuit, left him no time to cover Trieste, drove him through Gradisca and Görtz beyond the Save. Bernadotte was despatched to seize Trieste, which he entered, March 24th. On the 23rd, Masséna, with the French advanced guard, defeated the Austrians, after some brilliant actions, at Tarvis. The Drave was now passed, and Bonaparte entered Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, March 31st, which had been taken by Masséna, after a smart action two days before; while Bernadotte entered Laibach, the capital of Carniola, April 1st.

But the situation of Bonaparte, however brilliant, was attended with considerable danger. The Directory had informed him that he could expect no timely aid by the advance of the French armies through Germany. He found himself in the midst of a hostile population, advancing further and further from his base of operarations; while the Archduke, as he receded, drew nearer to his supports. The Hungarian *insurrection* had begun to march. General Joubert, who had penetrated to Botzen in Tyrol, was there threatened by the Tyrolese *levée en masse*, under Count Lehrbach, and compelled to retreat. At several places in the Venetian territories the inhabitants had risen against the French. Bonaparte was alarmed about the intentions of the Venetian Government itself. The Senate, annoyed by the seizure of Bergamo by General Baraguay d'Hilliers (December 25th, 1796), had silently made considerable armaments; had assembled near Venice a corps of 12,000 Dalmatians, the best troops of the Republic; and had entered into secret negotiations with the Court of Vienna, which could not have altogether escaped the knowledge of the French. Bonaparte had extorted from the Republic a subsidy of one million a month, telling them that they might seize the treasures of the Duke of Modena, who was an enemy of France. The manner in which he expressed himself to Pesaro, one of their

Commissaries who attended him on his march, betrays the anxiety which he felt regarding Venice; which, indeed, by rising against him at this juncture, might have done him irreparable damage. Seizing Pesaro by the arm, he exclaimed that there could no longer be any medium; that if Venice resorted to arms, either she or the army of Italy was lost; exhorted him not to endanger the valetudinary lion of St. Mark.[1] A few more days, and Bonaparte might probably be cut off from Italy, deprived of the means of maintaining his army, and compelled, perhaps, to attempt a retreat by way of Salzburg, which would have been attended with the greatest difficulties. His alarm, in fact, was so great that he addressed a letter from Klagenfurt to the Archduke Charles (March 31st), with proposals for peace. This celebrated letter is a *chef-d'œuvre* of hypocrisy. He asked with affected philanthropy whether it was necessary that they should go on cutting one another's throats to serve the interests or the passions of a nation which was herself exempt from the evils of war? (England.) And he concluded by saying that, if he could save the life of a single man he should feel prouder of such a civic crown than of all the melancholy glory which attends the conqueror![2]

Bonaparte did not, however, arrest his march. He pressed on by St. Veit and Neumarkt, where a bloody battle occurred, to Judenburg in Styria, the Archduke retreating before him. At Judenburg, only a few days' march from Vienna, an armistice was agreed upon, April 7th, which was followed, eleven days after, by the signature of the preliminaries of a peace at Leoben. Vienna had been seized with a panic terror at the approach of the French; and Bonaparte's proposal, contrary to the advice of the Archduke Charles, had been joyfully accepted. The truce was extended to Tyrol, where the French were now in full retreat; and thus rescued them when the advance of the Austrians and Tyrolese would have supported a rising against them in the Venetian States. It is unnecessary here to detail the preliminaries signed at Leoben, the articles of which were either confirmed or set aside by the definitive Peace of Campo Formio six months afterwards. They were drawn up with the assistance, but not under the mediation, of the Marquis S. Gallo, Neapolitan ambassador at Vienna.[3] It will suffice to state that the main outline of them was the cession to France of the Austrian Netherlands, the consent of the Em-

[1] Daru, *Hist. de Vénise*, liv. xxxvii. § 30.

[2] *Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. ii. p. 436.

[3] The preliminaries of Leoben were long kept secret. The articles which differ from the Treaty of Campo Formio will be found in Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 398 sq.

peror to her occupation of the left bank of the Rhine and of Savoy, and to the establishment of a Cisalpine Republic in Italy, Austria relinquishing all her possessions beyond the Oglio; for which sacrifices the Emperor was to be compensated with the continental states of Venice, while that Republic was to receive the possessions wrested from the Pope by the Peace of Tolentino. Thus Austria disgraced herself by deserting Great Britain and making a separate peace, contrary to the solemn assurances of Thugut to the English ambassador only a few days before;[1] as well as by accepting the spoils of Venice, a friendly, or, at all events, a neutral Power, in compensation of her own losses. The Austrians made a merit of acknowledging the French Republic; but Bonaparte struck out the words, exclaiming: "The Republic is like the sun; woe to those who cannot see it!"

Hoche, with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, had passed the Rhine at Neuwied, April 18th, and driving the Austrians before him, reached Giessen on the Lahn, after gaining several battles and marching thirty-five leagues in five days. Moreau, with the army of the Rhine, passed that river on the 21st at Kehl, in face of the enemy drawn up in order of battle; one of the most brilliant passages on record. He made 4,000 prisoners and retook the fort at Kehl; but an armistice concluded June 23rd, in conformity with the preliminaries of Leoben, arrested further hostilities in this quarter.

Bonaparte, in his first overtures to Austria, had not demanded the cession of Lombardy, having no equivalent to offer in return, and fearing that without it the Emperor would never consent to a separate peace; but before the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben events had occurred which, if they did not justify, might at all events serve to colour and excuse, the spoliation of Venice, and thus provide the desired indemnity. A manifest had appeared, dated at Verona, March 20th, and purporting to be signed by Battaglia, the Venetian *proveditore* in the Terra Firma, calling on the people to rise against the French, promising them aid from the Government, and representing the French armies, both in Tyrol and the Friuli, as completely beaten. There is every reason to believe that this manifest was a forgery. It was disavowed both by Battaglia and by the Venetian Government, and is suspected to have been manufactured by the French themselves or their agents, in order to afford Bonaparte tangible ground of complaint against Venice. Be this as it may, the

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. iv. p. 254.

Italian peasantry, exasperated against the French soldiery, rose and massacred a considerable number of them. In Venice itself demonstrations were made against the French, which were secretly encouraged by three Inquisitors of State, and were also favoured by Drake, the English Minister, who appeared in public with the Venetian cockade and badge. The Venetian Government, however, sent two senators, Dona and Contarini, to Bonaparte's head-quarters to disavow these proceedings, and to protest their fidelity and submission. Bonaparte replied by despatching his aide-de-camp, Junot, from Judenburg, April 9th, with a letter to the Doge, Louis Manini, in which he contemptuously repudiated the disavowal of that magistrate. In the same strain he threatened to avenge his brothers in arms; and demanded, categorically, peace or war. This letter Junot read before the Doge and his Council, whom, contrary to their custom, he had compelled to assemble on a Sunday, with a tone and manner which aggravated its insulting contents. The Government, whose want of energy was still more conspicuous than its want of power, again humbly protested its submission, and promised to punish those who had been guilty of the assassinations. Unfortunately, however, the insurrection had gone on increasing, and had extended to Verona itself. The French garrison in that town consisted of only about 1,300 men, exclusive of the sick, while the Venetian Government had assembled there, besides Italian troops, and a considerable force outside the town, a body of 2,000 Slavonians. Encouraged by the presence of this garrison, as well as by the approach of the victorious Austrians from Tyrol, and the entry of several thousand armed peasants into the town, the inhabitants rose against the French, massacred some of them in the streets, and attacked the garrison in the castle. The arrival of French reinforcements at length compelled the insurgents to surrender at discretion, not, however, before they had killed more than 100 of the French, with a loss on their side of about a quarter of that number. But the most horrible feature in this riot was the murder of more than 400 sick French soldiers in the hospitals; an act of cruelty which procured for it the name of the Veronese Vespers.

Whether the Venetian Government was implicated in this affair or not, Bonaparte, whose hands were now freed by the peace with Austria, took care not to let slip so excellent an opportunity for quarrelling with them. He received the Venetian Commissaries sent to deprecate his wrath, with that blustering fury

which always harbingered a storm. He told them that they must decide between England and France, and repeatedly exclaimed that he had 80,000 men. "I will have no Inquisition," he continued, "no Senate; I shall be an Attila for Venice!" Arrived at Palmanuova, he published a regular declaration of war, May 2nd, though he had no authority from his Government for such a step. Among the chief grievances alleged in this manifest against the Venetian Government, were the arming of 40,000 Slavonians in order to cut off the French communications, the insults and assassinations committed upon the French in various parts of the Venetian dominions, and especially at Verona; and the death of Laugier, commander of a French privateer, who had been killed at the Lido, while endeavouring to force a passage contrary to the regulations of the port. The manifest concluded by ordering the French Minister to quit Venice, the agents of the Venetian Republic in Lombardy and the Terra Firma to depart within twenty-four hours, the French generals of division to treat the Venetian troops as enemies, and to overthrow the Lion of St. Mark. A body of 20,000 French troops was then assembled on the borders of the Lagoons. Among the Venetians themselves was a strong party in favour of the French and their political institutions. At the head of it were the Senators Battaglia, Dona, and San Fermo; Admiral Condulmer, commandant of the Lagoons, also belonged to it; nay, the Doge Manini himself, naturally weak, and whom age had rendered still more imbecile, implicitly obeyed its counsels. It had been directed by Lallemand, the French ambassador to the Republic; and when that Minister, agreeably to the declaration of war, quitted Venice, his office as leader of the French party was supplied by Villetard, the Secretary of Legation, who remained behind, and even retained over his door the arms of the French Republic. Thus Venice was threatened both from without and from within.

After a short visit to Milan, which he entered with all the pomp of sovereignty, Bonaparte returned to Mestre, the headquarters of the French upon the Lagoons. Before he arrived there he had granted the Venetians an armistice of twelve days to consider the terms which he offered. No harder ones could have been imposed if the city had been conquered. He demanded the suppression of the Senate and Council of Ten; the arrest and trial of the three State Inquisitors, of the *proveditore* of Venice, and the Commandant of the Lido or Port; the liberation of all political prisoners; and a total disarmament. Yet, among the

Senators, only two, Pesaro and Justiniani, were for resistance; although, with a little resolution, Venice might easily have been defended. The sinuous Lagoons were difficult to pass; the French had no flotilla, while the Venetians possessed between 200 and 300 vessels manned by 8,000 sailors; there were 10,000 Slavonian soldiers in the city, and several English frigates were cruising in the Adriatic, which would have come to the aid of Venice at the first signal. But her fall had already been prepared by her own Government. The Doge had assembled on April 30th an extraordinary and illegal committee of forty-three senators, in which it had been determined that, agreeably to the wishes of the French party, the Government should be rendered more democratic. The demands of Bonaparte were accepted, and three plenipotentiaries were despatched to treat with him for a peace at Milan, whither he had now returned.

Bonaparte has himself explained, in his confidential letters to the Directory, his motives for entering into this treaty. By means of it the French would be enabled to enter Venice without opposition, to obtain possession of the arsenal and other public establishments, which were to be despoiled of their contents, *under the pretext of executing the secret articles*. If the peace with the Emperor should not be ratified, the possession of Venice would enable the French to turn its resources against him. Finally, the treaty would appease any clamour in Europe, since it would state that the occupation was a mere momentary act, solicited by the Venetians themselves. Bonaparte added that he intended to seize all their vessels, carry off their cannon, destroy the bank, and keep Corfû as well as Ancona.[1] It was with such intentions that the Treaty of Milan was signed, May 16th, by Bonaparte and Lallemand on one side, and by Dona, Justiniani, and Mocenigo on the other. It consisted of six patent and six secret articles. The principal conditions of the patent articles were, that the Grand Council renounced its rights of sovereignty, directed the abdication of the hereditary aristocracy, and recognized the sovereignty of the State in the assembly of the citizens. The new Government, however, was to guarantee the public debt, as well as the maintenance of poor gentlemen and the life-pensions hitherto granted under the title of "*provisions*." A body of French troops was to be kept in the city till the Government should signify that it had no longer need of them; and all the Venetian territory was to be evacuated by the French at the

[1] *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iii. p. 55.

Continental Peace. The trials of the Inquisitors and of the Commandant of the fort of Lido, accused of being the authors and instigators of the assassinations committed on the French, were to be brought to a speedy termination. By the secret articles, the two Republics were to come to an understanding about the exchange of different territories; Venice was to pay three million livres in the space of three months, and three millions more in hemp, cordage, and other marine stores; she was to furnish three ships of the line and three frigates, fully armed and equipped, and to deliver twenty pictures and 500 manuscripts.[1]

But while the negotiations for this treaty were proceeding at Milan, a complete revolution took place at Venice. In conformity with Bonaparte's requisitions the ships had been ordered to be disarmed, the Slavonian troops to be dismissed, and on May 11th the Doge Manini invited the Senators to depose their powers into the hands of a commission of ten persons, to be named with the approbation of Bonaparte. But on the following day, through the influence of the French party, a new democratic Municipal Council was elected, consisting of sixty persons of all ranks and nations. Riots ensued, which lasted three or four days, in which the Slavonians played the principal part, and which had for their object plunder rather than a counter-revolution. They served, however, as a pretext for introducing the troops of Baraguay d'Hilliers into the city, 3,000 or 4,000 of whom were conveyed over the Lagoon on the night of May 15th, in barks provided for them by the French party. The Slavonians, with their commander Morosini, had previously set sail for Zara, after plundering the villages of Lido and Malamocco.

Thus, on the conclusion of the Treaty of Milan a new revolutionary Government had been established at Venice. The new Council ratified the treaty; but as the French troops had obtained entrance into Venice without the aid of its stipulations, Bonaparte refused to ratify, availing himself of the miserable subterfuge that he had not negotiated with the new Government. He now demanded five millions instead of three, and directed the Venetians to seize 100,000 ducats belonging to their guest, the Duke of Modena. The French, by their subsequent barbarous proceedings, realized Bonaparte's threat that he would prove an Attila for Venice. Before quitting it, they seized the whole Venetian fleet and all the cannon and stores that were serviceable; they demolished the Bucentaur, burnt the Golden Book at

[1] Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 391; Haller, *Geh. Gesch.* B. v. S. 15.

the foot of a tree of liberty, and carried off the bronze horses, the spoils of Constantinople, which had so long been the pride and ornament of Venice; thus depriving her even of the monuments and trophies of her ancient glory. By the aid of a Venetian flotilla, the French also took possession of the Ionian Islands. Thus fell the renowned Republic of Venice, the most ancient Government in Europe. More astonishment, however, was created by the Austrians taking possession of Venetian Istria and Dalmatia than by all the proceedings of the French. This step was preceded and coloured by a hypocritical manifesto respecting the necessity of enforcing order in those States; but it was in reality a result of the secret articles of Leoben.[1]

The revolution in Venice was soon followed by another in Genoa, also organized by the plots of the French Minister there, Faypoult. The Genoese had in general shown themselves favourable to France; but there existed among the nobles an anti-French party; the Senate, like that of Venice, was too aristocratic to suit Bonaparte's or the Directory's notions; and it was considered that Genoa, under a democratic constitution, would be more subservient to French interests. An insurrection, prepared by Faypoult, of some 700 or 800 of the lowest class of Genoese, aided by Frenchmen and Lombards, broke out on May 22nd, but was put down by the great mass of the real Genoese people. Bonaparte, however, was determined to effect his object. He directed a force of 12,000 men on Genoa, and despatched Lavalette with a letter to the Doge, very similar to that which Junot had carried to Manini, requiring him to liberate all the French who had been imprisoned, to arrest those who had excited the people against France, and to disarm the citizens. These orders were to be executed within twenty-four hours, otherwise the French Minister would leave Genoa, and the aristocracy would cease to exist.[2] Faypoult further demanded the arrest of three of the principal nobles, and the establishment of a more democratic constitution. Bonaparte's threats were attended by the same magical effects at Genoa as at Venice. The Senate immediately despatched three nobles to treat with him, and on June 6th was concluded the Treaty of Montebello.[3] The Government of Genoa recognized by this treaty the sovereignty of the people, confided the legislative power to two Councils, one of 300, the

[1] See in general for the above account of the fall of Venice, Daru, *Hist. de Vénise*, liv. xxxvii.; Tiepolo, *Discorsi sulla Storia del sign. Daru;* Tentori, *Documenti della caduta di Venezia;* Botta, *Storia d'Italia dal* 1789 *al* 1814, lib. x.

[2] *Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. iii. p. 75.

[3] Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 394.

other of 500 members, the executive power to a Senate of twelve, presided over by the Doge. Meanwhile a provisional Government was to be established. By a secret article a contribution of four millions, disguised under the name of a loan, was imposed upon Genoa. Her obedience was recompensed with a considerable augmentation of territory, and the incorporation of the districts known as the "Imperial fiefs." Such was the origin of the Ligurian Republic.

Austrian Lombardy, after its conquest, had also been formed into the "Lombard Republic;" but the Directory had not recognized it, awaiting a peace with Austria. Bonaparte, after taking possession of the Duchy of Modena and the Legations, had, at first, thought of erecting them into an independent State, under the name of the "Cispadane Republic;" but he afterwards changed his mind, and united these States with Lombardy, under the title of the Cisalpine Republic. He declared, in the name of the Directory, the independence of this new Republic, June 29th, 1797; reserving, however, the right of nominating, for the first time, the members of the Government and legislative body. The districts of the Valtelline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, subject to the Grison League, in which discontent and disturbance had been excited by French agents, were united in October to the new State; whose constitution was modelled on that of the French Republic.

Bonaparte was commissioned by the Directory to negotiate a definitive peace with Austria, and conferences were opened for that purpose at Montebello, Bonaparte's residence near Milan. The negotiations were chiefly managed by himself, and on the part of Austria, by the Marquis di Gallo, the Neapolitan ambassador at Vienna, and Count Meerfeld. There was at this time a very strong connection between Austria and Naples. The Emperor Francis II. was governed by his second wife, a daughter of the Neapolitan Queen Caroline, who, in turn, acted only by the advice of the Marquis. The negotiations were protracted six months, partly through Bonaparte's engagements in arranging the affairs of the new Italian Republics, but more especially by divisions and feuds in the French Directory, ending in a revolution which we must now describe.

The Directory and the two Councils had hitherto acted together with tolerable harmony, but great discontent prevailed among the public. A strong reactionary, and even Royalist, party had grown up, and the elections of May, 1797, entirely changed the aspect of affairs. A third part of the members of the Councils

having then resigned, agreeably to the new constitution, their places were supplied by anti-Jacobins, and even by known Royalists; among whom were Generals Pichegru, Barbé Marbois, Dumas, Dupont de Nemours, General Willot, and others. The reactionary party now formed a majority in the two Councils, and were thus opposed to the executive Directory; in which also a change had taken place. Letourneur de la Manche had gone out by lot, and the new Chambers elected Barthélemy to succeed him. Barthélemy, formerly French ambassador in Switzerland, a man of moderate principles, acted with and adopted the views of Carnot; and though these two Directors were far from being royalists, they were still further from agreeing with the violent counsels of their three colleagues, Barras, Rewbel, and La Réveillère-Lepeaux. Thus the majority of the Directory were opposed by the majority of the Councils, a state of things which could not but end in a collision. But though the three Directors who acted together, and who obtained the name of the *triumvirs*, were opposed by the legislature, they were supported by the army; a circumstance which naturally led to an appeal to force, and originated that military despotism which far-seeing politicians had foretold as the inevitable end of the French Revolution. As soon as the two new Councils had been constituted, 1st *Prairial, an V* (May 20th, 1797), Pichegru was elected President of the Five Hundred, and Barbé Marbois of the Ancients. The administration of the Directory was now violently assailed, particularly their war policy and their financial measures, and peace, economy, and an unrestricted liberty of the press were loudly advocated. Camille Jordan, a young deputy from Lyon, enthusiastically pleaded the cause of the clergy. The restoration of Catholic worship, the repeal of the decree of banishment against non-juring priests, as well as that against emigrants, were demanded, and numbers of both those proscribed orders returned into France. In the provinces counter-revolutionary reprisals were exercised against the patriots and the occupants of the national property. The royalist party established the Club of Clichy, while the triumvirs, who found the power of the Directory almost paralyzed, endeavoured to reorganize Jacobinism.

In this state of things the reactionary party began to contemplate the restoration of Royalty; while the triumvirs, on their side, determined to put down their opponents by a *coup d'état*, supported by military force. Resort to such a step was indeed their only alternative, as they had no power under the constitu-

tion to appeal to the people by dissolving the Councils. Hoche, who now commanded the army of the Sambre and Meuse, a man of violent and extreme principles, was entirely devoted to Barras and his colleagues; and as his army was the nearest to Paris, he was directed to march several regiments on that capital. In spite of the remonstrances of the Councils, these troops, on futile pretences, overstepped the constitutional radius of twelve leagues from the metropolis, and were quartered in the neighbourhood of Paris. The views of General Bonaparte were at first dubious. He was too prudent to commit himself at once to the majority of the Directory, like Hoche. Besides, he shared the more moderate views of Carnot and the peace party with regard to the affairs of Italy and the pacification with Austria. In other respects, however, he was by no means inclined to support the reaction. He had been violently abused in the Club of Clichy. His application of the public money for military purposes had been severely censured in the Council of Five Hundred, who had passed a resolution depriving the generals of all control over the finances; but this had been rejected by the Ancients. Bonaparte, moreover, had always been the opponent of Pichegru, and he was the mortal enemy of Willot, a Royalist general in Southern France, whom Carnot had patronized by way of counterpoise to him. No doubt Bonaparte was also sensible that the restoration of royalty would prove a death-blow to his power, and put an end to all his schemes of ambition; and under the influence of these feelings he despatched his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, to Paris, to offer his services to the triumvirs, but, at the same time, with instructions not to compromise him with Carnot. The triumvirate, in a secret letter, accepted his promise to march on Paris, in case of need, with 25,000 men, as well as his offer of three millions to aid the *coup d'état*. Thus the conqueror of Italy, the vanquisher of Austria, was to become the arbiter of the government under which he held his command.

Bonaparte urged on the triumvirate the necessity for speedy action. The summer was waning fast; if the negotiations for a peace with Austria should not be brought to a satisfactory conclusion before the autumn, it would be too late to chastise that Power by renewing the campaign. The Cabinet of Vienna, aware of the state of parties in France, was anxiously awaiting the result, and sought every pretext to procrastinate the negotiations. Bonaparte himself, instead of going to Udine, took up his residence at Milan, where he was nearer to the scene of action. On August

10th, the anniversary of the fall of royalty, he caused his soldiers to swear on the *autel de la patrie* to exterminate all conspirators and traitors. Threatening addresses of the most violent kind from the divisions of Joubert, Augereau, and Masséna were got up and sent to Paris. Bernadotte, who saw through Bonaparte, hesitated to follow this example; and the address of his division, when at length made, was in a much milder form than the others. Augereau, a rough and somewhat braggart soldier, without any political capacity, and of whose rivalship Bonaparte had therefore no dread, was despatched to Paris with the addresses and to assist the *coup de main*. He was appointed commandant of the 17th military division, which included the metropolis; and the military posts were also intrusted to officers of the army of Italy.

While the triumvirs were contemplating their *coup de main*, the Legislature was also preparing a revolution. On the motion of Pichegru, 17th *Fructidor* (September 3rd), a National Guard was ordered to be immediately formed, after which the troops of the line were to be directed to retire from the neighbourhood of Paris. General Willot was for more violent measures: an insurrection of the Sections, and the accusation of Barras, Rewbel, and La Réveillère. But, as it happens in such cases, the counsels of so large a number were paralyzed by hesitation and difference of opinion; their designs were betrayed to the triumvirs, who acted with energy and decision. During the night of September 3rd, the troops cantoned round Paris entered that city, and, under the command of Augereau, were planted round the Tuileries, to the number of 12,000 men with 40 guns. At four in the morning of September 4th (18th *Fructidor*), the alarm gun was fired; Augereau presented himself at the *grille* of the Pont Tournant, where Ramel, who commanded the guard assigned to the Legislature, had stationed 800 grenadiers, a force quite inadequate for effective resistance, even had they been inclined to resist. To Augereau's question, "Are you Republicans?" the grenadiers responded with shouts of *Vive Augereau! Vive le Directoire!* and immediately joined his troops. Augereau now caused Pichegru, Willot, Ramel, and other leaders of the reactionary party to be arrested; the Council of Five Hundred was directed to assemble in the *Odéon* Theatre, that of the Ancients in the *Ecole de Médecine*, with the view of compelling them to give a legal sanction to the proceedings of the three Directors. These assemblies having declared themselves *en permanence*, a message was sent to acquaint them with what had been done and the motive for it, the discovery of a conspiracy for

the restoration of Royalty. The Council of Five Hundred named a commission composed of Sieyès and four other members to take measures for the public safety. The law which they presented was in fact an ostracism ; nothing more arbitrary or violent had been perpetrated under the Reign of Terror, except that transportation was substituted for the *guillotine*. Carnot, Barthélemy, and upwards of fifty members of the Council were proscribed, including Pichegru, Boisy d'Anglas, Camille Jordan, Willot, and Barbé Marbois. Proofs of a Royalist conspiracy[1] were got up from some papers seized on the Count d'Entraigues at Venice, and forwarded by Bonaparte to the Directory; as well as from Pichegru's correspondence with the Prince of Condé, which Moreau had seized some months before in a carriage belonging to the Austrian general Klinglin. Pichegru's intrigues had long been well known to the Directory; Moreau himself was implicated in them, and betrayed his friend and patron at the last hour. Moreau was deprived of his command;[2] Barthélemy, Pichegru, and about twenty other persons, were sentenced to be transported to the unhealthy swamps of Guiana. Their punishment was carried out with barbarous inhumanity. They were conveyed to the port of embarkation, like wild beasts, in iron cages, and suffered during the passage miseries that can only be compared to those endured by negroes in a slave-trader. A great many of the proscribed persons, however, never left the Isle of Ré. Carnot concealed himself in the house of a friend, and succeeded in escaping into Germany. The proscription was subsequently extended, and the editors of thirty-five journals were condemned to transportation. Regulations were adopted calculated to strengthen the hands of the victorious faction. The elections were annulled in forty-eight of the eighty-three departments; the laws recently passed in favour of priests and emigrants were repealed ; emigrants not struck out of the list were ordered to quit Paris in twenty-four hours on pain of being brought before a court-martial; an oath of fidelity to the Republic and to the constitution of the year III, as well as of hatred to monarchy and anarchy, was exacted from all public officers; all members of the Bourbon family were directed to leave France, even those who had remained in it during the Reign of Terror; the whole administration of the department of the Seine was

[1] However defective the evidence adduced, there can be no doubt that schemes were in agitation for restoring the ancient *régime*. Madame de Staël, who was in Paris at this time, observes: "Il y avait dans l'intérieur des deux conseils un parti très décidé à ramener l'ancien régime, et le général Pichegru en était un des principaux instruments."—*De la Révol.* part. iii. ch. 24.

[2] Montgaillard, t. v. p. 32, 49 sqq.

altered; newspapers were placed under the surveillance of the police during a year. Thus the oligarchy of the three Directors, Rewbel, Barras, and La Réveillère-Lepeaux, and of their Ministers, Merlin, Schérer, and Talleyrand, was established solely by the sword of Augereau; the populace took no part whatever in the matter. The Republican party was revived, that of the Royalists defeated and humbled, and prepared for submission under the Consulate and Empire. The two Councils, as altered by the new elections, became little more than the registrars of the Directory, whose number was completed by the addition of Merlin de Douai and François de Neufchâteau.

The revolution of 18th *Fructidor* had great influence on the negotiations with Austria, to which we must now revert. Bonaparte, satisfied that the success of the *coup d'état* was insured by the military arrangements, proceeded to the château of Passeriano, near Udine, before the end of August. The Directory intrusted to him the whole conduct of the negotiations, and he showed himself as able a diplomatist as he had proved a matchless commander. Military skill alone would, indeed, never have achieved his wonderful fortunes. The qualities which he displayed in these negotiations, his broad and statesmanlike views, his clear and penetrating judgment of men and events, contributed as much to pave his way to future empire as the brilliant victories won by his sword. But although the Directory seemed to have accorded their entire confidence to Bonaparte, to whom they were so greatly indebted for their power, yet they were far from agreeing with him as to the objects of the future peace. Barras, the violent Rewbel, and their colleagues, retained their former extravagant and warlike views. They were for rejecting altogether the preliminaries of Leoben as the basis of negotiation; they insisted upon retaining Mantua, which, by the secret articles of those preliminaries, had been conceded to the Emperor; they wished to make the Tagliamento, instead of the Adige, the limit of the Austrian territories in Italy; thus giving the city and port of Venice to the Cisalpine Republic; and to revolutionize Piedmont, Rome, and Naples. With this last view they refused to ratify the offensive and defensive alliance which Bonaparte had concluded in April with the King of Sardinia, and which he regarded as essential to the safety and success of his military operations in Italy. In spite of their obligations to him, they looked with suspicion on the young Corsican who thus aspired to protect Kings and Princes, to overthrow Republics and distribute their spoils, to be

sole arbiter of peace and war. They also regarded the continuance of the war as the best security for their hold of power, and the only means of maintaining and paying their armies; and in these views they were supported by the ultra-revolutionary party. By way of counterpoise to Bonaparte, they appointed the violent and unreflecting Augereau to the command of the armies of the Rhine and Moselle and of the Sambre and Meuse, now united into one. The command of the former had been vacated by the removal of Moreau, that of the latter by the unexpected death of Hoche. Augereau, at the head of such a force, and supported by the Government, had he had any political genius, might have become the master of the Revolution, have forestalled the career of Bonaparte. Instead of that, he rendered himself the mere tool of the Directory. On assuming the command, he published an inflammatory address, well calculated to provoke a renewal of hostilities, a step which formed one of Bonaparte's motives for accelerating a peace.

Bonaparte's prudence and moderation at this juncture form a striking contrast to the violent counsels of the Directory. He perceived that more would be gained by peace than by war. The abandonment which he advised of Venice to Austria, thus depriving the Cisalpine Republic of a seaport, and putting into the Emperor's hands the key of Italy, was, indeed, a point on which great difference of opinion might be fairly entertained. The making over of that ancient commonwealth to an absolute master could not but excite the bitterest dissatisfaction in the minds both of the Venetian and the Lombard patriots. Battaglia and Dandolo, the chiefs of the democratic party at Venice, offered Bonaparte 18,000,000 francs, and an auxiliary corps of 18,000 men, to induce him to unite Venice with the Cisalpine Republic, and continue the war with Austria.[1] But Bonaparte could not be shaken from his resolution. He had calculated the chances of a winter campaign, and he knew that the Austrians had collected an army of 120,000 men on the frontiers of Italy for the purpose of securing Venice. The doctrine that France was to fight for the liberty of other nations he, as usual, threw to the winds.[2] His views at this time are admirably explained in a despatch to Talleyrand of October 7th.[3] He warns against a rash precipitancy, alludes to the characteristic of the French to be too elated in prosperity;

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. v. p. 16.

[2] "Jamais la république Française n'a adopté pour maxime de faire la guerre pour les autres peuples," &c. &c. See *Lettre confidentielle à Villetard, Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iii. p. 399.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 269.

"yet," he continues, "if such be *the order of destiny*, I think it not impossible that, in a few years, we may arrive at those grand results of which the heated imagination catches a glimpse, but which only the cool, the persevering, and the judicious ever attain." So calmly could the young soldier reason who had thrown himself *à corps perdu* into the defiles of the Noric Alps! Yet in the midst of this moderation starts forth the sudden apparition of the man of destiny; the pregnant future looms hazily on his mental vision, but, with a singular mixture of fatalism and reason, he proclaims that it can be realized only by the ordinary means which insure all human success. This uncommon union of prudence with an audacity often amounting to rashness is one of the most striking and singular features in Bonaparte's character, and affords the key to his wonderful career. He seemed to know instinctively how far he might carry his pretensions and when it was time to retire. Thus, though he abandoned Venice, he settled the question about Mantua without any negotiation, by proclaiming its union with the Cisalpine Republic, September 27th.[1]

On the renewal of the negotiations at Udine, the Cabinet of Vienna despatched thither Count Louis Cobentzl, its ablest and most practised diplomatist. The Count brought a letter from Francis II. to General Bonaparte, conceived in very flattering terms, in which he expressed his anxious desire for peace. "After this renewed assurance of the spirit of conciliation with which I am animated," observed the Emperor, "I doubt not you will feel that peace is in your hands, and that on your determination depends the happiness or misery of many thousands of men." This was literally true. Bonaparte was as desirous of peace as the Emperor; though probably Francis's argument, drawn from the miseries occasioned by war, had not the same weight with him at this juncture as when he addressed his letter to the Archduke Charles in the gorges of Carinthia. He had been secretly tempted, it is said, by another motive. The Emperor at this time offered, through Cobentzl, to erect for him in Germany a Principality of at least 250,000 souls, so that he might be for ever sheltered from political vicissitudes and the notorious ingratitude of republican governments. But Bonaparte declined to accept anything except at the hands of the French nation.[2] His way of negotiating was as effective against the traditional dilatoriness of Austrian diplomacy as his new method of warfare had been against their antiquated tactics in the field. His very first interview with Count

[1] Garden, t. v. p. 414. [2] *Homme d'état*, t. v. p. 67.

Cobentzl brought the practised diplomatist to his level.[1] The catastrophe of the negotiations, so to speak, was brought about by one of those acts of brutality and vulgar insolence which he scrupled not to do in order to gain his ends. In a last interview, October 14th, Cobentzl, resorting to his usual delays, Bonaparte suddenly sprang up in well-acted fury, and exclaiming with an oath, "You want war? well, you shall have it!" he seized a magnificent porcelain tea-table, a present, as Cobentzl daily boasted, from Catharine the Great, and dashing it with all his might upon the floor, shivered it into a thousand fragments. Then, crying with a voice of thunder: "See! such, I promise you, shall be your Austrian monarchy before three months are over!" he rushed out of the room. Cobentzl was petrified with astonishment, while M. de Gallo followed the enraged plenipotentiary to his carriage, endeavoured to retain him, made so many bows, and assumed altogether so piteous a demeanour, that Bonaparte, in spite of his simulated fury, could scarcely refrain from laughter.[2]

Three days after this scene, not unworthy of Gil Blas, was concluded the Peace of Campo Formio (October 17th). It derived this name from its having been signed in a ruined castle situated in a small village of that name near Udine; a place selected on grounds of etiquette in preference to the residence of either of the negotiators. By this treaty[3] the Emperor ceded the Austrian Netherlands to France; abandoned to the Cisalpine Republic, which he recognized, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Peschiera, the town and fortress of Mantua with their territories, and all that part of the former Venetian possessions to the south and west of a line which, commencing in Tyrol, traversed the Lago di Garda, the left bank of the Adige, but including Porto Legnago on the right bank, and thence along the left bank of the Po, to its mouth. France was to possess the Ionian Islands, and all the Venetian settlements in Albania below the Gulf of Lodrino; the French Republic agreeing, on its side, that the Emperor should have Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, the Bocche di Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Lagoons, and all the former Venetian Terra Firma to the line before described. The Emperor ceded the Breisgau to the Duke of Modena, to be held on the

[1] Bonaparte himself says: "Fier de son rang et de son importance, il (Cobentzl) ne doutait pas que la dignité de ses manières et son habitude des cours ne dussent écraser facilement un général sorti des camps révolutionaires: aussi aborda-t-il le général Français avec une certaine légèreté; mais il suffit de l'attitude et des premières paroles de celui-çi pour le remettre aussitôt à sa place, dont, au demeurant, il ne chercha jamais plus à sortir."—Ap. *Homme d'état*, t. iv. p. 562.

[2] *Homme d'état*, t. iv. p. 589.

[3] Martens, t. vi. p. 420.

same conditions as he had held the Modenese. A congress composed of the plenipotentiaries of the German Federation was to assemble immediately, to treat of a peace between France and the Empire.

To this patent treaty was added another secret one,[1] by the principal article of which the Emperor consented that France should have the frontier of the Rhine, except the Prussian possessions, and stipulated that the Imperial troops should enter Venice on the same day that the French entered Mentz. He also promised to use his influence to obtain the accession of the Empire to this arrangement; and if that body withheld its consent, to give it no more assistance than his contingent. The navigation of the Rhine to be declared free. If, at the peace with the Empire, the French Republic should make any acquisitions in Germany, the Emperor was to obtain an equivalent there, and *vice versâ*. The Dutch Stadholder to have a territorial indemnity. To the King of Prussia were to be restored his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and he was consequently to have no new acquisitions in Germany. Princes and States of the Empire, damnified by this treaty, to obtain a suitable indemnity. In what this was to consist is not specified; but the omission of the Bishops of Basle, Strasburg, and Spires from the list of those who were to receive such compensation, shows that it was not designed to re-establish those bishoprics, and that consequently the Emperor had consented to the secularization of their possessions. The Emperor also virtually acknowledged his recognition of the principle of secularization by the fifth article of the Secret Treaty, by which he accepted the good offices of the French Republic to procure for him the Archbishopric of Salzburg. The open and unconditional acceptance of this principle by Frederick William II. in July, at Pyrmont, at the instance of Talleyrand, the French Foreign Minister, had helped to remove the Emperor's scruples, and thus to facilitate the Peace of Campo Formio, though, as a Catholic monarch and head of the Empire, he had less justification for such an act than the Prussian King. Yet Austria and France agreed to shut out Prussia from participating in the secularizations.[2] On the other hand, the Court of Vienna preserved the three ecclesiastical electorates of Mentz, Trèves, and Cologne.

By the Treaty of Campo Formio was terminated not only the Italian campaign, but also the first Continental war of the Revolution. The establishment of Bonaparte's prestige and power by

[1] Garden, t. v. p. 420. [2] Menzel, B. vi. S. 376 f.

the campaign was a result still more momentous in its consequences for Europe than the fall of Venice and the revolutionizing of Northern Italy. The war with Austria and the first Coalition, declared by Louis XVI. in 1792, was concluded by the men who had sent the royal martyr to the scaffold. A struggle of five years' duration, respecting the territorial rights of some Princes of the Empire on the left bank of the Rhine, had ended with the total alienation of their possessions in that quarter. The Austrian Netherlands had been acquired by France, and were incorporated with that country under the name of the Circle of Burgundy. The United Provinces, which, under the Stadholderate, had been so closely allied with England, had, under the name of the Batavian Republic, been converted into a State entirely dependent upon France. Towards the Alps and Italy the French Republic had acquired Avignon, Savoy, and Nice; the King of Sardinia, under the title of an ally, had become little more than the vassal of the Directory; in Lombardy and Northern Italy had been formed from the spoils of Austria, the Pope, the House of Este, and the Republic of Venice, another of those dependent commonwealths with which the Directory had determined to surround itself. No less striking and extraordinary than these events was the renewal of the Family Compact by a Spanish King of the House of Bourbon with the murderers of Louis XVI., the head of the elder branch of his family. Thus the Revolution, which the German Sovereigns had thought to put down by a military promenade, had proved itself stronger than Europe. The ancient political system of the Continent had been shaken to its foundations. Austria, the most conservative of European States, had joined in the revolutionary Treaty of Campo Formio, based on a partition of the spoils of a neutral and inoffensive Power, and containing in its secret articles the germs of future revolutions and interminable wars. But if the French Revolution had mastered Europe, it had itself found a master in Bonaparte, who was to become for many years almost the sole arbiter both of France and the Continent.

CHAPTER LX.

FREDERICK WILLIAM II. did not live to hear the particulars of the Peace of Campo Formio, and the way in which he had been treated by his French allies. He had long been in a declining state of health, the consequence of sensual excesses of all kinds, and on November 16th, 1797, he expired at Potsdam, in the fifty-fourth year of his age and twelfth of his reign. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick William III., born August 3rd, 1770. This Prince, endowed with only moderate abilities, was remarkable for his moral and domestic habits. One of his first steps was to cause the Countess of Lichtenau, his late father's mistress, to be arrested. She was stripped of her ill-gotten wealth, and imprisoned for some time in the fortress of Glogau. Frederick William II.'s favourite general, Bischofswerder, was dismissed into poverty and obscurity, with a pension of 1,200 thalers (180*l.*). Lucchesini avoided the disgrace of a dismissal by retiring before his royal master's death. But the late King's principal Ministers, Haugwitz, Lombard, and Lecoq, were retained, and thus no change ensued in the Prussian policy. On the very first day of his reign Frederick William III. addressed a letter to the Directors of the French Republic, whom he called "his great and dear friends," and promised to cultivate the harmony which had hitherto subsisted between the two nations. But it soon became evident that, since the Treaty of Campo Formio, the Cabinet of the Luxembourg had adopted the policy of embroiling Austria and Prussia, by treating the former with great consideration, and manifesting a complete indifference for the latter.[1]

England, after the preliminaries of Leoben, seeing herself deserted by Austria, had also endeavoured to arrange a peace with France; and with that view Lord Malmesbury had been despatched to Lille in June, to confer with the ex-Director Letourneur de la Manche, and two other French plenipotentiaries. But it soon appeared that little hope could be enter-

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. v. p. 43.

tained of a favourable issue to the negotiations. Although the English Cabinet offered to restore all the possessions conquered from France, and even those wrested from Holland and Spain, with the exception only of the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Trinidad (conquered from the Spaniards, February 18th, 1797), the French Ministers refused to negotiate unless, as a preliminary, Great Britain consented to relinquish all her conquests whatsoever; thus, at the very outset, as Lord Malmesbury observed, leaving no grounds for treating at all.[1] The negotiations were now purposely protracted by the Directory. The minority of that body, indeed, and the majority of the two Legislative Councils, seem to have been sincerely desirous of peace; but the triumvirs, Rewbel, Barras, and La Réveillère-Lepeaux, had resolved on war. Immediately after the revolution of 18th *Fructidor*, the French plenipotentiaries at Lille were replaced by Treilhard and Bonnier, two violent members of the late Convention. On September 16th, Treilhard demanded of Lord Malmesbury whether he had powers to restore all their colonies to France and her allies? and receiving an answer in the negative, brutally exclaimed: "Well, then, go and fetch them!" Passports were now sent to the English Minister, who was directed to quit France in twenty-four hours.[2] Yet the French plenipotentiaries remained at Lille till October 16th, pretending to expect Lord Malmesbury's return!

Great Britain was thus left to contend alone with the now colossal power of France. Even Portugal, her ancient ally, had been constrained to abandon her. At the time of the Treaty of Basle, Spain had engaged to use her influence to detach Portugal from the English alliance. When the Court of Madrid declared war against England, the Portuguese Queen, Maria I., was required to make common cause with Spain and France, and threatened with war in case of refusal; and a Spanish army was actually assembled on the frontiers of Portugal. The Court of Lisbon made extraordinary preparations for defence, which were supported by the British Government. Prince John, the Regent, was, however, anxious for a peace with the French Republic; and the Portuguese Minister, Don Antonio Aranjo de Azevedo, taking advantage of the Directory's want of money for their *coup d'état* of 18th *Fructidor*, purchased from them, at the price of six million francs, a tolerably advantageous treaty, August 20th, 1797,[3] which

[1] Adolphus, *George III.* vol. vi. p. 635. [2] *Homme d'état*, t. iv. p. 537 sq.
[3] Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 413 sqq.

the French Legislature ratified September 12th. In consequence of this transaction, Admiral Jervis, now Lord St. Vincent, entered the Tagus; troops were landed, who occupied Fort St. Julian, commanding the port; and the English Cabinet declared that the ratification of the treaty with France would be regarded as an act of hostility. The Regent, under these circumstances, declined to ratify; the Directory declared the treaty null and void, October 26th, and the Portuguese Minister was ordered to leave Paris. When, however, the Peace of Campo Formio had released the French armies, and the representations of the Spanish Court became still more pressing, the Regent, dreading the dangers to which he was exposed on this side, even more than a rupture with England, reconciled himself with the Directory and ratified the treaty, December 1st.

The French, having effected their purpose of isolating England, resolved to strike a blow at her very heart. They saw that on the ocean, on which alone the war would henceforth be prosecuted, she was able to bid defiance to the combined efforts of Europe. In the course of the year, by Admiral Jervis's victory over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, February 14th, and by that of Admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet under Winter at Camperdown, October 11th, she had severely crippled the naval power of those allies of France. An invasion, and, if possible, a conquest of England, seemed the only method of destroying her maritime superiority. A futile attempt was made early in the year to ascend the Avon and burn Bristol, which ended in the capture of all concerned in it. Bonaparte, immediately after the Peace of Campo Formio, formed a plan for invading England on a grand scale, though it may be doubted whether he really intended to execute it. In a letter to the Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, October 18th,[1] he observes: "The Austrians are heavy and avaricious; there is no people less intriguing, or less dangerous for our military affairs. The English, on the contrary, are generous, intriguing, and enterprising. Our Government must destroy the English Monarchy, or must expect itself to be destroyed by the corruption and intrigues of these active islanders. The present moment offers a good opportunity. Let us concentrate all our activity on the navy, and destroy England. That effected, all Europe is at our feet." The Directory hastened to accept a scheme, which, however ideal, would disembarrass them of a commander whom they suspected. Taking Bonaparte at his

[1] *Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. iii. p. 392.

word, they named, on the very day that his despatch was received, Berthier to the command of the army of Italy, ordered several corps to assemble on the coasts of the Channel, appointed Bonaparte to the command of the "Army of England," which, till his arrival, was given provisionally to Desaix. Bonaparte, on reviewing the French troops at Milan, November 4th, announced to them this appointment, told them that they must not lay down their arms till England had been conquered. From the army of Italy 36,000 men were directed towards the ocean. So great was the presumption, or rather perhaps the simulated confidence, of the Directory, that they opened a loan which was to be repaid out of the spoils of England. A more tangible security was the seizure and sale of all English goods held by French merchants; an act of injustice towards French subjects intended to injure English commerce, but which fell in reality on that of France. The Directory also declared lawful prize all vessels, even neuter or friendly, freighted with English merchandise. Such was the beginning of that war upon English commerce, afterwards carried out on a gigantic scale by Bonaparte by his famous Continental system.

Before assuming the command of the army of England, Bonaparte was to proceed, as French Plenipotentiary, to Rastadt, where, agreeably to the Treaty of Campo Formio, a congress had assembled to arrange the terms of a peace between the French Republic and the German Empire. Bonaparte's journey to Rastadt resembled a triumphal march. All the towns through which he passed sent deputations to salute and compliment him. At Turin he was received by the King of Sardinia with every mark of distinction; Geneva celebrated his arrival with public fêtes and illuminations; Bern prepared to honour him with a banquet, a ball, and other festivities. But the French Revolutionists had long conceived a grudge against Bern, for reasons which will be explained further on; and, to the mortification of the Swiss patricians, Bonaparte haughtily declined to accept their hospitalities. He entered Rastadt on the evening of November 25th, in a carriage drawn by eight horses and surrounded by a guard of twenty-four hussars. Here he found a despatch from the Directory inviting him to Paris. The most important matter concluded by Bonaparte during his short stay at Rastadt was a secret military convention, arranged with Count Cobentzl, and signed December 1st,[1] intended to facilitate the execution

[1] Martens, t. vi. p. 487.

of the secret treaty of Campo Formio. The Emperor, in communicating the patent articles of that treaty to the German Diet, had invited them to send deputies to Rastadt to treat for a peace "on the basis of the integrity of the Empire." Yet, by this convention, the Imperial troops were to evacuate the fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philippsburg, Königstein, Mannheim, Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Würzburg; in short, to retire from the neighbourhood of the Rhine behind the Lech and the Inn, in order that the French might take possession of Mentz and the left bank of the Rhine. The Elector of Mentz and the Diet were to be moved to admit the French troops into that city; in case of refusal, the French Republic was to be authorized to effect a forcible entry. The Imperial troops, agreeably to this convention, evacuated Mentz on the night of December 9th, leaving in it only the troops of the Elector. The astonishment and dismay of the Princes of the Empire at being thus betrayed and deserted by their constitutional head may be better conceived than described. The mask had at length fallen, and the double game played by Francis became apparent. As head of the Empire, he had stipulated its integrity in the preliminaries of Leoben. But in the secret articles of the Treaty of Campo Formio, which he concluded only as King of Hungary and Bohemia, that stipulation had been abandoned; nay, he had agreed that if the war should be renewed he would furnish to the Empire only his contingent as Archduke of Austria, and remain neuter with regard to his other dominions. Mentz was now surrounded by the French troops, and, in spite of the remonstrances of the Elector, being threatened with a bombardment, was compelled to capitulate, December 28th, 1797. It was not till this surrender was effected that the Austrians were admitted into Venice.[1]

Meanwhile Bonaparte had returned to Paris; where the Directors, in compliance with the public enthusiasm, but much against their own private inclinations, received him with extraordinary pomp and solemnity in the Court of the Luxembourg Palace, December 10th. Talleyrand addressed the victor of Italy in a speech more remarkable for bombast and exaggerated adulation than for eloquence or good taste. As the cock salutes the early dawn, prescient of the coming splendour, so none had a surer presage of the rising sun than the ex-Bishop of Autun. The address of Bonaparte himself on presenting the Treaty of Campo Formio to the Directors, submitted to them before

[1] K. A. Menzel, *N. Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vi. Kap. 32.

delivery and purged of some passages deemed too vivacious, was conceived in that stilted, sententious style which the admirer of Ossian mistook for the sublime. Barras, in his reply, observed that "Nature had exhausted all her riches to create Bonaparte —Bonaparte has meditated his conquests with the mind of Socrates; he has reconciled mankind with war!"[1] Bonaparte, however, was not a man to be fed with empty phrases, which nobody could appreciate better than himself. He seems to have been rather humiliated than gratified by his reception at the Luxembourg. He felt that it was his own place to command, instead of being commanded; though at present, indeed, he would have been content with a seat in the Directory, in which two were now vacant; but he was put aside on the ground that he had not attained the age required by the constitution.

In prosecution of the scheme for invading England, Bonaparte, accompanied by some general officers, paid a rapid visit, early in February, 1798, to the ports of Etaples, Ambleteuse, Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, Furnes, Nieuport, Ostend, and the Isle of Walcheren, for the purpose of forming a judgment as to the feasibility of the enterprise. The result was that he deemed it too hazardous. He would not, he told his friends, risk the fate of "la belle France," including, of course, his own fortunes, on so uncertain a throw of the dice. The conquest of the Turkish province of Egypt, which had long occupied his attention, as well as that of the Directory, was substituted for it. But before we relate that expedition, we must advert to two or three other schemes of aggression which the Directory now carried into execution.

We have already mentioned how the Directory, immediately after the fall of Mantua, had pressed Bonaparte to march to Rome and destroy the Papal Government; how that general deemed such a step at all events premature, and preferred to conclude with the Pope the Peace of Tolentino. The Directors, however, continued to cherish a plan which promised, at trifling risk, so rich a harvest of plunder and peculation; nor did Bonaparte entertain the same repugnance for it as previously to the arrangements for a peace with Austria. His elder brother Joseph was sent as ambassador to Rome in September, 1797, for the purpose of troubling the waters and laying the foundations of a quarrel;[2] but as Joseph's indolent and voluptuous habits seemed

[1] Montgaillard, t. v. pp. 82, 83 sq.

[2] For the following see Botta, *Storia d'Italia dal* 1789 *al* 1814, t. ii. lib. xiii.; Duppa, *Brief account of the overthrow of*

to promise but little activity, three young and fiery French generals, Duphot, Arrighi, and Sherlock, were subsequently appointed to assist him. With the same view of seizing Rome the French continued to occupy Ancona, although they had agreed to evacuate it at the general peace, alleging that a maritime war was still continued. The great age of Pius VI., and a severe illness with which he was seized at this period, seemed at first to promise from his death an opportunity for effecting a revolution. Bonaparte instructed his brother, in case Pius should die, to strain every nerve to prevent the election of another Pope, and to effect a revolution in the government.[1] The recovery of Pius having disappointed these hopes, other expedients were resorted to. Although the Pope's authority was menaced by a revolutionary party, he was compelled, by the threats of Bonaparte, to dismiss the Austrian general Provera, whom he had appointed to the command of the Papal troops. Disturbances broke out in several parts of the Pope's dominions. At Rome the democrats proclaimed a republic, and similar scenes ensued at Corneto, Cività Vecchia, and other places. These insurrections were put down; but they caused Pius such alarm that he was compelled to recognize the Cisalpine Republic, by which they had been fomented. The Pope appealed to the French ambassador to intervene, who pretended to sympathize with his situation; but instead of affording aid he demanded the release of all the imprisoned patriots. Rome at this time swarmed with discontented and desperate men, at the head of whom was the Marquis Vivaldi. It was notorious that an insurrection was preparing and that its focus was at the Corsini Palace, the residence of the French Embassy. On December 28th, 1797, it broke out. The insurgents, who had been defeated in the early part of the day, having sought refuge in the evening within the neutral precincts of the ambassadorial residence, pursued by the Papal soldiers, Joseph Bonaparte, surrounded by the members of the Legation, among whom was Duphot in full uniform, appeared in the court of the palace; when Duphot, drawing his sword and advancing towards the soldiers, as if to compel them to retire, was fired upon and received a mortal wound. Next day Joseph Bonaparte quitted Rome for Florence, and though the Papal Government made the most humble, nay, abject submissions,

the Papal Government; Lacrételle, t. xi.; De Merck, *Captivité et mort de Pie VI.* For the whole Pontificate, Bourgoing, *Mém. hist. sur Pie VI. et son pontificat.*

[1] Letter of September 29th, 1797 (*Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. iii. p. 352).

nothing could induce him to return. There can be no doubt that he was the aggressor. He had overstepped his ambassadorial functions and violated the sovereignty of the Pope; but the opportunity for a quarrel was too good a one to be thrown away. Berthier, much against his inclination, was directed to march secretly and with all the expedition possible upon Rome, and there to organize a republic. In vain the Pope implored the aid of Naples, Austria, and Tuscany. Bonaparte averted their interference by pretending that the Directory, after the occupation of Rome, would come to an understanding with those Powers about its fate. If, however, Naples should stir in the matter, he threatened that war would be declared. The Cabinet of Vienna acquiesced so tamely in these proceedings that they did not even present a single note to the Directory in favour of Pius VI.

The French troops entered Rome February 10th, 1798, and were received as friends. The Pope could resort to no other weapons for his protection than processions, prayer, and fasting. On February 15th, the anniversary of Pius VI.'s elevation, the Papal chair was overthrown, and the Roman Republic proclaimed. The Pope received with dignity and resignation the news of his deposition. A scene of brigandage and rapine now ensued, which had been one of the chief objects of these proceedings. Berthier had proclaimed that property would be respected, and Pius had not attempted to remove his effects. Yet his palaces were stripped, their contents catalogued and sold with all the regularity of a broker acting under a writ of execution. The French armies in Italy were constantly followed by a horde of dealers and hucksters, tracking like vultures the scent of booty. The product of the spoils fell to the French Generals and the agents of the Directors. Rome was mulcted in four million francs in specie, two millions in stores and provisions, and three thousand horses; and four Cardinals, three Princes, and other persons were seized as hostages for the payment. The Papal arms were everywhere destroyed, the golden keys suppressed, titles and other distinctions abolished, gold lace, liveries, and ornaments of all kinds prohibited.

The Directory had determined that Pius should leave Rome. He was insulted with the proposal that he should assume the three-coloured cockade, when a pension would be awarded to him. To this offer the venerable old man replied: "I know no other uniform than that with which the Church has decorated me. My body is in the power of man, but my soul belongs to God alone.

I recognize the hand which chastises at once the shepherd and his flock: I adore it and submit. Of a pension I have no need; a sack to cover me, a stone whereon to lay my head, these are all my wants. They suffice for an old man who desires only to end his days in penitence." His refusal, which had been expected, was the signal for further violence and plunder. The remainder of his property was now confiscated. His private library, consisting of more than 40,000 volumes, was sold to a Roman bookseller; even the rings were stripped from his fingers. Foremost in these brutalities was the French Commissary Haller, a Swiss Calvinist. On a stormy night towards the end of February, Pius was torn from his palace and conveyed like a prisoner to Siena. A convent near that place in which he resided having been damaged by an earthquake, he took up his abode for a time at the *Certosa*, or Carthusian convent, near Florence. We shall here briefly recount the sequel of his fate. When the French took possession of Tuscany, in March, 1799, Pius was torn from his retreat, and carried to Briançon, a fortress in the High Alps surrounded with perpetual snows, a place to which regiments were sometimes sent by way of punishment. This coldblooded and systematic cruelty, worse than the Popes had experienced from their most barbarous conquerors, towards an amiable and invalid old man, whose long reign of more than twenty years is unsullied by a single instance of persecution or injustice, appears to have been chiefly the work of the fanatical La Réveillère-Lepeaux, chief of the sect calling themselves *théophilanthropistes*, or religious philanthropists! When that Director and his colleagues, Treilhard and Merlin, were expelled from the Luxembourg in the following June, the Government, touched with some compassion for the sufferings of the venerable Pontiff, caused him to be removed to the milder climate of Valence, in the Department of the Drome, where he died at the age of eighty-two, August 29th, 1799. He was interred without any of the honours due to his rank and character.

A few days after the expulsion of the Pope, four French Commissaries arrived at Rome and established a constitution on the approved model, namely, two chambers and five directors with the title of consuls. These consuls were of course the mere puppets of the French Directory. The benefits to be expected from the new Government were immediately displayed. On February 23rd, the French Generals having caused a grand funeral ceremony to be performed in honour of Duphot, took advantage of the occasion to

plunder with more leisure and security. The churches as well as the palaces were pillaged; nothing was too high or too low for the rapacity of these Gallic hordes. Inestimable objects of art were turned into money at a vile price; sacerdotal robes were submitted to the fire for the sake of the bullion in their embroidery; the shrubs in the gardens were dug up and sold; even the meanest kitchen utensils were not despised. What could not be sold was wantonly destroyed. The proceeds of this plunder were appropriated by Generals of the Staff and agents of the Directors. The army, so far from participating in them, had received no pay for five months, and many were without shirts or shoes. The arrival of Masséna at this juncture, to take the command instead of Berthier, who, from disgust at these scenes, had solicited his recall, produced a mutiny. The French garrison at Mantua, which was in the same condition, had already manifested their feelings by a formidable revolt. Masséna, who had made himself notorious by his brigandage and extortions in various parts of Italy, no sooner arrived in Rome than the officers assembled in the Pantheon, and, by their remonstrances and the spirit of insubordination which they displayed, ultimately drove him from his post.[1] He was succeeded by Gouvion St. Cyr. The conduct of the French also produced an insurrection of the Roman people. The inhabitants of the Trastevere, encouraged by the divisions in the French army, rose and massacred many of the French soldiers. Their example was followed by the peasantry of the Romagna. But these insurrections were put down with great slaughter by Murat.

Switzerland was the next victim of Gallic cupidity. An attack upon that country had been meditated by the Girondists. Bern especially had incurred the hatred of the French Government, as well from its aristocratic constitution as from the shelter it had afforded to French refugees, and the favour with which it was supposed to have regarded the anti-revolutionary movement at Lyon. But while the Continental war lasted, it was found convenient to recognize Swiss neutrality, which, indeed, appears to have been maintained with a good faith that afforded no just ground of complaint. Already, during the Italian campaign, Bonaparte seems to have meditated the future subjugation of Switzerland, for the sake of the convenient military roads into

[1] See the *Addresse des Officiers de l'armée de Rome au Directoire Exécutif*, in *Mém. d'un Homme d'état*, t. v. It must be added, however, that another version of the story of this mutiny, supplied by General Koch to the Comte de Garden, and inserted by the latter at the end of the sixth vol. of his *Hist. des Traités de Paix*, exculpates Masséna at the expense of Berthier.

South Germany and North Italy which the possession of it would afford. The annexation of the Italian cantons to the Cisalpine Republic formed part of this scheme, to the execution of which all obstacles appeared to be removed by the Peace of Campo Formio. The aid which the well-filled treasury of Bern, and the spoils which might be made in other Swiss towns, would afford towards the expedition against England, afterwards converted into that against Egypt, was not the least among the motives for the attack upon Switzerland.[1]

In a few of the cantons the designs of the French were aided by the inhabitants. The Swiss Constitution, the growth of the middle ages, was, in many instances, under Republican forms, a complete aristocracy, the Government being in the hands of a few powerful families. This was particularly the case of Bern, Freyburg, and Soleure. The cantons of Basle and Zurich were governed by the municipalities of those cities, a kind of civic aristocracy. The forest cantons were more democratical. In many places, political offices, as those of *landvogt* (governor or bailiff), judge, &c., almost monopolized by certain families, were looked upon as a kind of trade, and in some districts, such as the Thürgau, Aargau, and Pays de Vaud, the children, relatives, and *protégés* of the privileged classes were supported at the expense of the inhabitants. Of all the cantons Bern was the most important. Besides Aargau, Thürgau, and other subject districts, the Bernese had reigned, jointly with Freyburg, more than two centuries and a half over the Pays de Vaud, which, in consequence of disputes arising out of the Reformation, they had wrested, in 1536, from the hands of the Bishop of Geneva and the Duke of Savoy, and treated as a conquered country. The rule of the patricians of Bern was, however, wise and moderate, although their pride and haughtiness offended all who did not belong to their *caste*.

It is not surprising that the doctrines of the French Revolution should have made some progress among certain portions of the Swiss, who, whatever might be their political liberty, could not boast of equality. Basle and the Pays de Vaud were the cantons in which French principles made most progress. They were fomented in the former by Peter Ochs, *Oberzunftmeister*, or head

[1] On this subject see Madame de Staël, *Consid. sur la Rév. Fr.* P. iii. ch. 27; Montgaillard, t. v. p. 93; *Homme d'état*, t. v. p. 330, 461. Bourienne, in his *Mémoires*, asserts that Bonaparte took no share in the revolutionizing of Switzerland. The contrary is proved, not only by his whole conduct, but also by his letter to the Directory of the Cisalpine Republic, February 28th, 1798. *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iii. p. 496.

of the Corporation of Basle, and in the Pays de Vaud, by Colonel Laharpe, a person of some influence, who had been tutor to the Archduke Alexander of Russia, afterwards Emperor. Laharpe had, on one or two occasions, excited insurrections, which, however, had been put down by the Bernese Government. Circumstances were more favourable to his plans, and those of Ochs, his fellow-labourer in the cause of revolution, towards the end of 1797. The Directory, soon after their establishment, had cast their eyes on Switzerland; emissaries had been despatched thither to sow the seeds of dissension; complaints had been raised about the conduct of the Bernese Government; and the dismissal, or rather the voluntary retirement, of the English Minister, Wickham, whom they had accused of abusing his ambassadorial functions by intriguing against France, had been effected. After the conclusion of the peace with Austria, the Directors began more openly to display their hostility. In December they caused their troops to take possession of some territories belonging to the Bishopric of Basle, and on January 28th, 1798, Mühlhausen was united by a formal treaty to France.[1] The peasantry of the canton of Basle, seizing the conjuncture to assert their liberties, rose in insurrection and destroyed the *châteaux* of their bailiffs or governors; but the Council and Burgesses of Basle averted the storm by conceding to the peasantry equal privileges with the citizens. About the same time, Laharpe, having concerted his plans with the Directory, incited his fellow-subjects to rise. Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as a pretext for interference, disinterred some old treaties of the time of Charles IX. by which the French Government guaranteed the political rights of the Vaudois.[2] The Directory notified to the Governments of Bern and Freyburg, that the members of them, by virtue of these ancient treaties, would be individually responsible for the persons and property of such inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud as might seek the mediation of the French Republic. At the same time Masséna's division, under the command of Mesnard, was directed to march from Italy to the frontiers of the Pays de Vaud. The revolutionists of that country, thus encouraged, became more daring in their movements, while French emissaries spread themselves through the more aristocratic parts of Switzerland to excite discontent and revolt. The Bernese Government, on their side,

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 656.

[2] Subsequently, under Henry III., in 1579, France received Geneva, as an ally of Switzerland, into its protection against the attempts of the Duke of Savoy. Martin, t. ix. p. 486.

invoked the aid of the other cantons; the oath of federation was renewed by all except that of Basle, and the *Tagsatzung*, or Diet, decreed the levy of a confederate army.

Before this force could assemble, Colonel Weiss was despatched with fourteen battalions to reduce the insurgent Vaudois, who, on his approach, claimed the assistance of Mesnard. The French general immediately entered the Pays de Vaud. Weiss retired to Yverdun without striking a blow, and Mesnard proclaimed at Lausanne, January 24th, 1798, the independence of the Vaudois. Mesnard despatched an aide-de-camp with a message to Weiss, requiring the evacuation of the Pays de Vaud, but not having the proper watchword, two of the hussars of the aide-de-camp's escort were shot by a Bernese outpost stationed a few miles from Yverdun. This event afforded the French general an excellent handle to declaim against a breach of the law of nations, and to threaten the Bernese with hostilities. Weiss, alarmed by his menaces, now evacuated the Pays de Vaud, although he had 20,000 men while the French army numbered only 15,000, the victors of Italy, but in a state of destitution and covered with rags. The Swiss were made to supply their wants. Mesnard, on taking possession of the Pays de Vaud, mulcted his new allies, whom he had come to protect, in 700,000 francs; but they had the satisfaction of proclaiming themselves the *Lemanic Republic*.

A vigorous blow, rapidly delivered, might still have saved Bern. Such was the advice of Steiger, *Schultheiss*, or chief magistrate of Bern, and of Erlach von Hindelbank, under the old *régime* a general in the French service, who had been appointed to the command of the Bernese army in place of the incompetent Weiss. But the aristocrats of Bern betrayed the same weakness and indecision which had ruined Venice and Genoa. A majority in the Council were for negotiating a peace, as well as awaiting the confederate reinforcements. In the hope of conciliating the French, they began to make some reforms in the Government, which only destroyed its authority and vigour without attaining the proposed end. The same course was adopted by several other cantons. The Bernese Government opened negotiations with the Directory; but Mesnard did not arrest his march, while at the same time Schauenburg was advancing from the north with 17,000 men detached from the army of the Rhine. At this juncture General Brune assumed the command of the French army in Switzerland. Brune was instructed to play the part of a pacificator, and to amuse the Bernese with negotiations till he should

be in a posture to strike a decisive blow. But the demands of the French were so insolent and extravagant, that even the peace party in the Bernese Senate was roused from its lethargy, and a peremptory refusal was given. Their distracted counsels, however, paralyzed all Erlach's operations. Symptoms of insubordination appeared in his army; and although confederate troops, to the number of 5,000 or 6,000, had arrived, they for the most part kept aloof and formed only a line of reserve. Meanwhile the French advanced from both sides with rapid marches. Scarcely had the armistice which had been agreed upon expired, when Soleure and Freyburg were occupied. The Bernese gained some advantages at Neueneck, between Freyburg and Bern, March 5th, but the defeat of Erlach and Steiger, on the same day at Frauenbrunnen, decided the fate of Bern. After this defeat Steiger and Erlach, whose political principles had rendered them suspected, were pursued by the peasantry; Erlach was murdered, but Steiger succeeded in escaping to Vienna. The reduction of Freyburg, Soleure, and Bern, in the short space of five days, was the prelude to the subjugation of all Switzerland.

The work of conquest ended, that of plunder began. In specie, corn, wine, military stores, contributions, &c., Bern was robbed to the value of forty-two million francs, of which near eleven million consisted of money and bullion in the treasury. Of this sum, three million in specie were sent direct from Bern to Toulon, by order of Bonaparte, in aid of the expedition to Egypt.[1] Although war had been declared only against Bern, all Switzerland was treated as a conquered country, and large contributions were exacted from Freyburg, Soleure, Zurich, and other places. But the Swiss were to be compensated for their losses by a constitution on the French model. Brune, by order of the Directory, was at first for dividing Switzerland into three republics, to be entitled Rhodania, Helvetia, and Tellguria. One advantage of this plan was to avoid the labour and danger of reducing the poor and warlike inhabitants of the forest cantons, from whom but little booty could be expected. But the patriots, Ochs and Laharpe, who were intriguing at Paris in the interests of their country, were for a Republic, one and indivisible, on the French model; and their views, being supported by Bonaparte and Talleyrand, at last prevailed. Schauenburg, now commander-in-chief of the French army, and the Commissary Lecarlier, proclaimed the Helvetic Republic at Aarau, April 12th. The details of the new constitution are said to have

[1] Letter to Schauenburg, April 2nd, 1798, in *Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. iv. p. 36.

been drawn up one evening in a Paris drawing-room by Madame de Staël, Talleyrand, and Benjamin Constant. Its general scheme of two Councils and a Directory was modelled on that of France. A treaty was concluded with Geneva,[1] and that town and its territory were united to France (April 26). Schauenburg and Lecarlier behaved in the most tyrannical manner towards the Swiss. Eleven members of the Bernese Government and five patricians of Soleure were carried off as prisoners to the citadel of Strasburg; the churches and monasteries, as well as the public treasuries and arsenals, were everywhere plundered.

The forest cantons of Schwytz, Uri, Zug, Unterwalden, and Glarus, protected by their lakes and mountains, refused at first to be incorporated in the new Republic. A force of about 10,000 men was raised, which, under the conduct of Aloys Reding, fought some bloody battles with the French at Schindelazi, Rothenthurm, and other places, and sometimes gained the advantage; but numerical superiority at length prevailed, and the refractory cantons consented to take the oath to the constitution. The tyranny and robberies of Rapinat, Lecarlier's successor, drove them in the following July to a desperate revolt; though the canton of Unterwalden was the only one that persisted in it. A small body of these hardy mountaineers fought a desperate battle with the French at Stantz, near the Lake of Lucerne, September 8th, and inflicted a heavy loss upon their invaders. But, being overpowered by numbers, the French wreaked their vengeance by a dreadful and indiscriminate slaughter, and by burning and plundering throughout the canton.

Thus was all Switzerland finally reduced to subjection, and added to the list of those new republics which followed in the train of France. The tyrants of the Luxembourg, the representatives of a spurious democracy, had the satisfaction of strangling liberty in its very cradle, and of corrupting at their source the virtues and principles of republicanism. A treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, signed at Paris August 19th, 1798,[2] reduced the Helvetic Republic under the vassalage of France. By this treaty were secured two military roads through Switzerland: one along the Rhine and left shore of the Lake of Constance to Southern Germany; the other through the Valais, ultimately communicating with the Cisalpine Republic by the Simplon Pass.[3]

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 659.

[2] *Ibid.* t. vi. p. 466.

[3] For the preceding, see Mallet du Pan, *Essai hist. sur la destruction de la ligue et de la liberté Helvétique*; Zschokke, *Kampf und Untergang der Schweitz. Berg und Wald Kantone.*

Europe had remained passive while the French Government, under the shadow of the Peace of Campo Formio, effected the overthrow of the Pope and the destruction of Swiss independence. It remained for France to obtain, under that treaty, the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. Treilhard and Bonnier, the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, the same who had negotiated with Lord Malmesbury at Lille, proposed that cession as a *sine quâ non* for the basis of all negotiations, and as an indemnity for the expenses incurred by France through *an unjust attack;* while the deputation of the Empire resorted to every artifice of delay and evasion. Bonaparte cut the matter short by telling Count Cobentzl, that if the absolute cession of the left bank was not agreed upon by March 20th, the war would recommence by a formidable irruption into Germany. Thugut and the Austrian Cabinet now yielded, and the cession was made by the period named. The principal object of the Congress being thus accomplished, Bonaparte, intent upon the expedition to Egypt, obtained permission to withdraw altogether from Rastadt, leaving there his secretary and some of his household.

The tyranny and rapacity of the French Directory were displayed in other transactions besides the oppression and plunder of Switzerland and Rome. Their conduct towards the King of Sardinia affords another remarkable instance of their violence and bad faith. They had assured Charles Emanuel on his accession that they should never forget what he had done for France when Prince of Piedmont; yet his devotion was rewarded by a continual series of humiliations and chagrins. The existence of his kingdom between France and the Cisalpine Republic was irksome and inconvenient to the Directors, who employed every method to ruin the unfortunate Sovereign by exacting contributions, which his kingdom was not in a condition to furnish, by fomenting insurrection among his subjects, and by setting on the Ligurian and Cisalpine Republics to attack and insult him. The Piedmontese rebels, secretly encouraged by France, and openly assisted by the Ligurians, attacked and defeated the King's troops under General Colli, at Carrosio, seized Serravalle, and created such consternation, that Charles Emanuel was compelled to seek the aid of France. General Brune, who then commanded the French army in Italy, pretended that he could not accord it, unless he was put in possession of the citadel of Turin, which the Pentarchs had long coveted in order to carry out their designs upon Piedmont. Charles Emanuel was weak enough to grant

this demand by a convention signed at Milan, June 28th, 1798. Order was now restored, but the eventual price of it to the King was the loss of his dominions.[1]

As the treatment of Sardinia is an instance of the tyranny of the Directory, so their conduct towards the United States of America betrays their avarice and venality. The war declared against English commerce by the French Government caused a rupture between France and the United States of North America. A vast and lucrative trade had grown up between Great Britain and her revolted colonies, and in November, 1794, had been concluded between them a secret treaty of commerce and navigation, which had proved injurious to French trade. This and other causes had produced a serious misunderstanding, and in the autumn of 1797 envoys had been sent from America to Paris to arrange an accommodation. The first demand of the Directory, through Talleyrand, the Foreign Minister, was for a loan of forty-eight million francs; but the envoys were given to understand that this demand might be abandoned in consideration of a *douceur* of 1,200,000 francs, or about 50,000*l.* sterling, to be divided between Talleyrand and the Director Barras.[2] While the American envoys were still in Paris the Legislative Council passed a law, January 18th, 1798, that the cargo determines whether a vessel be neuter or belligerent; in other words, they proclaimed the abandonment of the principle for which France had previously clamoured, that the flag covers the goods; and, in consequence, every vessel laden wholly or partly with English merchandise was declared lawful prize. Further, they declared that any foreign vessel which had put into an English port, except for unavoidable causes, could not enter a French one.[3] The Americans naturally regarded this law as a declaration of war, but hostilities did not actually ensue. In like manner the Directory had required a loan of twelve millions, and the cession of Cuxhaven from the towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen; but France was not yet in a position to enforce these unjust and insolent demands. The Directory concluded a compulsory treaty,[4] March 20th, with the Cisalpine Republic, whose "liberty and independence" they recognized and guaranteed. Yet the third article of the treaty, by placing the military force of the new Republic entirely at the disposal of the Directory, virtually subjected it to France. The

[1] Botta, lib. xv.
[2] See the relation of the American envoys, ap. *Homme d'état*, t. vi. p. 13 sqq.
[3] Garden, t. vi. p. 123.
[4] Martens, t. vi. p. 450 sqq.

ratification of the treaty having been rejected at Milan by the Council of Ancients, Berthier was directed to arrest twenty-one members of that Assembly, and the remainder then submitted and ratified. Such was the liberty allowed by French Republicanism! We have already seen that Portugal had been compelled to purchase a peace from the Directory, and that the Court of Lisbon had forwarded a tardy ratification of it, December 1st, 1797. But the indiscretion of the Portuguese Ambassador, Aranjo, upset all that had been done. The venality of some members of the French Government being notorious, a large amount in diamonds was forwarded to Aranjo, to procure pardon for the delay of the ratification. But he distributed them so imprudently among the retainers of Barras and Talleyrand, that the Directory, in spite of his ambassadorial character, caused him to be arrested and confined in the Temple.

The relations between France and Portugal were closely connected with those between France and Spain. The Prince of the Peace showed himself, at this time, the friend and protector of Portugal. He had caused the Spanish troops to be withdrawn from the Portuguese frontier; and in return for this proceeding, as well as in consideration of his marriage with a relative of the Queen of Portugal, the Court of Lisbon conferred upon him the principality of Evora. As these things were, of course, distasteful to the French Directory, who, moreover, were dissatisfied with the lukewarmness exhibited by Spain in prosecuting the war with England, they determined to overthrow Godoy, and to effect a revolution in the Spanish Cabinet. With this view Admiral Truguet was despatched early in 1798, as ambassador to Madrid. Aware of his mission, the Prince of the Peace affected to act with more vigour; ordered the Spanish fleet to issue from Cadiz, February 6th, where twenty-four sail of the line were blockaded by only eight English vessels: but the news that Lord St. Vincent, with the remainder of the English fleet, was preparing to sail from the Tagus, induced the Spanish admiral to return. Truguet, finding that he could not stimulate the Spaniards to action, and that they had no serious intention of attacking Portugal, resolved to effect the disgrace of Godoy. He delivered to Charles IV., on the part of his Government, a private letter, in which was revealed the nature of the connection between his Queen and the Prince of the Peace. The information was not, perhaps, altogether new to the Spanish King; he appears not to have manifested any very serious disgust or astonishment; but as the extraordinary proceeding

of the French Ambassador had transpired, he could not avoid taking some steps to vindicate his honour. A few days after Godoy was removed from his post as private secretary to the Queen, in which he was succeeded by the Minister of Finance, Don Francisco Saavedra. At the same time De Mallo, a young *garde-du-corps*, of athletic figure, appointed major-domo of the palace, replaced Godoy in the more private service of the Queen. The disgrace of Godoy was, however, only apparent and political; he continued to reside at Aranjuez, and Charles IV. retained for him all his former friendship.

Saavedra belonged to the French party in the Spanish counsels. His accession to power was signalized by the dismissal from Spain of all emigrant French Royalists, and the prohibition of English merchandise. The Directory continued to press the armed intervention of Spain, in order to compel Portugal to separate herself from England, and become a member of the French political system. But Godoy, though defeated, was not vanquished, and he managed by his intrigues to procure the recall of Truguet. Godoy seems to have been one of the first men in Europe who discovered that Egypt was the destination of the French armaments. It was through Madrid and Lisbon that the English Cabinet first received positive assurance of that fact. They had continued to think that the vast preparations at Brest, Toulon, Genoa, Cività Vecchia, and Cadiz were directed against Great Britain; and when their true destination was known, it was too late to blockade Toulon.

Leibnitz had suggested the occupation of Egypt by the French in the reign of Louis XIV., but the project of that philosopher appears to have slumbered on the shelves of the library at Hanover. The scheme was revived in 1781. The Turkish Monarchy, it was thought, would fall to pieces under the attacks of Catharine II.; and it was in contemplation, instead of defending it, to secure a share of its spoils. The execution of this plan was urgently pressed by Count St. Priest, French Ambassador at Constantinople, whose *Mémoire sur la Turquie* is reckoned a model of its kind;[1] but circumstances caused it to be adjourned. Thus Republican France was not the first to contemplate this unjust aggression. It was, however, Magallon, French Consul at Cairo, who suggested to the Directory in 1796, the expedition actually executed. In the following year the subject engaged the attention of Bonaparte, then in Italy. The possession of the Ionian Islands by the conquest of Venice, seemed to facilitate French intervention in the affairs of the Turkish Empire, and the augmentation of French power and

[1] Pelet de la Lozère, *Opinions de Napoléon.*

commerce in the East; above all, the possession of Egypt would be, it was thought, a sure step towards the ruin of England.[1] The scheme in itself suited the genius of Bonaparte. To carry his arms into the ancient and almost fabulous country of Egypt, was an exploit calculated to dazzle the imagination of the French, and to increase the prestige of his military glory. The Directory, on their side, hesitated not to embrace a project which would deliver them for some time from a general whose presence was importunate. The capture of Malta seemed to Bonaparte a necessary preliminary. The Knights of Malta were poor and almost defenceless; he had already, with a view to this stroke, confiscated all their possessions in Italy. His armies were composed of men to whom all religions were indifferent. Mahometans, Copts, Arabs, idolaters, all would be treated alike.[2] The Knights of Malta, or St. John of Jerusalem, who were to be thus sacrificed, had done nothing to provoke the hostility of France. They had observed a strict neutrality in the war, though they had opportunities to annoy French commerce, and enrich themselves by privateering. To facilitate the capture of Malta, Poussielgue, Secretary to the Genoese Legation, was despatched thither to form a French party, disseminate Republican opinions, and undermine the Order; while, in the spring, Admiral Brueys touched at the island with his squadron, sounded all the coasts, and sent one of his vessels into the harbour, under pretence of repairs, in order to reconnoitre.

In May, 1798, the expedition was ready to sail from Toulon to invade the dominions of a friendly Power which had not given France the slightest provocation, and for which the Directory, through its ambassador, had solemnly professed, only a few months before, the sincerest friendship.[3] Four thousand transports had been collected to convey an army of near 40,000 men, under convoy of Admiral Brueys' fleet. To temper the lustre of the French arms with the milder glories of science, literature, and art, a band of 100 *savans* and artists was to accompany the expedition. But an untoward accident threatened to interrupt it just on the eve of its sailing. Bernadotte had been despatched as ambassador to Vienna to tranquillize the Imperial Court as to the proceedings of the French Government against Rome and Switzerland. The Directory having found fault with him for not openly displaying in the Austrian capital the national cockade and other emblems of Republicanism, Bernadotte was imprudent enough to fix a three-

[1] Bonaparte's Letter to the Directory, Milan, August 16th, 1797 (*Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iii. p. 235).

[2] Letter to Talleyrand, Passariano, September 13th, 1797; *ibid.* p. 293.

[3] Auber Dubayet's note to the Reis-effendi, August 28th, 1797, ap. *Homme d'état*, t. vi. p. 258.

coloured flag, with the inscription "liberty and equality," over the gateway of his hotel at the very time when the people were celebrating the anniversary of their levy *en masse* in the preceding year to oppose the advance of Bonaparte. The Viennese, indignant at this insult to their Government, vented their anger by breaking the Ambassador's windows, and tearing down and destroying the flag. Bernadotte, not having succeeded in extorting from the Imperial Court the humiliating satisfaction which he required, namely, a disavowal of these proceedings by the Austrian Government, the punishment of the ringleaders, and the replacing of the obnoxious flag by the hands of an Austrian officer, he quitted Vienna with all the members of the Legation, April 15th. This step filled the Directory with dismay and confusion. The national honour was at stake; they could not disavow Bernadotte; yet a war with Austria would delay, if not frustrate, the Egyptian expedition, whose departure had been fixed for April 23rd. In this dilemma they intrusted the management of affairs to Bonaparte. He was for maintaining the peace with Austria; to go to war with that Power, he observed, was to play the game of England; and he despatched a letter to Cobentzl from which it might easily be inferred that a moderate apology would be accepted. But at the same time he countermanded the sailing of the expedition till the affair should be arranged; nay, he even expressed an opinion that, in the unsettled state of Europe, it should be postponed to a more favourable season. These views, and the haughty and dictatorial tone assumed by Bonaparte, filled the Directors with alarm. Already they seemed to hear the voice of a master. In a stormy interview, May 3rd, the five Directors gave him positive orders to depart immediately. Resorting to a familiar *ruse*, Bonaparte threatened to resign, when Rewbel coolly handed him a pen, observing: "The Republic no doubt will lose a brave and skilful chief, but she has other children who will not abandon her." Bonaparte took the pen, but Merlin snatched it from him and put an end to the scene. As the General quitted the Luxembourg he observed to one of his confidants: "Let us go—*the pear is not yet ripe*—we will return at the proper season."[1]

Such were the feelings with which Bonaparte sailed for Egypt, May 19th,[2] a glorious foreign conquest his immediate object, in

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. v. p. 513 sq.

[2] For the Egyptian expedition, of which we can give but the bare outline, see Berthier, *Relation des campagnes du génl. Bonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie;* Savary, *Mémoires*, t. i. ch. 2-5; *Hist. scient. et milit. de l'expédition Fr. en Egypte*, 10 tom. 8vo. For the taking of

the background visions of domination at home as the result of it. Among the Generals who accompanied him were Berthier, Kléber, Murat, Junot, Desaix, Davoust, Lannes, Menou, and others. The French fleet arrived at Malta, June 9th. Seduction had done its work. Only a feeble defence was made by the Knights, and on the night of the 11th a capitulation was signed.[1] It was the work not of the Grand Master, Baron Hompesch, a German, but of five *soi-disant* representatives of the Order. Small annuities were granted to the Knights and an apparently liberal compensation to the Grand Master, of the greater part of which, however, he was subsequently defrauded. The treasure of St. John was seized, the plate of the hospital and churches of the Order was converted into ingots; all the ships, guns, and military stores were appropriated by the invaders; all the soldiers and sailors in the island were pressed into the French service. The Knights were ordered to leave Malta in three days, the Russian Minister in three hours. Thus was overthrown this singular Government, which had subsisted without alteration since 1530. It had long ceased to be of any utility. The military exercises of the Knights were a mere form. Their sole ambition was to obtain a commandery whose revenues they for the most part consumed in dissipation and debauchery. But this affords no justification for the unlawful attack upon them and capture of their island.

Bonaparte sailed from Malta June 19th. By taking a circuitous route he escaped the English fleet which was in search of him, and landed safely at Marabou, in Egypt, July 1st. The Mamelukes, who then ruled in Egypt, were unprepared for defence. Alexandria was immediately taken and occupied, and the march was then resumed for Cairo. Proclamations in Arabic were circulated among the people, purporting that the object of Bonaparte's expedition was to deliver the Egyptians from the tyranny of their masters; that he respected God, his prophet, and the Koran a great deal more than did the Mamelukes; and he appealed, in proof that he was no Christian, to the overthrow of the Pope and of the Knights of Malta.[2] At Chébreiss the Mamelukes delivered their first attacks, but could make no impression on the French squares. Ascending the Nile to the apex of the Delta, Bonaparte learned that the Mamelukes, under their Beys, with Arabs and *fellahs*, amounting in all to 30,000 men, were entrenched between Em-

Malta, Boisgelin, *Hist. of Malta*, vol. ii. b. iii.

[1] Martens, t. vi. p. 322.

[2] See the *Proclamation*, in *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iv. p. 191.

babeh and Ghizeh in the plain of the Pyramids, opposite Cairo. Bonaparte animating his soldiers before the attack by pointing to the Pyramids, reminded them that forty centuries looked down upon them, and in spite of the desperate valour displayed by the Mamelukes, led by Murad Bey, the French gained a complete victory (July 21st). This battle, called the BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS, overthrew the government of the Mamelukes and opened Cairo to the French, who entered it on the following day. One of the first acts of Bonaparte on taking possession of Cairo was to invite the Pasha of Egypt to return, assuring him that he should enjoy the consideration due to his rank.[1] He had been forced to accompany the flight of the Mameluke Bey Ibrahim, who commanded a force on the eastern side of the Nile, and who, after the defeat of Murad, retreated to Belbeis. Bonaparte pursued him, and defeated his rear guard at Salahieh, August 17th. The Bey then fled to Syria and Bonaparte returned to Cairo. Murad Bey had fled into Upper Egypt.

It would be superfluous to recapitulate to the English reader events which must be so present to his mind as Nelson's pursuit of the French fleet, the narrow chance by which he missed it, his exulting joy on discovering it moored in the Bay of Aboukir, the glorious and decisive BATTLE OF ABOUKIR, or the NILE, August 1st and 2nd, and the almost total destruction or capture of Admiral Brueys' fleet. The details of this action will be found in all the histories of England, and instead of recounting them, we shall here rather apply ourselves to develope the effects of this great and splendid victory. Few naval engagements have been attended with consequences so important. It destroyed a third part of the naval force of France and a great number of her best sailors, gave Great Britain an irresistible superiority in the Mediterranean, annihilated French commerce in the Levant, dissipated all hope of conquest in Egypt, and reduced the French expedition to that country to a mere military descent, without the hope of reinforcement or retreat, in which the invading army must perish by its own triumphs. Its effects upon the opinions and policy of Europe were still more important and remarkable. Except in France, the news of the battle of Aboukir was hailed throughout the Continent with a universal joy. The nations which had been humiliated and oppressed beheld a chance of their deliverance, and hastened to form a new coalition against France, in which the Ottoman Porte, her ancient ally, was to be strangely combined against her with

[1] Letter to the Pasha, July 22nd, *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iv. p. 241.

Russia, the natural enemy of the Turks. But before we relate the formation of this league we must revert to some transactions which preceded it.

While nearly all the Continent cowered under French insolence and domination, England alone carried on the war with spirit and perseverance. Her firmness and constancy, the noble attitude which she assumed in the midst of unparalleled dangers, made her the hope of Europe. Hence she became the chief object of the hatred and suspicion of the Directory. All the mischances of France were attributed to English intrigues and machinations, and England was regarded in that country, like Carthage by ancient Rome, as the invidious and implacable rival of her power and glory. The Directory, although compelled to abandon the scheme of a descent upon England itself, still entertained the hope of being able to strike a blow at her rival by means of Ireland, now, through the agitations of the United Irishmen, Whiteboys, Defenders, and other revolutionary associations, in a state of open insurrection. Armaments were prepared at Rochefort, Brest, and Dunkirk, which were intended to sail for Ireland in the spring of 1798, but notwithstanding the instances of the Irish rebels, the attempt was deferred till its success was compromised through the putting down of the insurrection, and the capture of some of its principal leaders. General Humbert, with the smallest armament, only sailed from Rochefort, August 2nd. He succeeded in landing about 1,100 men at Killala, and at first met with some success; but at Ballynamuch he was defeated by the Viceroy of Ireland, Lord Cornwallis, in person, and compelled to surrender with his whole force (September 8th). At the news of Humbert's first successes, a larger squadron, under Admiral Bompart, consisting of the "Hoche," a line-of-battle ship, and eight frigates, having on board about 3,000 men, commanded by General Hardy, put to sea, September 25th. This division, however, did not even effect a landing. The "Hoche" and three of the frigates were captured by Sir John Borlase Warren, October 11th; three of the remaining frigates, which had got into the Bay of Killala, were subsequently taken, and only two succeeded in escaping to France. Wolf Tone, one of the chiefs of the Irish insurrection, was captured on board the "Hoche," tried, and condemned to be hanged; but escaped that ignominious fate by committing suicide with a penknife.[1]

Some attempts of the English on the coasts of France were not

[1] Adolphus, *Reign of George III.* vol. vii. p. 75 sqq.

more successful than these French expeditions. Havre was bombarded without effect by Sir Richard Strahan, May 24th; while an expedition to Ostend under Sir Home Popham, although it attained its object of destroying the sluices of the Bruges Canal, and thus interrupting the internal navigation between France and Holland, purchased this success by the loss of all the troops engaged in the undertaking. These consisted of about 1,000 men under General Coote, who, being prevented by the heavy surf from re-embarking, were surrounded by superior forces and compelled to surrender.[1] These reverses, however, were far more than compensated by the success of the English fleets in the Mediterranean; where, besides the capture of Gozza, a small island dependent upon Malta, Minorca was taken by Admiral Duckworth and a military force under the Hon. Charles Stuart.[2]

But, as France was unable to cope with her rival at sea, so England was powerless against France on land. Hence her views were constantly turned to the maintenance of a coalition, which she was willing to support with her treasures. After the defection of Prussia she had turned her eyes towards Russia, and the relations with that country had been drawn closer by a treaty of commerce, negotiated by Sir Charles Whitworth in May, 1797. Paul I., as we have seen, had, on his accession to the Muscovite throne, countermanded the preparations of his mother, Catharine, for taking an active part against the French. He was nevertheless a determined enemy of the Revolution and of the government of the Directory, and events led him by degrees to become one of their principal opponents. After the defeat of the attempts upon the French frontier, Paul had taken into his pay the Prince of Condé and his army, and had assigned to Louis XVIII. a residence at Mitau, in Courland, with a pension of two million roubles. He had displayed his good will to England and his hatred of the Directory by ordering the equipment of twenty-two ships of the line and a great number of galleys, in consequence of a decree of the Directory, January 12th, 1798, prohibiting any vessel laden with English merchandise from being allowed to pass the Sound. The proceedings of the French during that year, and the conduct of their plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Rastadt, led him to take a more active part against them.

The Congress of Rastadt presents a revolting spectacle of Gallic rapacity and insolence, of German disunion, selfishness, and weakness. The French plenipotentiaries, Treilhard and Bonnier, the

[1] Adolphus, *Reign of George III.* vol. vii. p. 86. [2] *Ibid.* p. 116.

same who had negotiated with Lord Malmesbury at Lille, as if bent on exciting a fresh war, proceeded from one insufferable demand to another, and adopted towards the slow and formal but courteous diplomatists of Germany all the haughtiness of republican pride combined with the *brusquerie* and rudeness of *sans-culottism*. Never before had so much *morgue* been united with such vulgar and brutal manners. Treilhard having been nominated to a seat in the Directory, was succeeded by Debry; who, when a member of the Convention, had proposed the forming of a legion of regicides. Ultimately, indeed, but not till July, the Directory despatched Roberjot, ex-curé of Mâcon, a man of enlightened and benevolent character, to temper the violence and heal the dissensions of his colleagues. On the German side jealousy, suspicion, and treachery prevailed, while the French Ministers took care to foment these passions in order to weaken Germany, and render it an easier prey. Of the smaller German Princes many were ready to desert the national cause, and seek, for their own selfish ends, the protection of France.

We have already mentioned that the deputation of the Empire had admitted the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France as one of the bases of negotiation: on April 2nd they also admitted the principle of secularization as the method of compensating the Princes that were to be dispossessed. It remained to discuss and arrange all the particulars included in these general bases. The French Plenipotentiaries threw off the mask in their note of May 3rd, by demanding, in addition to the left bank of the Rhine, that the navigation of that river should be common to both nations; that the French should have liberty to cross from one towing-path to another; that all the islands of the Rhine, which would constitute a tolerable principality, should be made over to France; that the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein should be demolished, with other extravagant demands of the same kind.[1]

Matters were in this state when Paul I. sent Prince Repnin to Berlin, without, however, any formal diplomatic character, to reconcile the Courts of Berlin and Vienna, and to induce them to make common cause against France. Austria had agreed to renounce her pretensions to Bavaria, provided Prussia gave up all claim to compensation in Germany for her possessions on the left bank of the Rhine; and Prince Repnin succeeded in arranging this matter on the basis of mutual renunciation. But his attempts to bring the King of Prussia into a league against France were

[1] Garden, t. vi. p. 52.

wholly unsuccessful. The Russian Envoy was here opposed by Sieyès, whom the Directory, dreading a rupture with Austria after the affair of Bernadotte, had despatched to Berlin to negotiate an alliance with that Court. To keep alive the jealousy between Prussia and Austria, Sieyès communicated to the Cabinet of Berlin the secret articles of the Treaty of Campo Formio, which had long been the object of their curiosity and suspicion. But Frederick William III., guided by the counsels of Haugwitz, declined alike the advances of France and Russia, and resolved on preserving a strict neutrality.

The Austrian Cabinet, on the other hand, determined to accept the support of Russia. Thugut, who had been dismissed from the Ministry as adverse to France, was now recalled, and Cobentzl was despatched to Berlin to support the negotiations of Prince Repnin; after which he was to proceed to St. Petersburg. Prince Repnin arranged at Berlin with Count Cobentzl the preliminaries of an alliance between Russia and Austria; and having proceeded to Vienna, he concluded a formal treaty between the two Courts early in September. This treaty has never been divulged, but the nature of it may be inferred from subsequent events. Before the close of 1798, 60,000 Russian troops under the command of Suvaroff were placed at the disposal of Francis II. and marched in three columns into the Austrian provinces.[1]

If the Czar was disposed to take part against the French before the capture of Malta by Bonaparte, the inclination was increased tenfold by that event. Paul I., who was of a romantic temper, in fact a little deranged, had entertained from his boyhood a singular predilection for the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. He had evinced his affection for the Order by restoring to it the revenues of the Grand Priory of Ostrog, in Volhynia,[2] which had passed under the Russian dominion in 1793; he even augmented those revenues, and founded several new Priories and Commanderies. The Grand Master and Council of Malta, in token of their gratitude, sent Paul the cross which had been worn by the celebrated La Valette, and besought him to accept the title of Protector of the Order. When the news of the surrender of Malta arrived in St. Petersburg, the Knights of the Grand Priory of Russia solemnly deposed Hompesch, the Grand Master, and degraded from their rank and dignity, as unworthy,

[1] Garden, *Traités*, t. vi. p. 147.

[2] By a convention concluded January 15th, 1797. Martens, t. vi. p. 308. On Paul's connection with the Knights of Malta, see *Paul I. als Grossmeister des Malteser Ordens.*

infected, and corrupted members, all the Knights who had accepted that infamous capitulation. On the 27th of October the Russian Knights, as well in their own name as that of those of the other tongues, proclaimed Paul I. their Grand Master, a ridiculous farce, for which they had neither right nor authority. The Czar, however, accepted the dignity, and displayed the interest which he took in the Order by framing new regulations for its discipline and government. He resolved to make it the first military institution in Europe, and a common centre for all the nobility of every nation who were interested in the support of Royalty, and in setting bounds to the flood of Jacobinism and infidelity. At the same time merit and learning were not forgotten. Men of whatever Christian sect, who had distinguished themselves by their courage, their talents, or their learning, though not of noble birth, were declared admissible into the Order, and were to enjoy equal privileges with those of higher rank. From this class were to be selected the tutors of a college, to be founded in the chief residence of the Order. By accepting this Grand Mastership, Paul, the head of the schismatical Greek Church, acknowledged the Roman Pontiff as his superior.

At the news of the capture of Malta, the Russian fleet at Sebastopol was immediately ordered to prepare to join Nelson; while Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt gave rise to an alliance between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. Sultan Selim III. was naturally exasperated at this unprovoked and treacherous act on the part of the most ancient ally of Turkey. In order to deprecate an anger which he had foreseen, Bonaparte had no sooner taken possession of Alexandria than he instructed the French *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople to convince the Porte of the firm resolution of the French to live on friendly terms with it.[1] Bonaparte was at this time in hopes that Talleyrand would have accepted the embassy to the Porte, on whose diplomatic skill he relied to convince the Sultan and his Divan that the French invasion of Egypt was, in reality, a friendly act; in short, that black was white. But the ex-Bishop of Autun was too sagacious to risk on so desperate a cast the chance of being shut up in the Seven Towers, and the embassy was conferred on Ruffin. The conquest of Egypt, however, was only part of Bonaparte's machinations against Turkey. He contemplated nothing less than exciting a revolt in Macedonia, and all the Greek portion of the Turkish Empire; and with that view he

[1] *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iv. p. 223.

had despatched Lavalette, immediately after the conquest of Malta, to Ali Pasha, of Jannina;[1] but Ali turned a deaf ear to the proposal. Ruffin endeavoured to persuade the Porte that Bonaparte's intention was only to chastise the Mameluke Beys in Egypt; but he was placed in confinement, together with all the members of the Legation. The Grand Vizier and the Mufti, suspected of being the accomplices of the French, were deposed from their high dignities, and the Vizier was banished to the Isle of Scio. An alliance was formed with the Court of St. Petersburg, the Russian fleet was admitted through the Dardanelles, was received with every mark of honour, and visited by the Sultan in person. Outside the Straits it was joined by the Turkish fleet, and for the first, and perhaps the last time, the Russian flag waved in cordial union with the Crescent. On the 20th September the combined fleets sailed for the Archipelago, agreeably to instructions from Nelson, under whose command they were placed. They were destined to reduce the Ionian Islands, while the English took upon themselves the blockade of Malta. Sultan Selim testified his gratitude to Nelson by presenting him with a magnificent pelisse, and a diamond *aigrette* worth several thousand pounds, taken from his own turban. Paul also made some valuable presents to the English admiral.

The alliance between the Czar and the Sublime Porte was definitively concluded by the Treaty of Constantinople, December 23rd, 1798.[2] The two Powers were henceforth to have the same friends and the same enemies, and they mutually guaranteed each other's possessions, including Egypt. Great Britain acceded to this treaty January 5th, 1799.[3] The Porte also declared war against Holland, and on dismissing the Dutch Ambassador from Constantinople, intimated that the good understanding between the Republic and the Sublime Porte should be restored so soon as the former separated itself from France: "a separation," it added, "which will be conformable to its interests, and which will restore it to its ancient dignity." The coalition was consolidated by the Treaty of St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia, December 29th, 1798.[4] This last alliance was founded on the hope of drawing Prussia into the coalition, and provided in that case for the furnishing of an army of 45,000 men by the Czar, and the payment of them by Great Britain. Lord Grenville

[1] See his letters to Lavalette and the Pasha, Malta, June 17th, 1798. *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iv. p. 166 sq.
[2] Martens, t. vi. p. 532.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 568.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 557.

undertook an embassy to Berlin, with the view of persuading Frederick William III. to abandon his system of neutrality, but without success. As the Prussian King would not accept the forces offered by the Czar, it was subsequently agreed between Russia and Great Britain that they should be employed in some other manner.

The second Coalition against France included, at first, Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies; and, as it was in the Neapolitan dominions that the Continental war was resumed, we must take up their history at a rather earlier period.

The tyrannical behaviour of the Directory and its generals towards the King of Sardinia, the manifest ambition of the new Cisalpine Republic, the ruin which had overtaken the Roman Pontiff and the States of the Church,—all concurred to convince Ferdinand IV., the only Italian Sovereign, except the Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose dominions still remained intact, of the fate which awaited himself. In order to avoid it, he endeavoured at once to fortify himself with powerful alliances, and to conciliate, so far as might be possible, the good will of the French Republic. With the latter view he dismissed his Minister Acton, who was regarded by the French as devoted to England, and appointed in his place the Marquis S. Gallo, the negotiator of the Peace of Campo Formio. But, at the same time, he kept up a formidable army on the frontiers of the new Roman Republic, and he occupied the Duchy of Benevento, which, though enclosed in his dominions, had formerly made part of the States of the Church. The new government at Rome, on the other hand, had confiscated Ferdinand's possessions in that capital, derived from the succession of the Farnese family, and had even played the farce of citing him to do homage for his crown to the Roman people, as successors of the Pope, his former suzerain.

The mission of M. Garat to the Court of Naples, on the part of the French Government, seemed for a time to have removed all asperities. Ferdinand was put in possession of the Duchy of Bevevento and the principality of Ponte Corvo, in consideration of his paying a sum of money and renouncing his possessions at Rome; and on April 17th, 1798, he received the oath of fidelity from his new subjects. But, knowing how little the friendship of France was to be relied on, he sought the support of an Austrian alliance. A treaty was concluded at Vienna, May 19th, 1798, between the Duke of Campochiaro and Baron Thugut, by which, in the prospect of the fresh troubles which threatened

Europe, and Italy in particular, it was agreed that the Austrian and Neapolitan Sovereigns should keep, for their mutual defence, a certain number of men on foot, ready to march at the shortest notice. The Emperor, on his side, engaged to keep 60,000 men in Italy and Tyrol, and Ferdinand 30,000 on his frontiers nearest to the Austrian possessions; to be increased on both sides in case of need.[1]

This treaty, which was a secret one, having been betrayed to the Directory, their Minister Garat began, in July, to put forth new pretensions. He demanded the release of all persons imprisoned for political opinions, the assignment of the port of Messina to France, and the exclusion of the English from all the other ports of the Two Sicilies. The last two conditions Ferdinand refused as incompatible with his dignity; but he opened the prisons, and inundated Naples with Jacobins, who applied themselves to create fresh troubles and confusion. Ferdinand, more convinced than ever of the hostile projects of the Directory, now made the most vigorous preparations for war. All men, from the age of seventeen to forty-five years, were called into active service, and the command-in-chief of the Neopolitan forces was conferred on the Austrian general Mack, the pupil of Lacy and Loudon, who enjoyed at that time the highest reputation for military talent.

Such was the posture of affairs when the news of Nelson's victory at Aboukir created an indescribable sensation at the Court of Naples. The fascinating but too notorious Lady Hamilton, the wife of the English Ambassador, made Nelson her hero, and inspired the King and Queen, whose favourite she was, with the same enthusiasm as animated herself. Acton recovered his former influence, and lending his support to the views of the English Cabinet, formed, with the Queen, the project of open war against the French Republic. Alarmed at these symptoms, the French *chargé d'affaires* demanded that Acton should be expelled the kingdom; that the commandant of Syracuse, who had allowed the English fleet to revictual in that port, should be sent in chains to France; that the King should reduce his troops to 10,000 men; and that he should admit French garrisons into all his ports. But Ferdinand, instead of listening to these complaints, only pushed on more actively his preparations for war. The appearance of Nelson with part of his fleet in the Bay of Naples, September 22nd, increased the confidence of the King

[1] Garden, t. vi. p. 79.

and the enthusiasm of the Court and people. At the instance of Sir William Hamilton and Nelson, who represented an immediate declaration of war as the only means of putting an end to the delays and tergiversations of Austria, it was resolved at a Council held October 12th to commence hostilities so soon as the army could be prepared to take the field. The return of Nelson, November 5th, who had left Naples for a while to superintend the blockade of Malta, confirmed Ferdinand in his warlike resolutions. He had now strengthened himself by alliances with Russia and Great Britain. The first of these was definitively concluded by the Treaty of St. Petersburg, November 29th, 1798,[1] by which the Czar, besides the succour of his fleet united with that of the Porte, promised to furnish nine battalions of infantry, with the necessary artillery, and 200 Cossacks. The treaty with Great Britain, signed at Naples December 1st,[2] renewed a former convention of July 12th, 1793. England was to keep in the Mediterranean, till the peace, a fleet decidedly superior to that of the enemy; to which the King of the Two Sicilies was to add, as his contingent, four ships of the line, four frigates, and four smaller vessels, with 3,000 sailors. But Ferdinand had already commenced hostilities before these treaties were signed. He was the more ready to listen to the representations of Nelson and the English Cabinet, as he was assured by many emigrants that the population of the Roman States was disposed to rise against the French. It was also asserted that the Emperor was preparing to invade Lombardy. The French army amounted to only 16,000 men, badly provided, and scattered over a line of near 200 miles. The Neapolitan army of 40,000 men entered the Roman territories November 24th, in three directions. The right wing, commanded by General Micheroux, penetrated through the Abruzzi; Count Roger de Damas, with the left, advanced by way of Terracina; while Mack, with the centre, marched straight upon Rome by Frosinone. Championnet, the French commander, after providing for the defence of the Castle of St. Angelo, and causing the rest of Rome to be evacuated, retreated with the few French and Polish troops he could collect towards the north, and took post at Rieti, Terni, and Cività Castellana. Meanwhile Mack advanced to Rome, followed by King Ferdinand, who entered that capital November 29th, amid the acclamations of the people. A counter-revolution now took place. All the monuments of French domination were destroyed

[1] Martens, t. vi. p. 524. [2] *Ibid.* p. 528.

and its partisans rigorously punished. At the same time, by order of Nelson, some English and Portuguese men-of-war, having on board 6,000 Neapolitan troops, proceeded to Leghorn, and were admitted by the officers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Their mission was to incite an insurrection in Tuscany, and to intercept the communications of the French army with the North of Italy. These events, and the prospect of a new Coalition, induced the French to expel the King of Sardinia from his dominions—a catastrophe which they had long prepared. Joubert, under the mask of friendship for the Piedmontese, seized by a stratagem the citadels of Novara and Alessandria, and the post of Arona, marched upon Turin, and compelled Charles Emanuel IV. to sign an act of abdication, December 9th, 1798. The unfortunate King retired to Sardinia; and the Directory established a provisional government in Piedmont, which was treated as a French province.

Ferdinand's rapid success was followed by as sudden a reverse. Mack's advance had hitherto been skilfully conducted; but he lost several days at Rome, a fault which seems attributable to the King, who wished to enjoy his triumphs. Mack, however, committed several blunders in his further advance, and at Nepi he was defeated with terrible loss by a French corps of only 5,000 men, commanded by Macdonald (December 5th). Other defeats followed, in which large bodies of Neapolitans were captured or dispersed by mere handfuls of French. Meanwhile not a single Austrian soldier had appeared, and on December 11th Mack commenced a retreat. Ferdinand fled to Caserta, and the French again entered Rome, December 15th. They were now in turn to become the invaders. Their columns advanced with rapid march upon Naples, and Ferdinand, his Queen, and all the royal family embarked, with a large sum of money and their most valuable effects, December 24th, on board Nelson's ship, the "Vanguard," who conveyed them to Palermo, taking with him what Neapolitan ships were ready for sea, and burning the remainder. The French nowhere experienced resistance from the regular Neapolitan forces except at Capua, where Championnet, with only 8,000 or 9,000 men, had placed himself in a very critical situation. But his good fortune, and the stupidity and cowardice of his opponents, came to his aid; and on January 10th, 1799, that city capitulated. The peasants of the country and the *Lazzaroni* of Naples were much more troublesome to the French than the regular troops. Enraged at what they considered the treachery

of Mack and of Prince Pignatelli, whom Ferdinand at his departure had appointed vicar-general of the kingdom, the *Lazzaroni* when they heard of the armistice of Capua, rose *en masse*, seized the castles of Naples, liberated all the prisoners, compelled Mack and Pignatelli to fly for their lives, and pronounced sentence of death against all persons suspected of Jacobinism. During two or three days they maintained against the French a desperate and bloody resistance in the suburbs and town of Naples. But this fickle crowd, gained by the promises and bribes of Championnet, and the veneration which he displayed for their saint Januarius, began to shout as lustily for a Republic as they had before shouted for the King; the castles were delivered up to the French army, and tranquillity was restored. The blood of St. Januarius, which had refused to liquefy at the departure of the King, performed that miracle in favour of Championnet; but not before Prince Moliterno, one of the leaders of the French party at Naples, had threatened to assassinate the Archbishop if it was not accomplished. The French conquest being thus sanctioned by the approbation of the patron saint, Naples was the same day declared free and independent, and a provisional Republican Government was established. Such was the foundation of the PARTHENOPEAN REPUBLIC;[1] a euphemism for the military despotism of the French general.

The Neapolitan war was but the prelude to a much more extensive one which involved the greater part of Europe. The overbearing insolence, the insatiable rapacity, of the French Pentarchs were insufferable. These men, who pretended to spread liberty abroad, had established the most absolute despotism at home. The elections of May, 1798, having been unfavourable to them—though it was not now the Royalists, but the Republicans who prevailed—they annulled the greater part of the returns by virtue of a power conferred upon them by the Legislative Councils. No liberty of opinion was tolerated. The action of the former revolutionary tribunals was supplied by military commissions. Persons accused or suspected by the Government of political offences, that is, of attempts against their power, were shot in the Champ de Mars or the plain of Grenelle. Yet the Directors and the deputies who were subservient to them still pretended to be the delegates of the people; affected more than ever the appearance of a democratic

[1] The Neapolitan war and its consequences are amply detailed in the *Mém. d'un Homme d'état*, t. vi. pp. 401-480; and t. vii. pp. 16-64, 132-198; Cf. Botta, lib. xvi.; Colletta, *Storia di Napoli.*

equality; ostentatiously enjoined by placards in all public places the employment of the title of *citizen*. Barras and Rewbel were predominant at the Luxembourg. Barras, enriched by corruption and the spoils of conquered provinces, led a dissolute life; his residence was the resort of all the gamesters and *femmes galantes* of Paris. Rewbel was, perhaps, the boldest and most violent of the Pentarchs, but his views were narrow and confined. La Réveillère-Lepeaux was lost in his dreams of *theophilanthropy*, while Merlin and Treilhard were mere advocates converted into politicians and statesmen.

Such was the Government which aimed at subjugating Europe under pretence of giving it freedom. Their whole legislative science consisted in translating into different languages the French Constitution of the year III, imposing it, like a regimental coat cut upon one pattern, upon all nations indiscriminately, and exacting, in return for this inestimable blessing, their obedience and their treasures. On this principle had been established, during the sitting of the Congress at Rastadt, in addition to the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, those of Rome, Helvetia, and Parthenope; while the Dutch had been compelled to approximate their form of government nearer to that of France, under the title of the "One and Indivisible Batavian Republic" (May 1st, 1798). The domineering conduct of the French at Rastadt we have already described. They kept continually increasing their pretensions. After the demand for the demolition of Ehrenbreitstein, they advanced fresh ones respecting the *Thalweg*, or path of navigation along the Rhine; claimed that the Waal should be included and the Isle of Buderich, opposite Wesel, a Prussian possession. But it would be superfluous to detail the disputes of this Congress, which served Austria and France only as a long truce, and was probably even from the first intended as little more. The battle of Aboukir, the absence of Bonaparte, the news of the alliance between Russia and Austria, and the advance of the Russian troops, had, however, inspired the Directory with alarm. They now began to moderate their pretensions at Rastadt. They made advances to the Emperor, and offered, if he would consent to the retirement of the Russian troops, to withdraw their forces from Switzerland and Rome, to neutralize those States, and, on the conclusion of the peace of the Empire at Rastadt, to place the Papal Legations in the hands of Austria by way of guarantee. They also offered to negotiate with England and the Porte, in order to a general pacification. But at the same time they prepared for war. The Councils had voted

a levy of 200,000 men, a grant of 90,000,000 francs for the service of the army and 35,000,000 for the navy. The raising of these men by conscription occasioned a serious insurrection in the Netherlands; for the conquered provinces were also compelled to swell with their contingents the ranks of the French armies.

Austria, however, stimulated by Great Britain and Russia, had resolved upon war. The British Ministry, despairing of peace with a Government like the French, had used every exertion to form the new Coalition. The Directory, on their side, paraded their implacable hatred of England, by ordering all public officers to inscribe, in large red characters, in the most conspicuous part of their audience chambers, *Guerre au gouvernement Anglais*.[1] For the present, however, Austria dissembled, awaiting the arrival of the Russians, who marched but slowly. She wished to avoid entering upon a war before the termination of the winter, as the snows of the Alps would interrupt all communication between her armies in Italy and Germany. Hence she had disapproved of the Neapolitan war as premature, and had given Ferdinand no assistance. The negotiations at Rastadt were continued, though they had become a mere matter of form, while troops were marching in every direction. France also was inclined to wait for the spring before commencing hostilities. She had, however, obtained possession of Ehrenbreitstein, by the capitulation of January 23rd, 1799. At length the Directory demanded a categorical answer from Austria respecting the advance of the Russian troops, and, receiving no reply, they gave the word to their armies to advance (February 20th).

Preparations had been made for a campaign on a grand scale. Jourdan, with 46,000 men, called prematurely the army of the Danube, was to act in Suabia and Bavaria. His rear and left flank were secured by an army of observation on the Rhine, consisting of 48,000 men under Bernadotte. The army of Helvetia, 30,000 men under Masséna, acting in conjunction with Jourdan, but subordinately to him, was to penetrate into Tyrol; where a detached corps of the army of Italy, having proceeded through the Engadine, was to form a junction with it. For this purpose, however, it would be necessary for Masséna to drive the Austrians from the territory of the Grison League. The French had attempted to possess themselves of that country, after their occupation of Switzerland; but their invasion and pillage of Switzerland, as well as the confiscation of the Valtelline and Chiavenna, had

[1] Montgaillard, t. v. p. 113.

naturally rendered the Grisons averse to any connection with France, and had induced them to seek in preference the aid of the Court of Vienna. By the convention of Coire, October 7th, 1798, the Austrian troops had been admitted, and Hotze, with 24,000 men, protected the Vorarlberg and the Grison territory.

The army of Italy, under Schérer, consisting of 50,000 men, without including Italian contingents, though not subordinate to Jourdan, was to co-operate in the general plan of attack. Schérer was to drive back the Austrians, who had assembled on the Adige, to the Brenta and the Piave; to act by his left upon Trent. A division of the army of Italy was to invade Tuscany, while another, as already mentioned, was to form a junction with the army of Helvetia through the Engadine. The Austrian army destined to oppose Schérer in Italy consisted of 75,000 men. The command of it had been given to Frederick, Prince of Orange; but that young Prince, who had already displayed great military abilities, having died suddenly (January 6th, 1799), General Melas was appointed to succeed him. On the arrival, however, of the Russians in Italy, the command-in-chief was to be assumed by Suvaroff. Besides the army on the Adige, between 40,000 and 50,000 men, under Count Bellegarde, occupied South Tyrol and the valley of the Inn. In Germany, the advance of Jourdan was to be opposed by the Archduke Charles, who, agreeably to the convention with France, was posted behind the Lech, in Bavaria, with 54,000 foot and 24,000 horse. The campaign of 1799 was, therefore, to be a sort of repetition of that of 1796—an attack upon Austria through Northern Italy and Southern Germany. But the position of the French was now much more advantageous than in 1796, although their forces were numerically inferior to the Austrians. Instead of having to conquer Northern Italy, that country was now in their power as far as the Adige; Switzerland, instead of being neutral, was occupied by their troops, and seemed to afford them new facilities for assailing their enemy. But the genius of Bonaparte was wanting to make a proper use of these advantages.

We can give only a general idea of the campaign of 1799.[1] The Directory declared war against the Emperor, and, at the same time, against the Grand Duke of Tuscany, March 12th. All that could be alleged against the latter was some preparations for defence. Jourdan, crossing the Rhine at Hüningen and Strasburg,

[1] The principal source for it is the Archduke Charles's work: *Gesch. des Feldzugs von* 1799 *in Deutschland und in der Schweitz:* cf. Clausewitz, *Die Feldzüge von* 1799; Dumas, *Précis des événements militaires de* 1799-1814.

advanced through the Black Forest towards the Danube. At the same time a division of the army of observation, commanded by Ney, seized Mannheim. Masséna was the first to commence actual hostilities (March 5th). He defeated the Austrians in the Grison territory, occupied Coire, and penetrated to the frontiers of Tyrol; but Jellalich, at Feldkirch, in the Vorarlberg, resisted all his efforts. The Archduke Charles advanced to meet Jourdan, defeated him at Ostrach, March 21st, and again so decisively at Stockach, on the 25th, as to determine the fortune of the campaign, and compel the French to recross the Rhine. This victory was due to the coolness, sagacity, and personal courage of the Archduke, who charged on foot at the head of his grenadiers. The resistance of Jellalich at Feldkirch prevented Masséna from coming to Jourdan's aid by way of Bregenz and Lindau. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Alps, Lecourbe and Dessolles, advancing by the Engadine, defeated Loudon at Taufers, occupied Martinsbrück and the Münsterthal, thus commanding the valleys of Tyrol. But the retreat of Jourdan rendered these dear-bought successes unavailing; and before the end of March the French were driven back in this quarter by Bellegarde. The occupation of Switzerland proved, under these circumstances, more detrimental to the French than its neutrality would have been, by compelling them to keep troops there which might otherwise have reinforced their beaten armies. The Aulic Council at Vienna did them, however, some service by forbidding the Archduke to pursue his victorious career.

The advance of the Austrians had compromised the safety of the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. Count Metternich, the Imperial Minister, had announced his recall April 7th, as well as the resolution of the Emperor to annul all that had been done at Rastadt. The Congress was thus *de facto* terminated, as the deputation of the Empire could not deliberate in the absence of a representative of the Emperor. Nevertheless, the French Minister remained, and proceeded to treat separately with the sub-delegates of some of the States of the Empire. A guarantee of the neutrality of Rastadt, which the latter endeavoured to obtain from the commander of the Austrian advanced posts at Gernsbach, was refused; on the evening of April 28th the town was occupied by a detachment of Szekler hussars, whose colonel having directed the French Ministers to leave it within twenty-four hours, Bonnier, a man of violent temper, persuaded his colleagues to depart at once, though it was already night. Their carriages had scarcely

cleared the town when they were surrounded by a party of Szeklers; Bonnier and Roberjot were sabred; Jean Debry, severely wounded and left for dead, contrived to get back to Rastadt. Nothing was taken from the French Ministers but their portfolios. This atrocious violation of the law of nations created universal indignation and abhorrence in Europe. Various were the conjectures as to the authors of the deed. Pitt, the Queen of Naples, the French Directory, Debry himself, the Austrian Government, were in turn suspected according to the views and politics of those who discussed the matter. There could, however, be little doubt, on a cool and dispassionate survey, that the order for the crime must have emanated from the Cabinet of Vienna, and the presumption was strengthened by the sudden suppression by that Cabinet of the judicial inquiry which had been instituted. If we may trust the account given by a diplomatist to M. le Comte de Garden, and published by the latter in his *Histoire des Traités de Paix*,[1] all doubts upon the subject are cleared up. At the time of the occurrence the Count de * * * occupied a room in the hotel of the Golden Stag at Munich, separated only by thin folding doors from another apartment in which were the Austrian Minister, Count Lehrbach, and his Secretary. From the conversation of these gentlemen, which was distinctly audible, Count * * * learnt that Lehrbach, having received directions from Baron Thugut to discover what members of the German Confederation were in correspondence with the French Directory, devised the method of arresting the French Ministers at Rastadt, and extorted the reluctant consent of the Archduke Charles, by showing the peremptory order of Thugut. Lehrbach, it is said, had only directed the colonel of the hussars to give the insolent Bonnier a bit of a shaking (*de faire houspiller un peu par ses gens cet insolent Bonnier*); but the men overstepped their orders.

Meanwhile, in Italy, Schérer had detached Gauthier against Tuscany, who overran that country without resistance, entered Florence, March 25th, and permitted the Grand Duke to retire with an escort to Venice. Schérer determined to attack the Austrians on the Adige before Suvaroff and the Russians could arrive. Melas being sick, the Austrians were now commanded by Marshal Kray. On March 26th and following days Schérer delivered several attacks against Kray's centre at Verona; but,

[1] Tom. vi. p. 98 sqq. Cf. Hormayr, *Lebensbilder*, Th. i. S. 156 f. Th. iii. S. 130 ff. ap. Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18en. Jahrh.* B. vi. S. 128. According to the latter, Thugut and Lehrbach wished to seize some papers that would have compromised them.

though Moreau had succeeded in turning the Austrian right, the French were finally repulsed with great loss, and compelled to fall back on Villa Franca (April 1st). After much manœuvring, both sides determined on an engagement; and on the 5th of April was fought the battle of Magnano, in which the French, after a hard and dubious struggle, were completely defeated. Schérer retreated by Roverbella over the Mincio, followed by Kray. On the 8th of April the French were attacked in all their posts from Bormio to the Lago di Garda, and compelled to retire to Brescia. It is computed that in less than a fortnight's hostilities Schérer had lost nearly half his army.

Such was the state of things in Italy when Suvaroff arrived at Verona to take the command of both the Imperial armies (April 14th). His commission from the Czar gave him the supreme direction of the Russian forces by sea as well as land. Thus, after the taking of Corfû by Admiral Utschakoff, he directed the Russian fleet to attack Ancona. What plan he had formed for the campaign was utterly unknown; in fact, he seems seldom to have had any. The grand secret of his success was the celerity of his movements, and the coolness and sagacity with which he extricated himself from any difficult position into which he might be thrown. Inspiring the Austrians with his own activity, Suvaroff advanced from one victory to another. The Oglio is passed; Moreau, by whom Schérer had now been superseded, is defeated at Cassano on the Adda (April 27th); Milan is entered on the 29th, which Moreau evacuates, with the exception of the citadel. General Serrurier, with a division of 8,000 men, surrounded by superior forces at Verderio, had been compelled to lay down his arms. Moreau, intrusted with the difficult task of rescuing a defeated army, pursued by superior forces, cut off from the army of Naples under Macdonald, and in the midst of an insurgent population, displayed the greatest ability. Proceeding to Turin in person, he put that town in a posture of defence, established his communications with Switzerland and France, and on the 7th of May took up his quarters at Alessandria. His only hope was to arrest the advance of the enemy till Macdonald should come up, when the Aulic Council, as it had done in Germany, stepped in to his aid. Suvaroff had determined to crush Moreau with his whole force, and then to turn upon Macdonald; but the Aulic Council, intent upon securing the conquests already made, weakened Suvaroff by ordering him to lay siege to Mantua, Peschiera, Pizzighettone, and other places, to secure the defiles of

the Alps and the Apennines, and, in addition to all this, to attack Moreau. Too weak to accomplish this last order, Suvaroff endeavoured to manœuvre Moreau out of a strong position he had taken near Tortona; but the French General, after delivering some successful attacks, effected his retreat to Coni, or Cuneo (May 19th), obtaining at once a strong position and securing his communications both with Genoa and France.

Meanwhile Macdonald had begun his march from Caserta, May 9th. On the 24th he arrived at Florence, and having united his forces with those of Gauthier, proceeded to put himself in communication with Victor, whom Moreau had despatched to Pontremoli to meet him; and having defeated Klenau's corps, established his communications with Genoa. Moreau himself entered Genoa June 6th; but Macdonald, desirous of plucking some independent laurels, instead of marching to that city, took a more northerly route towards the main body of the Austro-Russians, and, having defeated Hohenzollern's corps June 12th, advanced to the TREBBIA. Here, after a struggle of three days' duration, he received from Suvaroff in person one of the most disastrous overthrows that the French Republican armies had yet experienced (June 19th), and, after a loss of 18,000 men, was compelled to retreat to Firenzuola. Hence, pretending to retire with the remainder of his forces into Tuscany, he gained the Genoese States by a circuitous route.

Moreau, who had beaten Bellegarde at San Giuliano, June 20th, revictualled Tortona, and raised the blockade of Alessandria, was induced, by the news of the battle on the Trebbia, to retire beyond the Bochetta to Novi. The Austro-Russians had taken possession of Turin; Suvaroff had caused Pinerolo, Susa, La Brunetta, and the Col d'Assiette to be occupied, and some of his Cossacks had even carried alarm into Dauphiné. These manœuvres were intended to draw Moreau from the Apennines, but the French General was not to be so enticed.

At this juncture Moreau was superseded in the command by Joubert, through intrigues in the Directory. A sort of revolution had taken place in that body in the preceding May. Rewbel having gone out by rotation, Sieyès had occupied his seat, and, in conjunction with Barras, and with the aid of the Councils, had compelled Treilhard, Merlin de Douai, and La Réveillère-Lepaux to resign. Their places were filled by Gohier, Ducos, and General Moulins, men but little known and of no weight or importance. A change was also effected in the Ministry. Bernadotte became

Minister of War; Robert Lindet, one of the original Jacobins and long a member of the Committee of Public Welfare, was intrusted with the Finances; Reinhardt superseded Talleyrand in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Cambacérès, an ex-Conventional, and formerly member of the Committee of General Welfare, received the portfolio of Justice; Fouché, the sanguinary Jacobin, notorious by his cruelties at Lyon, was placed at the head of the Police. Joubert, if victorious, was to return and overthrow the Directory, and to place himself at the head of a new Government.[1]

Moreau had been directed to remain inactive till Joubert's arrival, which, owing to various delays, did not take place till early in August. With rash impetuosity, Joubert gave battle to the Austro-Russians under Suvaroff, at Novi, August 15th, with only about half the forces of his opponents, and was killed at the very commencement of the action. Moreau then resumed the command. In this obstinate engagement, which lasted the whole day, the French were totally defeated, with great loss. Tortona surrendered in consequence to the Austro-Russians, August 23rd.

Soon after this battle, Suvaroff received orders from his Government to proceed into Switzerland, to act in conjunction with another Russian army which had been despatched thither under Korsakoff. Suvaroff had now become disgusted with his Austrian allies, whose slow and pedantic method impeded his own impetuous tactics. He had, too, been disappointed in a scheme to invade France, overturn the Government, and restore the Bourbons. With this view he had pressed the Archduke Charles to drive Masséna from Switzerland, and enter Franche Comté, while he himself would meet him by way of Provence and Dauphiné. But the Austrians were not inclined for any such hazardous undertakings. The Archduke, indeed, had, by orders from his Government, been kept in a state of almost entire inaction during the last two or three months. He had entered Switzerland towards the end of May, and, after several warm affairs with Masséna for the possession of Zürich, had compelled the French general to retire to a strong position on the plateau of Mont Albis, extending along the Reuss to the Lake of Zug. Here the two armies remained watching each other, and no hostilities of any moment occurred. Matters were in this state when, about the middle of August, Korsakoff, with a Russian army of 40,000

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. vii. p. 263.

men, entered Switzerland. This was the corps which was to have been placed at the disposal of Prussia, but was now employed as described by virtue of a convention between Great Britain and Russia, June 29th, 1799. On Korsakoff's arrival, the Archduke abandoned to him the command, and leaving an Austrian division of 30,000 men to co-operate with the Russians, marched with the remainder of his forces against the newly-organized French army of the Rhine, which, under the command of General Müller, had occupied Heidelberg and Mannheim. At the Archduke's approach, the French raised the siege of Philippsburg, the only fortress on the Rhine still held by the Germans. Charles retook Mannheim September 18th; but the events which had occurred in Switzerland prevented him from prosecuting his advantages.

The ill-feeling which prevailed between the allied armies was manifested by Korsakoff's instructions, who was directed not to attend to any Austrian orders, but to receive only those of Suvaroff. Korsakoff, who had no experience except on the parade-ground, united with an utter want of military talent the most insufferable arrogance and self-conceit. He treated with insolence and contempt the counsels of a commander like the Archduke, who, by three months' experience, had acquired an accurate knowledge of the ground and of the designs of the enemy. Such a man became an easy prey to generals like Masséna and Soult. Aware of the approach of Suvaroff, Masséna resolved to attack Korsakoff before he could be reinforced. Passing the Limmat at Dietikon before break of day, September 25th, the French utterly routed and dispersed the Russians, and occupied the road leading from Zürich to Winterthür, in order to cut off their retreat. On the same day another French corps under Soult attacked the Austrian division under Hotze. This general was killed in an ambuscade; Petrasch, who succeeded him in the command, was totally defeated and compelled to retreat by Lichtenstez to St. Gall. On the 26th the French entered Zürich, where a large part of the Russians had taken refuge in a state of helpless disorder. A terrible massacre ensued, which was not confined to the Russians. It was on this occasion that the celebrated physiognomist Lavater was shot in cold blood by a French officer who had a little before partaken of his hospitalities. Korsakoff, after losing the greater part of his army and 100 guns, succeeded in passing the Rhine at Schaffhausen with the remainder of his forces.

The approach of Suvaroff, by diverting the attention of the French, facilitated the escape of Korsakoff. With the remnant of his army, variously estimated at from 13,000 to 24,000 men, Suvaroff, advancing by Airolo, succeeded, by prodigious perseverance and valour, in scaling the St. Gothard, then unprovided with any tolerable roads, and in scattering the French columns opposed to his passage. Pursuing his march along the valley of the Reuss, by Altdorf, he crossed the Kinzig Culm into the valley of Muotta, or Mütten, where he found himself almost surrounded by the French. Having learnt Korsakoff's disaster, and being defeated in an attempt to cut his way through Masséna's forces, he determined, for the first time in his life, to retreat. Crossing the Pragel Pass into Glarus, he there gave his troops a few days' rest, and finally effected his escape into the Grison territory by the Pass of Panix. Hence by way of Feldkirch, with the remnants of the two armies, he directed his homeward march to Russia.

On July 26th Paul I. had declared war against Spain, because, abandoning the true road of honour and glory, she refused to renounce her alliance with France. Charles IV., or rather the Prince of the Peace, in a manifest published at St. Ildefonso, September 9th, 1799, characterized the Russian declaration as "incoherent and offensive," dictated by English influence, and unworthy of an answer.[1] Little could result from a breach between two countries possessing so few points of contact as Russia and Spain. Its most important consequence was a treaty of defensive alliance between Portugal and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, September 18th, 1799;[2] by which the furnishing of the military and naval forces stipulated might be commuted for a money payment.

We shall here, in order to advert to some other events of this period, leave for a while the memorable Austro-Russian campaign of 1799, at a point where fortune seemed in some degree to have re-established the equilibrium of the contending Powers; recording only the renewal of the war on the part of the German Empire, by a decree of the Diet of Ratisbon, September 16th, to which, however, Prussia, as well as Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, Hanover, and Brunswick, did not adhere.[3]

The combined Ottoman and Russian fleets under Admiral Utschakoff, after taking Cerigo, Zante, Cephalonia, Sta. Maura, and, finally, Corfû, March 1st, 1799, appeared in the middle of

[1] Garden, t. vi. p. 183. [2] Menzel, B. vi. S. 387. [3] Martens, t. vi. p. 696.

April before Otranto, captured that town, as well as Brindisi and Bari, and landed forces which reduced all Apulia. Another Russo-Turkish division took Sinigaglia and Fano, and in June laid siege to Ancona. These events, as well as the turn of the campaign in Northern Italy, and the departure of Macdonald and his army, occasioned a Royalist insurrection in the Neapolitan dominions. Cardinal Ruffo, who had accompanied King Ferdinand and his Court to Palermo, having landed with only two other persons at Reggio in Calabria, and having collected a small force of some 200 or 300 men, began his march for Naples, receiving every day fresh accessions which at length swelled his army to between 20,000 and 30,000 men. This force, composed of the half-savage peasants of Calabria, besides brigands and liberated galley-slaves, was dignified with the name of the "Christian Army." Naples was reached and taken, June 17th; scenes of vengeance and massacre ensued, to put an end to which Ruffo granted the revolutionists a favourable capitulation. The French garrison in the Castle of St. Elmo surrendered July 5th, and on the 27th King Ferdinand IV. re-entered his capital. Every lover of his country, every admirer of her greatest naval hero, must lament that Nelson, who was absent from Naples at the time of the capitulation, should have disavowed it on his return, though signed by one of his own captains; that he should have persuaded King Ferdinand to repudiate it and to condemn to death a great many of the revolutionists, including Prince Moliterno, Marquis Caraccioli, and the Duke of Cassano; nay, that he should have converted the quarter-deck of his own vessel into a place of execution by the hanging of Caraccioli.[1] A fatal syren, Lady Hamilton, had corrupted for a while the heart of the victor of Aboukir, and, in the intoxication of unlawful love, had caused him to forget the dictates of humanity and his own glory. The throne of Ferdinand IV. having been thus re-established, a motley army, composed of Russians, Turks, and Neapolitans, marched to Rome and entered that city by capitulation, September 30th. The oppressors of the Pope were discomfited by schismatics and infidels, and the capital of the Christian world, that "Red Apple" which their Sultans had so often threatened to destroy, was liberated by the aid of the Osmanlis. The Cisalpine Republic, through the Austro-Russian victories, had also submitted to Francis II.

[1] An inscription on the house of Caraccioli on the Mergellina at Naples still records the act.

The Anglo-Russian expedition to Holland was another episode in the great war of 1799. By a convention signed at St. Petersburg, June 22nd,[1] Paul had agreed to assist the English descent with a small fleet and an army of between 17,000 and 18,000 men, in consideration of their expenses being paid. General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, with about 12,000 men, the first division of the British forces, landed in North Holland, August 27th, defeated the Dutch under General Daendels, and occupied the Helder. The English General announced that he was come to liberate the Dutch from the French yoke. Proclamations were also published by the Prince of Orange and his son, recalling his ancient subjects to their allegiance; but such was the fear inspired by the French, that, except in the Dutch navy, which dreaded not the effects of their anger, these appeals produced little or no effect. The English fleet under Admiral Mitchell having entered the Vlie, the crews of the Dutch squadron there hoisted the Orange colours, arrested their officers, and went over to the English. The example was followed by the squadron at Nieuwe Diep. Altogether, twelve ships of war, fully equipped, and thirteen other vessels, fell into the power of the English, and were sent to Yarmouth. Abercrombie, awaiting reinforcements from England and Russia, having taken up a position behind the Zijp, was attacked by the French and Dutch under General Brune; but they were defeated and driven back to Alkmaar (September 10th). A few days after the Duke of York landed with the second English division, and took the command-in-chief. Part of the Russian forces having also arrived, the Duke attacked Brune at Petten, September 19th; but the right wing, composed of Russians, having advanced too far, were repulsed with great loss. Their flight threw the whole army into confusion, and the affair resulted in a drawn battle. The Duke of York defeated Brune at Bergen, October 2nd, but knew not how to follow up his advantage. The allies having been defeated at Kastrikum, October 6th, the Duke of York again retired beyond the Zijp, and entered into negotiations with Brune for the evacuation of Holland. A capitulation was consequently signed at Alkmaar, October 18th, by which it was agreed that the allies should re-embark without molestation before the end of November, on condition of their restoring 8,000 French and Batavian prisoners. The frustration of an expedition which had cost so large a sum created great discontent and clamour in England; but the nation

[1] Martens, t. vi. p. 561.

was in some degree compensated by the possession of the Dutch fleet, and consoled by the capture of Surinam, which colony had surrendered to the British arms, August 20th.

The reverses of his armies in Switzerland and Holland, and the refusal of the Austrians to deliver to him Ancona, led the Emperor Paul I. to recall his troops and to withdraw from the Coalition as hastily and capriciously as he had entered it. Thus France was rescued from the greatest danger that had menaced it since the Prussian invasion of Champagne. The return of Bonaparte from Egypt, whose unexpected landing at Fréjus created a great sensation in France, and, indeed, throughout Europe, was soon to place her affairs in a better posture.

CHAPTER LXI.

WHEN by the destruction of Brueys' fleet Bonaparte found himself cut off from all communication with France, he began to think of establishing himself firmly in Egypt, and of making it the base of those gigantic enterprises which he had meditated against the English empire in the East. He strove to conciliate the inhabitants by respecting their customs, and especially their religion. Like the heathen conquerors of ancient Rome, he was ready to adopt all the gods of all the vanquished nations, except only the God of the Jews and Christians. In an interview with the Mufti in the pyramid of Cheops, he professed himself a believer in the Prophet, adopted the sententious and hyperbolical language of the East. He also attempted to domiciliate his army in a country which they had no prospect of speedily quitting. Cairo was converted into a sort of little Paris, with French newspapers, *restaurants*, literary societies, gaming tables, and other luxuries. The exactions of the French, however, created serious discontent among the natives, and all Bonaparte's vigilance could not prevent the breaking out of a dangerous conspiracy at Cairo, and the massacre of 300 of his men. But it was speedily quelled, and Bonaparte, from motives of policy, treated the ringleaders with clemency.

The enterprising mind of Bonaparte could not long remain in repose, and towards the end of 1798 he began to meditate further conquests. He visited Suez, explored the coasts of the Red Sea, entered into correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, then at war with the English; little dreaming that a young soldier, Colonel Wellesley, destined at a future period to put a term to his own extraordinary career, was then serving against that Prince. The Syrian campaign was, however, finally determined on. Bonaparte appears to have formed the extraordinary scheme of taking Constantinople, attacking Europe in flank, and marching to Paris.[1] He left Cairo, February 11th, 1799, with a few of

[1] According to his own communications to Berthier. Madame de Staël, *Considérations, &c.* pt. iv. ch. i.

his bravest generals and about 12,000 of his best troops. The desert was rapidly traversed, El Arisch, Gaza, taken at the first assault, but Jaffa offered some resistance, which was punished by a promiscuous massacre. The garrison, some 4,000 Turks, shutting themselves up in a caravanserai, had desperately defended it, and had capitulated only on condition that their lives should be spared. Nevertheless, those who survived, about half the original number, were mercilessly shot. Miot, an eyewitness of their execution, has described how they were marched to the seashore, divided into little bands, despatched with musket-balls, and, when these failed, with the bayonet and the sword.[1] The impossibility of keeping so large a number of prisoners has been alleged in extenuation of this barbarous act. Bonaparte, in his correspondence, treats it quite as a matter of course.[2] He was not wantonly cruel; he did not shed blood, like some monsters, merely for the pleasure of it; but he had a reckless contempt for human life, and never suffered considerations of humanity to arrest him in the pursuit of his objects.

From Jaffa Bonaparte marched to St. John d'Acre, which he invested March 20th. But here Djezzar Pasha, with 1,000 Turks, assisted by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith and some 200 or 300 English sailors and marines, succeeded in arresting his progress. St. John d'Acre was badly fortified, but Bonaparte had only field guns to employ against it; his siege artillery, which he had forwarded by sea, had been captured by Sir Sidney Smith's cruisers. Kléber defeated at Mount Thabor, April 16th, a large but irregular Turkish army which was marching to relieve Acre. But, as it could be victualled from the sea, it sufficed for its own defence. After a siege of sixty days, during which nine desperate assaults had been delivered, and many sorties made by the garrison, Bonaparte, after losing a third of his army, was compelled to retire from before this apparently contemptible place. He displayed the malignity inspired by his defeat by destroying the aqueduct and several of the public buildings. Yet he pretended in his despatches that he had been successful, that he had retired only for fear of the plague. So portentous were the false-

[1] Miot, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. des expéditions en Egypte et en Syrie*, p. 144 sqq. (ed. 1814).

[2] See his letters to Dugua, Marmont, and Kléber, *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. v. pp. 351, 353. He afterwards attempted to palliate the matter by reducing the number of victims to 1,000 or 1,200, and by affirming that they had formed part of the garrison of El Arisch, and had broken their parole. O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile*, vol. i. p. 329. The first of these excuses is futile; the second is an evident after-thought. Nothing of the kind appears in Bonaparte's letters at the time of the occurrence.

hoods which he dictated that his secretary Bourienne threw down his pen in amazement. That the French army was infected with the plague is, however, true enough. Hundreds of the men were laid up at Jaffa; where Bonaparte, it is said, sought to inspire his followers with confidence by laying his hand on the buboes of the sick: a trait of confidence in his destiny, like Cæsar's, when he commanded the boatman to proceed and fear not.

Bonaparte got back to Cairo June 15th. During his absence Desaix had driven Murad Bey and his Mamelukes from Upper Egypt, had passed Thebes and arrived at Syene and the cataracts of the Nile, the furthest station occupied by the Roman legions. Murad, who eluded the pursuit of the French by the most rapid and unexpected manœuvres, at length submitted, and in reward of the constancy and valour he had displayed, was made Prince of Said or Upper Egypt. At the instance of England, the Porte made an attempt to recover Egypt, and landed an army at Aboukir; but Bonaparte, having rapidly collected his forces, defeated them, July 26th, killed or captured a large number and drove the remainder into the sea, where the greater part miserably perished. About a week after this battle Bonaparte received, through a flag of truce of Sir Sidney Smith's, some French and English newspapers, relating the defeats of the Republican armies in Germany and Italy, of which he had not yet heard. His astonishment and rage may be imagined at learning that all his Italian conquests had been lost in less than two months. He immediately resolved to return to France. But it was necessary to depart secretly, and in order to veil his design he went back to Cairo, where he affected to employ himself in giving orders for a scientific expedition to the Thebaïs. Then suddenly returning to Alexandria, and transferring the command of the army to Kléber, he embarked on board a French frigate at Aboukir, accompanied by Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Andréossy, and Marmont, generals devotedly attached to his fortunes, and after a passage of nearly seven weeks, during which he contrived to escape the English cruisers by hugging the African coast, he landed at Fréjus, October 9th.[1] He was received with enthusiasm. The French were now quite disgusted with their Government; the complaints which he heard against it during his journey to Paris were loud and general. The finances, as well as every other branch of the administration, were in disorder. The nation was disgusted with the military reverses in Italy and Ger-

[1] Bonaparte's own account in *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. v. end.

many; the troops themselves were neither paid nor clothed, nay, hardly fed. A schism prevailed in the Directory. Sieyès, ever busy with new political schemes, had resolved to overthrow the Constitution of the year III, and to concentrate the dissipated forces of the Government in the hands of some powerful individual; and we have already related how Joubert had been selected for that purpose. After his death Sieyès had turned his eyes on Moreau and Bernadotte, as the only two generals qualified to carry his scheme into execution; but Moreau, who had not much political energy or talent, declined to be concerned in the matter, while the frank and loyal, but haughty temper of Bernadotte appeared to Sieyès unsuited to his purpose. The views of Sieyès were supported by Roger Ducos. Of the other Pentarchs Barras, enervated by debauchery and engrossed by the pursuit of pleasure, had become almost politically null. He had entered into negotiations with Louis XVIII., but soon discovered that a restoration of the Bourbons was at this time impracticable. Gohier and Moulins, the remaining two Directors, were Jacobins. That party, however, no longer entertained their former extreme and violent opinions. They were supported by the majority of the Council of Five Hundred; and out of doors by the *Club du Manège*, so called from its occupying the building in which the Constituent Assembly had formerly sitten. Generals Bernadotte and Jourdan were also Jacobins. Sieyès, however, effected the dismissal of Bernadotte from the Ministry at War; and in conjunction with Fouché, now head of the police, caused the *Manège* to be closed.

Bonaparte had returned to France without any settled design except to take a leading part. His Italian campaign, his important negotiations, as well as the romantic glory of his almost fabulous expedition to Egypt, had placed his reputation far above that of any other general. The little part which he had taken in the domestic affairs of France, and consequent freedom from all party ties, was also in his favour. He seemed already to have assumed an air of superiority and command. Sieyès was at first justly distrustful of him, as too ambitious to acquiesce in his Constitutional plans. Mutual friends, however, brought about an understanding, and the plot of a revolution was laid. Sieyès undertook to prepare the Councils for it, while Bonaparte was to gain the soldiery. On the morning of the 18th *Brumaire* (November 9th), the Ancients were summoned to the Tuileries at the early hour of seven, when certain members alarmed them with reports of

a Jacobin plot, of a revival of the Reign of Terror. When they were sufficiently frightened, Regnier, another conspirator, moved that the legislature should be transferred to St. Cloud, under the conduct of Bonaparte, who had been appointed to command the troops. Meanwhile Bonaparte had assembled the greater part of the generals at his house in the Rue Chantereine. Berthier, Lefèbvre, Murat, Moncey, Moreau, Macdonald, Serrurier, Beurnonville, Marmont, and others drew their swords and promised to stand by him; Bernadotte alone ventured to express his disapprobation. Bonaparte now proceeded at the head of the generals to the Tuileries, and took an oath of fidelity at the bar of the Council of the Ancients; Sieyès and Ducos arrived from the Luxembourg and tendered their resignation. When Barras, Moulins, and Gohier at length heard of what was going on, they attempted to employ their guard; but these soldiers refused to obey when Bonaparte communicated to them the decree of the Ancients. Barras then also resigned, and set off for Gros Bois, his country-seat. An emissary of the Directors having come to propose an accommodation, Bonaparte burst forth into one of his characteristic tirades. "What have they done," he exclaimed, "with that France which I left so brilliant? I left them peace, I find war; I left them victories and find only defeats. What have they done with those 100,000 Frenchmen, the companions of my glory?" Then, in a quieter tone, "This cannot last; it would speedily lead to a despotism."

The Councils proceeded next day to St. Cloud, whither Sieyès and Ducos accompanied Bonaparte. Gohier and Moulins had made their escape from Paris the evening before. When the Five Hundred assembled, Emile Gaudin, who was in the plot, rose and proposed a vote of thanks to the Ancients for what they had done. This was the signal for uproar. A member having proposed to renew the oath to the Constitution of the year III, it was taken with unanimous enthusiasm. Bonaparte in alarm now hastened to the Council of the Ancients, placed himself at their disposal, made an absurd speech, in which he called himself the God of Battles.[1] A deputy having required him to swear to the Constitution of the year III, Bonaparte replied: "That Constitution no longer exists; you have violated it on the 18th *Fructidor*, 22nd *Floréal*, 30th *Prairial*. The Constitution, invoked by every faction, and violated by all, is no longer respected by anybody. There must be a new settlement and fresh guarantees." The Council intimated its approbation of these views. Elated by this success, and imagining

[1] Madame de Staël, pt. iv. ch. ii.; Bailleul, t. ii. p. 414.

that a similar one awaited him in the Five Hundred, Bonaparte proceeded to their chamber, advanced into the middle of it, leaving some grenadiers at the door. He was received with indescribable clamour. Menaces rose on all sides, with cries of "Outlaw him! Down with the Dictator!" Some deputies rushed upon and collared him. Alarmed and staggered, Bonaparte seemed about to faint, when Beauvais, a man of remarkable strength, took him in his arms and bore him to the door, where he was received by Lefèbre and his grenadiers.

Bonaparte, who seemed to have quite lost his presence of mind, was carried through this important crisis by his brother Lucien, the President of the Council of Five Hundred. Seeing that the Assembly was about to outlaw his brother, Lucien, throwing off the ridiculous toga worn by the members of the Legislature, rushed to the door, mounted his horse, and riding towards the troops, exclaimed that he, the President, had been threatened with the daggers of the factious, demanded that the Assembly should be dispersed. Bonaparte left the execution of this stroke to Murat, by whose orders a body of grenadiers dispersed the deputies at the point of the bayonet. A Provisional Government was then established. Persons selected for the purpose were nominated by a remnant of the two Councils as a Committee, with the title of "Committee of Public Welfare," who, till the dismissed Legislature should be again assembled, appointed that the Government should be conducted by three Consuls, Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Ducos. The Legislature was to be reassembled, February 20th, 1800; meanwhile a Committee of Fifty, twenty-five members of each Council, was to draw up a new Constitution. Thus was accomplished, with the perfect acquiescence of the French people, this important revolution. There can be little doubt that, had Bonaparte been so inclined, he might have seized at once upon the supreme power; but either his courage failed him, or he deemed the proper moment not yet arrived. Virtually, however, as Sieyès soon discovered, he was already master. The new Government immediately adopted some just and vigorous measures. The law of hostages was abrogated, which made the innocent responsible for the guilty; forced loans were abolished; priests proscribed since 18th *Fructidor* were permitted to return; some emigrants who had been shipwrecked on the coast and detained in prison four years, were liberated. On the other hand, great severity was displayed towards the ultra-Jacobins. Between thirty and forty of this faction were ordered, by a simple consular

decree, to be transported to Guiana; many others were placed under the *surveillance* of the police. But public opinion compelled the Consuls to recall this measure.

Bonaparte suffered the metaphysical Abbé Sieyès to amuse himself with drawing up a Constitution, which, however, he altered in all its essential points, and practically reduced it to a mere form. The Commission of Fifty implicitly obeyed his dictates. The "Constitution of the year VIII" was proclaimed, December 24th.[1] The following are the chief features of this short-lived Constitution: a *Conservative Senate* (sénat conservateur), of eighty members at least forty years of age, appointed for life and unremovable, whose principal functions were to select, from lists presented by the electoral colleges of the Departments, the Legislators, Tribunes, Consuls, Judges, &c. It was also a Court of Appeal respecting all acts denounced as unconstitutional. A *Tribunate* of 100 members, twenty-five years of age, at least, to discuss, adopt, or reject the laws proposed to it by the Government. A *Legislative Assembly*, composed of 300 members, at least thirty years of age. This assembly gave only a silent vote of acceptance or rejection of the *projets de loi* discussed before it by the orators of the Tribunate or of the Government. An *Executive Government* of three Consuls nominated for ten years, and indefinitely re-eligible. Of these, the First Consul was invested with an almost absolute power. The Second and Third Consuls had only a deliberative voice (*voix consultative*) in some of the acts of Government, but even in these the decision of the First Consul sufficed. The salary of the First Consul was 500,000 francs (20,000*l.*); of the remaining two, only three-tenths of that sum. As the members of the Tribunate and Legislature were selected by the Senate from lists of persons called *notables of France*, the result of three degrees of election, by the people, the notables of the *Communes*, and the notables of the Departments; as the Senate itself was chosen by the Consuls, and as the Government alone had the power to initiate laws, the political existence of the nation was completely annihilated; and though the name of a republic was retained, the new Constitution was virtually a pure despotism.

The first act of Bonaparte on becoming First Consul was to dismiss his two colleagues. Sieyès was rewarded and disgraced with a sum of 800,000 francs, a domain called Crosne, and a place in the Senate, the pay of which was 25,000 francs per annum.

[1] It will be found in Montgaillard, t. v. p. 305 sqq., and in Posselt's *Europäische Annalen*, Jr. 1799.

Roger Ducos was forced to content himself with the humble sum of 120,000 francs. Bonaparte now named as Second Consul Cambacérès, a jurisconsult, ex-Conventional and regicide, a man of great legal acquirements; Le Brun, a *littérateur* of polished manners, was appointed Third Consul. He had been secretary to the Chancellor Maupeou, a member of the Constituent Assembly and of the Girondist Government of Roland. Both these men were recommended by their flexibility and their total want of physical and moral courage, as well as by their talents and acquirements. Cambacérès was Bonaparte's interpreter with the Jacobins and revolutionists; Le Brun, with the Royalists. Talleyrand was reinstated in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; Fouché was retained as head of the Police; Gaudin was appointed to the Finances; Berthier was made Chief of the Staff.

Bonaparte, surrounded by 3,000 of his best troops, took up his residence at the Tuileries even before his nomination as First Consul was officially declared, and the ancient palace of the Bourbons again assumed some appearance of regal splendour. His motive for this was not mere ostentation; the phantom of royalty gradually prepared the minds of men for the reality. He had resolved to become the mediator between old and new interests, between the Revolution and Europe.[1] The eventual overthrow of the Republic was foreshadowed by the abolition of its two principal fêtes: those of August 10th and January 21st. Encouraged by these aristocratic tendencies, the Royalists ventured to hope that Bonaparte might be induced to act the part of Monk: Louis XVIII. even wrote to suggest his restoration, telling Bonaparte to name his own rewards and those of his friends.[2] But Bonaparte, according to his own phrase, having picked up the crown in the dirt, had determined to wear it, and he soon showed that he was not unworthy of it. He had already learned to govern in Italy and Egypt; under the influence of his great administrative talents order began gradually to reappear in France. Public credit revived; the Bank of France was established; the administration of the Departments was facilitated and brought more under the control of the Government by the institution of prefectures; the Chouan insurrection, which had again broken out, was appeased; but the treacherous manner in which Frotté, and six more of the Chouan leaders were inveigled and put to death, was another proof of the inhuman and relentless policy of Bonaparte.

[1] Lefèbvre, *Hist. des Cabinets de l'Europe*, Introd.

[2] See the letter in *Homme d'état*, t. vii. p. 393.

With regard to Foreign Affairs, one of the first steps of Bonaparte was to propose a peace to King George III. and the Emperor Francis II. If he was sincere in these overtures, he hardly adopted, at least with England, the best method to obtain his end. His letter to George III. in person was a gross breach of diplomatic etiquette, and displayed an offensive neglect of the forms of the English Constitution; defects which were not palliated by the trenchant, interrogative, and objurgatory style adopted towards one of the most powerful Monarchs of Europe by the Consul of yesterday.[1] On the other hand, Lord Grenville's reply was perhaps too haughty and repulsive. The chief motive with the English Ministry in rejecting this overture appears to have been a want of confidence in the stability of the new French Government. They saw no hope of permanent tranquillity except in the restoration of the Bourbons. The renewal of the correspondence through Talleyrand seems to indicate that Bonaparte might at this time have really desired a peace. His own power needed consolidation; the French army in Italy seemed compromised, that in Egypt irretrievably cut off. The Emperor followed the same course as England, and refused to negotiate.

All hope of peace being at an end, Bonaparte prepared for war. The command of the army on the Rhine was given to Moreau, while the First Consul determined to proceed in person into Italy. After the departure of Suvaroff from that country, the French had been defeated with considerable loss at Savigliano, Fossano, and Genola; Coni had surrendered December 5th, completing the occupation of Piedmont by the Austrians. Ancona had also been taken; and thus Genoa and its Riviera was all that the French held in Italy. In the spring of 1800, the right wing of the French army, consisting of 40,000 men, under Masséna, leaned upon Genoa; its left upon the Var. From many of its posts it had been driven as well by the Austrians as by the fire of the British cruisers. Mélas succeeded in dividing it, in taking Nice, and driving Suchet beyond the Var, while Masséna had been compelled to throw himself into Genoa. Such was the posture of affairs when Bonaparte entered Italy in May. His army of 60,000 or 70,000 men crossed the Alps in four columns. Bonaparte himself crossed the great St. Bernard, the natural obstacles of that route having been surmounted with great skill and indomitable perseverance; another column passed Mont Cénis, a

[1] See the letter of December 25th, 1799, in *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. vi. p. 36.

third the Simplon, a fourth the St. Gothard. Bonaparte entered Milan June 2nd, and proclaimed the re-establishment of the Cisalpine Republic. Mélas was thus placed between Bonaparte's army and that of Suchet; while the fourth column of the French, under Moncey, had marched upon Brescia, to cut off the retreat of the Austrians into the Venetian States. It became necessary, therefore, for Mélas to fight a battle in order to restore his communications. On the 9th of June, Lannes defeated the Austrians under Ott at Montebello, near Casteggio. On the 14th, Mélas, having passed the Bormida opposite Alessandria, gave battle to Bonaparte at MARENGO.[1] The action began at eight o'clock in the morning, and towards the close of the day the Austrians appeared to be victorious. The right wing of the French had been turned; Mélas, secure of victory, had entered Alessandria to refresh himself, when Desaix, arriving with his division, broke the Austrian left, which had extended itself too much, and compelled a body of 5,000 Austrian grenadiers, posted in the village of Marengo, to surrender. Desaix, however, was killed in the engagement. The Austrians recrossed the Bormida under cover of the night, and the French remained masters of the field. This battle, which had so nearly become a defeat for Bonaparte, but which he was accustomed to speak of as one of his most glorious achievements, although tacticians reproach him with having committed several gross mistakes, proved nevertheless decisive. Mélas, an old man of eighty, completely lost his head. Great was the astonishment at the French head-quarters on the following day, at receiving from him proposals for an armistice. The Convention of Alessandria, signed June 16th,[2] is one of the most disgraceful capitulations recorded in history. Mélas, on condition of being allowed to retire beyond the Mincio, abandoned the whole of Piedmont and Lombardy, as far as the Oglio; also Genoa. This city had been captured with the aid of the English fleet under Admiral Keith, June 4th, and had been revictualled by the English. The Austrian commander therefore had no right to surrender it; had he possessed ordinary resolution, Genoa would have served him as a *point d'appui*, and the English being masters of the sea, he could always have received provisions and reinforcements. After this short, but brilliant campaign, which had lasted less than six weeks, Bonaparte returned to Paris, leaving Masséna

[1] For a description of the battle, see De Gross, *Historisch-militärisches Handbuch*. Also the account given by Mélas himself to the Archduke Charles, in Mailath, *Gesch. Oestreichs*, t. v. p. 234-242.

[2] Martens, t. vii. p. 71.

to reconquer Italy, in case it could not be recovered by negotiation.

Meanwhile the campaign upon the Rhine had been opened April 25th. The French army, under Moreau, passed the Rhine at six different points between Kehl and Dreienhofen. The Austrians were now commanded by Kray. The Archduke Charles having pronounced himself in favour of a peace with France, Thugut and the English party had procured his removal from the army in Germany, under pretence of making him commander-in-chief in Bohemia. Great Britain, after the defection of Paul I. from the Coalition, had entered into treaties with the Electors of Bavaria and Mentz, and the Duke of Würtemberg, for supplying about 20,000 men. These had been added to the Austrian army concentrated at Liptingen and Stockach. Bonaparte, in order that Moreau's success might not eclipse his own glory, had wished that general to stand on the defensive; but Moreau was by no means inclined to play so subordinate a part. Hence, it is said, as well as from the contempt which he manifested for the plans of the First Consul, arose the aversion which Bonaparte afterwards displayed towards him. Advancing from Basle, Moreau defeated Kray at Engen, May 3rd, at Möskirch, 5th, at Pfullendorf, 6th, while Richepanse repulsed the Austrians at Biberach, 9th, and Lecourbe at Memmingen, 10th. Kray now threw himself into Ulm, which had been newly fortified. But Moreau, having advanced into Bavaria, Kray again took the field, and crossing the Danube, marched down the left bank of that river. Moreau despatched Lecourbe against him with 30,000 men, who, crossing the river between Dillingen and Donauwörth, defeated the Austrian rearguard at Hochstädt, June 19th. Kray now directed his march towards the Upper Palatinate, thus abandoning Bavaria to the French. Decaen entered Munich, June 27th. On the same day Lecourbe defeated Kray at Neuburg, who then took up a position at Ingolstadt. Affairs were in this state when news arrived of the cessation of hostilities in Italy; in consequence of which an armistice was also concluded for Germany, at Parsdorf, July 15th,[1] which arrested the progress of the French towards Austria. The French were to occupy both the Rhenish Circles, all Suabia, and great part of Franconia and Bavaria, in order, as the Convention expressed it, to place the safety of property and of the established Government in this part of the Empire under the protection of the honour of the French army. Yet the contributions exacted

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 75.

by the French, reached in August the sum of twenty-four million thalers (3,600,000*l.* sterling)![1]

Francis II. had at first hesitated to ratify the Convention of Alessandria. Only a few hours before the news of it arrived at Vienna, he had concluded with Great Britain a fresh treaty of subsidies (June 20th, 1800),[2] by which, in consideration of an advance of two millions sterling, he agreed to continue the war with all his forces, in conjunction with England. That Power was to put at the disposal of the Emperor the troops which she had hired from the German Princes; and both the contracting parties agreed to make no separate peace with the French Republic before February 1st, 1801. When the Emperor despatched Count St. Julien to Paris with the ratification of the armistice, that envoy was instructed to sound the First Consul respecting the possibility of a peace in which Great Britain and Naples should be included. St. Julien overstepped his instructions, and signed the preliminaries of an advantageous but separate peace, for which act he was committed to the fortress of Klausenburg, in Transylvania. The Cabinet of Vienna now endeavoured to persuade the First Consul to include Great Britain in the negotiations; and the armistice, which had expired in Germany, September 10th, was a second time extended on the 20th for a period of forty-five days by the Convention of Hohenlinden;[3] by which, however, Moreau insisted that Philippsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt should be placed in his hands. This interval was employed by several of the minor German Princes to make private arrangements with the French generals, for which they had to pay considerable sums.

The hopes of a peace were for the present frustrated. The English Cabinet was not inclined to grant the First Consul's demand for a naval armistice, which would have released the ports of France from blockade, and enabled the French Government to reinforce and revictual their troops in Egypt and Malta. The last-named island surrendered to the English September 5th, after a blockade of nearly two years, which had reduced the French garrison to the last extremity of famine, and diminished its numbers to about 5,000 men. On the 12th of November the French gave the fortnight's notice agreed upon of their renunciation of the armistice, and hostilities were resumed in Germany on the 28th. The Austrian army, now under the command of the

[1] Menzel, *N. Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vi. S. 393.
[2] Martens, t. vii. p. 61. [3] *Ibid.* p. 84.

Archduke John, crossed the Inn, and, after a trifling success at Ampfing, gave battle to Moreau at Hohenlinden, December 3rd. Here Moreau gained one of his most splendid victories. The Austrians lost 7,000 slain, and 11,000 prisoners, and near 100 guns; the most terrible defeat they had sustained in the two wars of the Revolution. They now retired behind the Enns, while the French pushed on to Linz and Salzburg. At the entreaty of Francis, his brother, the Archduke Charles, now resumed the command, but found the army so diminished and disorganized that he was compelled to propose another armistice, intimating at the same time that the Emperor had resolved upon a peace, whatever might be the views of his allies. Moreau, who was himself in a somewhat critical position, having advanced one hundred leagues beyond his supports, and being liable to an attack in the rear from the Austrians in Tyrol, deemed it prudent not to reject these offers. An armistice was accordingly concluded at Steyer,[1] December 25th, 1800, for an indefinite period, though not less than thirty days, with fifteen days' notice of its expiration. Just at this time the First Consul nearly lost his life by a detestable conspiracy. A barrel full of combustibles, called *the infernal machine*, was exploded in the Rue St. Nicaise, now swallowed up in the Place du Carrousel, as Bonaparte was proceeding to the opera on the evening of December 24th. He had passed just in time to escape its effects, but upwards of fifty persons were killed. Two fanatical Chouans were executed for this attempt, which served only to strengthen Bonaparte's power by enabling him to adopt stringent measures of police.

Meanwhile in Italy the armistice of Alessandria had also been prolonged by that of Castiglione, September 29th.[2] General Brune, by whom Masséna had been superseded in the command of the army of Italy, profited by this interval to occupy Tuscany, which had not been mentioned in the Convention. The armistice expired about the middle of November; but Brune did not commence any active operations till December 25th. The Mincio was passed, then the Adige, January 1st, 1801; after which Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso were rapidly occupied. At the same time the French army in the Grisons had entered Tyrol and occupied Trent, January 7th. But hostilities were suspended by a Convention signed at Treviso, January 16th,[3] by which Peschiera, Sermione, Verona, Legnago, Ferrara, Ancona, were transferred

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 286. [2] *Ibid.* p. 88.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 291.

to the French, and finally also Mantua. This armistice was followed by the PEACE OF LUNEVILLE, February 9th.[1] Count Cobenzl and Joseph Bonaparte, who, as plenipotentiaries for Austria and France, had met at Lunéville early in the previous November, when it was hoped that England might be included in the negotiations, now again proceeded thither to treat for a separate peace. Their conferences were secret, and the Ministers of no other Powers were admitted. Francis II. undertook to sign the peace in the name of the Empire as well as his own, a course not entirely without precedent; but the conditions stipulated in the name of the German Confederation were only what their deputation had already agreed to at Rastadt. The Adige was constituted the boundary of the Austrian possessions in Italy. The Duchy of Modena was annexed to the Cisalpine Republic, and the Duke of Modena was indemnified with the Breisgau. Tuscany and Elba were ceded to the Infant of Parma; the Grand Duke was to obtain an indemnity in Germany; Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine were to remain to the French, and the Princes damnified by this cession were to have compensation in Germany. The independence of the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics was guaranteed.

The arrangement concerning Tuscany was the result of a secret treaty between France and Spain, concluded at St. Ildefonso, October 1st, 1800. The possession of Tuscany was purchased by Spain for the Infant Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Parma, not only by the sacrifice of that Duchy, but also of Louisiana, the abandonment of six ships of the line, and the payment of a considerable sum of money.[2] The transaction was finally arranged by the Treaty of Madrid between France and Spain, March 21st, 1801.[3] The Prince of Parma, who had resided several years at Madrid, and had married one of Charles's daughters, proceeded in the summer to Florence, where he was proclaimed "King of Etruria," August 2nd. The Emperor, by his peace with the French Republic, had abandoned the King of the Two Sicilies to his fate. The Count de Damas, the commander of the Neapolitan army, claimed to be comprehended in the armistice of Treviso, as having acted under the commands of General Bellegarde, but, in fact, no stipulation had been made in favour of Naples in that Convention. Murat, who commanded a French army which was preparing to

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 296.

[2] Garden, t. vi. p. 265. The treaty of St. Ildefonso is not in Martens' collection, but there is a Spanish version of it in Cantillo, *Tratados de Paz*, p. 692; and a French translation of it in Garden, t. viii. p. 46 sq.

[3] Martens, *ibid.* p. 337.

invade the Neapolitan dominions, would recognize no such claim, and under the circumstances, Ferdinand IV. deemed it prudent to enter into negotiations with the First Consul. An armistice was concluded at Foligno, February 18th, 1801, followed by a treaty of peace, signed at Florence, March 28th,[1] by which King Ferdinand engaged to shut his ports against all English and Turkish vessels, whether of war or commerce, till those nations should have concluded a peace with France. By the fourth Article, Ferdinand renounced his claims to the isle of Elba and the principality of Piombino in Tuscany, forming part of the new Kingdom of Etruria. These possessions, which really belonged to the family of Buoncompagni, were not, however, assigned to the Duke of Parma, and were eventually seized by the French. Elba was annexed to France by a decree of the Senate, August 26th, 1802, while the principality of Piombino was erected by Bonaparte into a fief of the French Empire, March, 1805, and bestowed on his sister Eliza and her husband, Felix Bacciocchi.[2] There were also secret articles in the Treaty of Florence, by one of which the French were allowed to occupy the peninsula of Otranto, and part of the Abruzzi, with 16,000 men, and Soult entered the peninsula in April with the stipulated force. The object seems to have been to keep this army, at the expense of Naples, in readiness to be transported to Egypt or Greece.

Bonaparte, again supreme in Italy, did not manifest any hostility towards the Pope. The Papacy had remained in abeyance after the death of Pius VI. (August 29th, 1799), till the election of Cardinal Chiaramonte by a conclave held at Venice, March 14th, 1800, under Austrian influence. As Bishop of Imola, Chiaramonte had displayed his approbation of the French democratic and revolutionary principles. On his elevation to the Papal Chair he assumed the title of Pius VII.; but he continued to reside at Venice till after the battle of Marengo, when Bonaparte consented to his installation at Rome. The maintenance of the Papal authority now formed part of Bonaparte's policy in the restoration which he meditated of the Monarchical system in his own favour. On the 15th of July, 1801, he concluded a Concordat with Pius VII., by which the Papal authority, though in a modified form, was re-established in France; an act extremely unpopular, and especially among the generals of the army.

The Coalition was thus gradually dissolving. Portugal was

[1] Martens, *ibid.* pp. 343, 345. [2] Garden, t. vi. p. 271.

soon to be added to the list of seceding States. Bonaparte entertained a violent hatred of that country, now almost the only one of Europe that remained open to British commerce. Charles IV. of Spain, one of whose daughters had married the Prince Regent of Portugal, displaying an unwillingness to coerce that kingdom, or to admit the passage of a French army for that purpose, Lucien Bonaparte was despatched to Madrid, towards the close of 1800, to stimulate that Court to action. Assisted by the Prince of the Peace, Lucien persuaded Charles IV. to publish a declaration of war against Portugal, February 18th, 1801. A French army having entered Spain in April, in order to march against Portugal, Charles, to disembarrass himself of so dangerous an ally, resolved to adopt more vigorous measures. A Spanish army soon overran a great part of Portugal, and compelled the Regent to conclude with Spain the Peace of Badajoz, June 6th, 1801; the chief article of which was, that the Portuguese ports should be closed against British vessels.[1] The French troops were, however, still retained in Spain. The First Consul having expressed great dissatisfaction with the Treaty of Badajoz, and ordered his brother-in-law, Leclerc, to march upon Lisbon, Great Britain, which was then negotiating with France the Peace of Amiens, advised Portugal, under these circumstances, to reconcile herself with France, releasing her, for that purpose, from all the obligations she had contracted. A treaty between the French Republic and Portugal was accordingly signed at Madrid, September 29th, 1801.[2] The neutrality of Portugal was established; though the article by which the Portuguese ports were to be closed against the English and open to the French can hardly be brought under that category. The British Cabinet, however, seeing that the effects of this treaty would cease on the conclusion of the peace with France, connived at, and even promoted, the treaty.

Before we advert to the negotiations between France and England regarding the Peace of Amiens, we must relate some events which occurred in the north of Europe, as well as the conclusion of the French expedition to Egypt.

We have already mentioned the dissatisfaction of the Czar Paul I. at the reverses of his troops in Switzerland and Holland; a result which he attributed to the want of cordial co-operation on the part of Austria and England. Paul's irritation was increased by the refusal of Austria to restore the King of Sardinia after the conquest of Piedmont, as well as that of England to give up

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 348. [2] *Ibid.* p. 373.

Malta. He affirmed that Great Britain, by a Convention of December 30th, 1798, had agreed to restore that island to the Knights of St. John, of whom he had declared himself the Grand Master, while the British Cabinet denied that any such arrangement had been completed. Paul's discontent was artfully fomented by Bonaparte. The First Consul, for whom Paul had conceived a vast admiration, on account of his anti-revolutionary tendencies, entered into an active correspondence with that autocrat, and excited his irascible temper by causing to be forwarded to him all the abusive pamphlets and articles published against him in England. By way of courting the Czar, he sent back, newly clothed, and without ransom, the Russians who had been captured, and tuned the French journals to sound the autocrat's praises. By these arts he induced Paul to make extensive preparations for an overland attack on the English possessions in India, as well as for marching on Constantinople, in order to compel the Turks to withdraw their forces from Egypt.[1] To please his new friend, the Czar even condescended to banish Louis XVIII. from his dominions. That Prince now took up his abode at Warsaw. Paul not only withdrew from the Coalition, but at length, at the instigation of Bonaparte, took an active part against Great Britain, by joining the Northern ARMED NEUTRALITY, the origin of which confederacy must be traced somewhat further back, to the breaking out of the French Revolutionary war.

The extraordinary nature of that war, or rather of the principles which then prevailed in France, led the French, and it must be confessed, the English also, to adopt practices of naval warfare which cannot be reconciled with the commonly received Law of Nations.[2] The Convention, rejecting the maxims formerly advocated by France respecting the privileges of the neutral flag, and even positive treaties with Denmark and other Powers, had, by a decree of May 9th, 1793, authorized French ships of war and privateers to seize neutral vessels carrying provisions, although also the property of neutrals, to an enemy's port, as well as all goods belonging to an enemy. England, on her side, had by an instruction dated June 8th, 1793, authorized the arrest of vessels laden with grain destined for a French port, or a port occupied

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 62 sq.

[2] Respecting the Armed Neutrality, see Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. vi. pp. 303-383 : where several of the original documents will be found. See also *Decisions of the High Court of Admiralty during the time of Sir G. Hay and of Sir J. Marriott*, London, 1801, 4to.; M. J. Marriott, *Mém. justificatif de la conduite de la Grande Bretagne en arrêtant les navires étrangers*, London, 1802, 8vo.; Sulpicius, *Letters on the Northern Confederacy*.

by the French armies; such vessels to be sent into some British harbour, where the cargo could be bought for the account of the English Government, or the captain be permitted, on giving sufficient security, to carry his cargo to some friendly port. And, in addition to the usual laws of blockade, it was insisted that a mere declaration, or paper blockade, should be respected. This instruction was communicated to the neutral Powers, and its unusual provisions were justified on the ground that the French Government could not be regarded as a legitimate and established one. Such were the grounds urged by Mr. Hailes, the English Minister at Copenhagen, in a note to Count Bernstorff, the Danish Foreign Minister. Mr. Hailes further urged that the circumstances of this war exempted it from the ordinary system of public law; that the French corn trade was not in the hands of private individuals, but conducted by the Executive Council and the different municipalities; that to reduce the French to famine was an important means to compel them to an equitable peace, and justified by their having armed the working classes against the general tranquillity of Europe. Mr. Hailes also protested against French privateers, with their prizes, being admitted into Danish ports.

It was easy for Count Bernstorff, in an admirable note, remarkable for its dignity and moderation, to refute most of the arguments of the English Minister. He exposed the mischievous doctrine that the nature of circumstances should influence the unalterable Rights of Nations, or the solemn obligation of treaties; he rejected the novel distinction attempted to be drawn between contracts made by a government or by private individuals, as well as the monstrous proposition that the same laws may be applied to a whole nation as to a blockaded place, and that an entire people, including many innocent provinces, may be reduced to submission by starvation. "One war," he observes, "may certainly differ from another by its motives, its object, its necessity, its justice, or injustice; this may be of the greatest importance for the belligerent parties, and may and ought to influence the peace, the compensations, and all such accessory considerations; but it has absolutely no concern with neutral Powers. Such Powers, no doubt, will interest themselves for those who have justice on their side, but they have no right to listen to this sentiment; neutrality, if it be not perfect, no longer exists."[1]

[1] Bernstorff's *Mémoire*, ap. Garden, t. vi. p. 317 sqq.

The views of England were, however, immediately adopted by Sweden. This difference in the policy of the two Northern Courts is explained by the nature of their treaties with England. In that with Denmark, flour, wheat, and other grain and provisions, were expressly excepted from the category of contraband of war, while in that with Sweden they were included in it. Hence the conduct observed by England was in fact favourable to the Swedes, since grain seized as contraband was not absolutely confiscated, as under her treaty it might have been, but sold on account of the proprietors. With regard to the Danes, on the other hand, the seizing of cargoes of grain was a manifest breach of treaty, which was by no means compensated by the sales effected for the owners. Within a few months from the breaking out of hostilities, no fewer than eighty-nine Danish vessels, laden with corn and other provisions, were carried into English ports. And the English Government was very slow in paying over the proceeds of the cargoes. Meanwhile the English Admiralty had adopted the new doctrine, that neutral nations had a right to carry to foreign countries only their own produce and manufactures; according to which the payment for the cargoes and freight of several neutral vessels was refused. In order to cut off all commerce between France and her colonies by means of neutral vessels, Great Britain also proclaimed the principle that neutrals could not carry on, in time of war, a commerce forbidden to them by a belligerent Power in time of peace. These acts were wound up by a secret order issued by the English Government in March, 1794, enjoining captains to seize all vessels laden with provisions or naval stores, whatever might be their destination, and to bring them into a British port; where the crews were subjected to an interrogatory of twenty questions, of a truly inquisitorial nature.

These proceedings at length induced Sweden as well as Denmark to enter into a defensive alliance for the protection of their commerce, concluded at Copenhagen, March 27th, 1794.[1] By Article X., the Baltic was declared closed. But this treaty could not preserve their commerce from the vexations and tyranny of Great Britain and France. After the establishment of the Directory, the injustice exercised by France towards neutral commerce exceeded anything that had been done by England. The law of January 18th, 1798, established the monstrous principle that the quality of ships should be determined by their cargo;

[1] Martens, t. v. p. 274.

consequently, that every ship, laden wholly or *in part* with English merchandise, should be lawful prize, whoever might be the owner of the merchandise. This was virtually an order to every European Power to renounce all commerce with Great Britain.

The Kings of Sweden and Denmark, to protect the navigation of their subjects, appointed frigates and other armed vessels to sail at certain fixed periods and convoy merchant vessels bound for Lisbon and the Mediterranean. This measure was not adopted with the view of protecting *by force* the vessels under convoy, but was founded on the principle that the presence of a man-of-war was sufficient guarantee that these vessels were *bonâ fide* traders, having nothing on board liable to seizure, and consequently exempt from the right of search. Great Britain, however, did not recognize this principle, and the adoption of it led to the Armed Neutrality. At first, indeed, vessels so escorted were suffered to pass by the British cruisers. The principle was first contested by Admiral Keith, in the case of a Danish frigate with convoy, near Gibraltar, in 1799. More flagrant instances occurred next year. On July 25th, 1800, the Danish frigate "Freya," with a convoy of six vessels, was stopped by an English squadron at the entrance of the Channel, and, after some resistance, was conducted with its convoy to the Downs, where the vessels were searched, but nothing of a contraband nature discovered. A warm discussion ensued between the English and Danish Governments; Lord Whitworth was sent to Copenhagen, and a fleet of sixteen ships of war was despatched to support his arguments. Count Bernstorff proposed the mediation of Russia, which was declined, and Denmark was compelled to yield. An arrangement was concluded, August 29th,[1] by which the Danish convoys were suspended till some definitive convention should be concluded; meanwhile the "Freya" and her convoys were released.

Before the arrival of Lord Whitworth in Denmark, the Court of Copenhagen had notified to the Czar the outrage committed on the Danish flag, and had invoked his interference. Paul I., who already thought that he had several causes of complaint against England, resolved to constitute himself the arbiter of the Baltic and the protector of neutral rights. Accordingly, without awaiting the result of the negotiations between England and Denmark, he addressed a circular[2] to the Kings of Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, who had all occasion to complain of insults to their flags, inviting them to revive the ARMED NEUTRALITY established in the

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 149. [2] *Ibid.* p. 150.

reign of Catharine II. in 1780. The Convention arranged between Great Britain and Denmark caused him at first to relax the measures which he had taken to carry out this policy; but the news of the seizure of Malta by the English goaded him to fury, and on November 7th, 1800, an embargo was laid on all British ships in the ports of the Russian Empire. This was a manifest violation of the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Russia, of February 21st, 1797, which provided that, in case of a rupture, a term of at least a twelvemonth should be allowed to merchants to retire and dispose of their effects.[1]

Gustavus Adolphus IV. of Sweden was the first to adhere to the Russian proposition. In December, 1800, that Sovereign proceeded in person to St. Petersburg, to arrange with the Czar the basis of the proposed association, and a series of treaties was signed forming a regular Quadruple Alliance, viz., between Russia and Sweden, and Russia and Denmark, December 16th, and on the 18th between Russia and Prussia.[2] The main principles adopted by this confederacy were, that arms and ammunition alone are contraband of war, unless particular treaties with a belligerent determined otherwise; that goods belonging to the subjects of a belligerent Power are covered by the neutral flag, except contraband of war; that no port can be regarded as blockaded unless the blockade be real and effectual, rendering it dangerous to enter; that the declaration of an officer commanding a ship or ships of war, to the effect that there is nothing contraband on board his convoy, suffices to exempt it from search.

Mr. Drummond having demanded from the Court of Denmark a plain and satisfactory answer respecting the negotiations with Russia, Count Bernstorff, in reply, denied that the engagements which Denmark was about to contract were either hostile to Great Britain, or at variance with those of the Convention of August 29th; and he asserted that the principles, respecting which the Northern Powers were about to come to an agreement, so far from compromising their neutrality, were designed only to confirm it.[3] In consequence of this note the English Government placed an embargo on all Russian, Swedish, and Danish vessels, January 14th, 1801; and Lord Grenville, in a note to the Danish and Swedish Ministers in London, declared that the new Maritime Code of 1780 was an innovation hurtful to the dearest interests of Great Britain; and that Russia had renounced it by the

[1] Art. xii. ap. Martens, t. vi. p. 363. [2] *Ibid.* t. vii. p. 172 sqq.
[3] Garden, t. vi. p. 360.

engagements which she had entered into at the commencement of the present war. At the same time orders were given for the invasion of the Danish islands in the West Indies, and for the preparation of a Baltic fleet. Meanwhile, the Czar had recalled his Minister from Copenhagen, because the Court of Denmark had hesitated to ratify absolutely the treaty of December 16th. The King of Denmark, thus placed between two dangers, acceded unconditionally to the Armed Neutrality, February 27th, 1801.

The British Ministry, wishing to conciliate Prussia, had laid no embargo on the ships of that Power, although she had joined the Northern League. Yet Prussia and Denmark concerted a project for excluding English vessels from the Elbe and Weser, to which also Paul I. acceded. The Danes, however, used no reprisals against England, even in their own harbours, till March 29th, when an embargo was placed upon all English ships. At the same time 12,000 Danish troops occupied Hamburg, caused the buoys to be removed between Cuxhaven and Glückstadt, put an embargo on all ships bound for England, and seized all English property that could be found in Hamburg. Another Danish corps of 3,000 men occupied Lübeck, April 5th. An English fleet, under Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson, had already reached the entrance of the Kattegat on the 18th of March. On April 4th 24,000 Prussian troops entered the Electorate of Hanover by virtue of a convention with the Hanoverian Ministry. It has been thought that this occupation was arranged with the Cabinet of London, in order to prevent Hanover from being seized by the French. It is at all events certain that, even after this event, no embargo was laid in England upon Prussian ships, nor in Prussia upon those of England. Bremen was also taken possession of by Prussian troops, April 12th.

We have thus explained at some length the origin of the Armed Neutrality of 1800, and of the short war with Denmark which ensued, in order that the reader may be able to form his own opinion on those events. Mr. Vansittart, who was sent as a special envoy to Copenhagen, having failed in his attempts to induce the Court of Denmark to withdraw from the Russian alliance, recourse was had to compulsion. The history of the expedition to Copenhagen under Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson is so well known to the English reader that we need here recapitulate only the principal incidents. The Sound was passed by the English fleet with little or no damage from the guns of Kronborg Castle,

while the Swedes on their side offered no resistance. On April 2nd, Lord Nelson, disregarding the signal of Sir Hyde Parker to withdraw from the combat, gained a decisive victory over the Danish fleet stationed in front of Copenhagen; but not without a brave and prolonged resistance on the part of the Danes, by which the English vessels were considerably damaged. On the following day Nelson proceeded to Copenhagen to arrange an accommodation. The Danish Government rejected some advantageous offers for a defensive alliance, but concluded a convention for an armistice of fourteen weeks (April 9th):[1] during which period the Danish fleet was to remain in its actual state, and the treaty with Russia of December 16th, 1800, that is, the Armed Neutrality, was, so far as concerned Denmark, to remain in abeyance. In the West Indies, Admiral Duckworth had, in the course of March, reduced the Danish islands of St. Martin, St. Thomas, and St. John, and the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew.

A few days after the conclusion of the convention with Denmark, Sir Hyde Parker, leaving Nelson at Copenhagen, proceeded with twenty-eight ships into the Baltic. He appeared before the Swedish port of Carlscrona, April 19th, and summoned the commandant to make known his intentions. Gustavus IV., who had come to Carlscrona in person, directed the commandant to reply that the King of Sweden would remain faithful to his engagements with his allies. At this critical juncture hostilities were arrested by intelligence of the death of Paul I., and by the change of policy adopted by his son and successor, the Emperor Alexander, immediately on his accession to the Russian throne.

Although Paul I. was loyal and generous, and not without a certain kind of intellect, his violence and eccentricities caused him to be dreaded and shunned. St. Petersburg was quitted by those who had the means to do so to such an extent that houses fell considerably in price.[2] Paul, from his almost insane hatred of the French Revolution, exacted a respect and obedience which were puerile and fatiguing; the cut of a coat, the hour of repose, and other trifling matters of the same kind, were enforced under pain of imprisonment and exile. His recent policy and abandonment of the English alliance were also regarded by a powerful party with disapprobation. In a despotism like that of Russia, assassination comes to be looked upon as a legitimate means of escape from an absolute master, whose actions cannot be controlled. The murder of Paul seems to have been first suggested by an Italian named

[1] Martens, *Recueil*, t. vii. p. 238.

[2] *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 81.

Ribas. One of the chief actors in it, however, was Von der Pahlen, a gentleman of Courland, whom Paul had made governor of St. Petersburg—a post of overwhelming fatigue and responsibility, as the Emperor, in addition to its military duties, required a daily account of the conversations, the acts, nay, the very thoughts of the inhabitants. It was feared that Paul would restore the Kingdom of Poland, and Pahlen enjoyed a large share of its confiscations. Pahlen got together a little band of conspirators, among whom the principal was Prince Zouboff, a favourite of the Czar's, and an officer in his guards. The Czarowitsch, Alexander himself, was, after some reluctance, induced to join the plot, though only on condition that his father's life should be respected. Paul's favourite son, Constantine, is even said to have been seen by his father among the assassins in his apartments.[1] Paul was murdered on the night of March 24th, while Pahlen kept watch in the garden at the head of a strong detachment of guards. Next day it was given out that the Emperor had been carried off by an apoplexy. Alexander I., after some demonstrations of filial sorrow, received the homage of the Court and Senate, and the announcement of a new reign spread an unconcealed joy through the Russian metropolis.

Alexander was no sooner seated on his father's throne than a new line of policy was adopted. He abandoned the French alliance, and one of his first acts was to inform the English admiral that he accepted the proposal made by Great Britain to his predecessor, to arrange the differences which had produced the war; and Count Pahlen, now Minister of Foreign Affairs, requested a suspension of hostilities till he could receive the ulterior instructions of his Court. This demand was acceded to by Admiral Parker, and the Northern War terminated. At the instance of the Emperor of Russia the Danish troops evacuated Hamburg and Lübeck; the King of Prussia also showed himself willing to forward the views of Alexander. Nevertheless, the Prussian troops continued to occupy Hanover, not, it has been supposed, without the concurrence of Great Britain, till the preliminaries of a peace between that country and France had been ratified. A Congress was opened at St. Petersburg, and on June 17th, 1801, a convention was concluded between Russia and Great Britain, which established a new maritime code.[2] Great Britain obtained the recognition of two principles which were deemed of the highest importance: 1. That the flag does not cover the goods; 2. That vessels under convoy may

[1] Michelet, *Jusqu'à Waterloo*, p. 58. [2] Martens, t. vii. p. 260.

be visited. On the other hand, the English Cabinet renounced some of its pretensions; especially the validity of what is called "a paper-blockade." As between Russia and Great Britain arms and ammunition alone were declared contraband of war, to the exclusion of provision and building-timber; with other nations contraband goods were to be determined by treaty. By two separate articles the armistice between Great Britain and the Scandinavian kingdoms was prolonged for three months; and the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Russia of February 21st, 1797, was renewed.

This convention excited considerable dissatisfaction in Denmark and Sweden. Danish blood alone had flowed in maintaining principles first proclaimed by Russia, but which that Power now abandoned. The Court of Copenhagen was, however, at length compelled to yield, and acceded to the Convention of St. Petersburg, October 23rd, 1801. Sweden held out longer, and did not adhere to the convention till March 30th, 1802. Great Britain, in conformity with it, restored the islands which she had taken from the two Scandinavian Powers.

The Coalition, for which the Emperor Paul had taken up arms, having been dissolved by the Peace of Lunéville, Alexander, who shared not the passions and prejudices of his father, entered into negotiations for a peace with France and her allies. A treaty with Spain was first concluded at Paris, October 4th, 1801;[1] which, as the two nations had really no substantial grievances to allege against each other, was comprised in three short and unimportant articles. The treaty with France was signed four days later (October 8th).[2] The most remarkable article was that the contracting Powers reciprocally engaged not to permit their subjects to maintain any correspondence with the internal enemies of the government of either, to propagate principles inimical to their respective constitutions, or to foment political troubles. The anti-revolutionary principles thus sanctioned by the First Consul, and especially the use of the word *subjects*, excited considerable animadversion in the French Legislature; nevertheless, the ratification of the treaty was voted by a large majority. A secret convention concluded between France and Russia, October 11th, was of more political importance than the treaty of peace. This has not been published, but it is known that the two Powers agreed to act in intimate concert in arranging the affairs of Italy and Germany; that Russia should mediate the re-establishment

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 385. [2] *Ibid.* p. 386.

of peace between France and the Porte; that France should withdraw her troops from Naples; that the King of Sardinia should be indemnified; that the Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands should be recognized and guaranteed; that the two Powers should unite to consolidate the general peace, to establish a just equilibrium in the four quarters of the globe, and to assure the liberty of the seas.[1]

Before we advert to the peace between France and the Porte, we must relate the end of the French invasion of Egypt.

The furtive departure of Bonaparte had spread discontent and dejection among the French army in that country, and these feelings were mitigated only by their confidence in the great moral as well as military qualities of Kléber, to whom the command had been left. The Turks effected another descent at Damietta, November 1st, 1799. They were repulsed with great loss; but Kléber, on learning that the Grand Vizier was approaching with a large army through Syria, and that he had taken the fortress of El Arisch, December 29th, deemed it prudent to enter into negotiations. These had been begun by Bonaparte before his departure, and he had recommended Kléber to follow them up. Kléber preferred to treat through English mediation rather than directly with the Turks. He had already had some correspondence with Sir Sidney Smith, and conferences were opened on board the Commodore's ship, the "Tiger," December 22nd. Sir Sidney Smith was not authorized to treat by his Government; and, in fact, his negotiations with Desaix and Poussielgue, whom Kléber had deputed, were not conducted in the name of England, but of the Grand Vizier. The "Tiger" being driven out to sea by a violent storm, came to anchor at El Arisch, January 9th, 1800, where the camp of the Grand Vizier was then established. By a convention signed at this place January 24th, by Desaix and Poussielgue, and the plenipotentiaries of the Grand Vizier, an armistice in Egypt of three months was agreed upon; the Turks engaged to transport the French army, with arms and baggage, to France, and to provide for its subsistence.[2]

Sir Sidney Smith, at the time this convention was arranged, had no reason to suspect that it would be distasteful to his Government. But meanwhile the English Cabinet, relying apparently on an intercepted letter of Kléber's, in which the distress to which the French army had been reduced was painted in the most vivid colours, had resolved to listen to no terms with them

[1] Garden, t. vi. p. 287 sq. [2] Martens, t. vii. p. 1.

short of a surrender as prisoners of war; and they had already given Lord Keith, their admiral in the Mediterranean, secret instructions to this effect. Sir Sidney Smith did not learn these orders till February 22nd, at Cyprus; and he immediately hastened to communicate them to Kléber lest that general should have reason to complain that he had been deceived.[1] Kléber had already restored Salahieh, Katijeh, Belbeis, and Damietta to the Grand Vizier, when he received a summons from Lord Keith to surrender at discretion. With a natural irritation he communicated it to his troops, and with the laconic address, "Soldiers! a victory is the only answer to such insolence: Let us march!" he immediately resumed hostilities. The Turks were completely defeated at Heliopolis, March 20th. But Kléber was assassinated by a fanatical Turk, June 14th; when the command devolved on Menou, one of the most incompetent of the French generals. Kléber had contemplated the renewal of negotiations. Menou, on the contrary, who, with the name of Abdallah, had assumed the Mahometan faith, and married a Turkish wife, was determined to remain in Egypt in spite of the English and the Turks, and even of his own army. Thus the English Cabinet had missed an opportunity which it recovered only at great expense and bloodshed. They now wished to retract, but Menou would not hear of the capitulation of El Arisch; it became necessary to reduce him by force, and General Abercrombie was despatched to Egypt with 17,000 men. Lord Elgin, British Minister at Constantinople, pressed the Porte to assist. But Paul I. had inspired the Turks with a distrust of England; the Turkish armament was retarded, and Abercrombie, after waiting in vain for the Ottoman fleet, disembarked near Aboukir, March 1st, 1801, and after a sharp contest made himself master of that place. In the battle of Canopus, or Rhamanieh, March 21st, Menou was defeated with a loss of 1,700 killed and 2,000 prisoners. But Abercrombie received a mortal wound, and Menou contrived to retreat in good order to Alexandria.

The command of the English army now devolved on General Hutchinson, who, being reinforced by 6,000 Turks, took Rosetta, April 19th. Reinforcements from the East Indies, under General Baird, as well as from the Cape of Good Hope, disembarked at Cosseir on the Red Sea, but came too late to be of any service. An army of 20,000 Turks, marching through Syria, had joined the English, June 5th; and General Belliard, commandant of

[1] Garden, t. vi. p. 214.

Cairo, seeing no hope of resisting such superior forces, signed a capitulation, June 27th, 1801.[1] By virtue of this capitulation, 14,000 men, including civil officers and scientific and literary men, were carried to Toulon free of expense; which port they reached in September. As Menou refused to include in the capitulation the garrison of Alexandria, that place was invested, and had to suffer all the horrors of a siege. At length, despairing of relief, which had been vainly attempted by Admiral Gantheaume, Menou was compelled to capitulate, August 30th. He did not obtain such advantageous terms as Belliard. The French were obliged to relinquish their Arab MSS., maps, and objects of antiquity, and to surrender their vessels and the greater part of their guns.

The Porte being assured of the evacuation of Egypt by the French, the preliminaries of a peace with France were signed at Paris, October 9th, 1801; but they were not converted into a definitive treaty till June 25th, 1802, after the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens between France and England.[2] The Turkish dominions were to be placed in the *status quo* before the war; the French were to enjoy all their former privileges of navigation and commerce, and particularly were to have the right of entering the Black Sea. The Porte acceded to the Treaty of Amiens.

After the Peace of Lunéville, France had no active opponent except Great Britain. The First Consul was sincerely desirous of a peace with this country also. With the view of procuring it, M. Otto, who had been *chargé d'affaires* at Berlin, a man of conciliating manners and well acquainted with the English language and customs, was sent to London as commissioner for treating with regard to prisoners of war; and he availed himself of the opportunities thus afforded to open indirect communications with the English Ministers and other influential statesmen. These views were promoted by a change in the English Ministry. Mr. Pitt resigned office, February 9th, 1801, in consequence of his advocacy of Catholic emancipation; a measure which George III. would not hear of. Mr. Pitt was succeeded as Premier by Mr. Henry Addington, the Speaker of the House of Commons; Lord Hawkesbury became Foreign Secretary instead of Lord Grenville, and Lord Hobart succeeded Mr. Dundas in the War Department. The new Ministers were inclined for peace. Immediately on their accession to office they despatched to Paris one Messeria, a Corsican, to sound

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 22. [2] Martens, t. vii. pp. 391, 416.

the intentions of Bonaparte, and to propose the opening of a conference. The First Consul's inclination for peace had, however, at this time somewhat abated. He beheld in the North a formidable combination against England: the Emperor Paul I. seemed warmly disposed to second all the French plans of aggression, while Egypt continued to be occupied by the troops of the Republic. Negotiations, indeed, still went on, but in a desultory manner. At the same time Bonaparte sought to create alarm in England by preparations for an invasion. Camps had been formed at different points on the French coast from Ostend to Brest; a large force was stationed at Boulogne, and a great many vessels and flat boats had been collected in the different harbours. Lord Nelson was specially commissioned to watch and frustrate these preparations; but though he was fully persuaded that an invasion could not be successfully attempted, the victor of Aboukir and Copenhagen failed in an attempt to destroy the French flotilla at Boulogne. The reverses of the French arms in Egypt, the death of the Emperor Paul, the dissolution of the Northern Confederacy, the ascendency of British maritime power, discontents in Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont, discussions in Germany respecting the execution of the Treaty of Lunéville, and the indemnification of dispossessed Princes, the state of public opinion in France, and other causes inclined the French Consul more seriously to peace. Preliminaries were signed at London, October 1st, 1801. Amiens was fixed upon as the place for negotiating a definitive treaty, which was to include Spain and the Batavian Republic; and conferences were opened early in December. Great Britain was represented by the Marquis Cornwallis, France by Joseph Bonaparte. The Chevalier D'Azara and M. Schimmelpenninck were the plenipotentiaries for Spain and Holland, but took no part in the general conferences; they were appealed to only when the interests of those Powers were concerned. Malta was the chief obstacle to an arrangement, and occasioned long and warm discussions. The English Cabinet was naturally loth to relinquish a possession which had cost so much pains to acquire, which by its position was so important with respect to Egypt and the East, and which, if such a contingency were not duly provided against, would probably again fall into the hands of the French. At length, however, the definitive Peace of Amiens was signed, March 27th, 1802.[1] The following were the principal conditions. The Isle of Trinidad was ceded

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 404. The preliminaries, *ibid.* p. 377.

by Spain to Great Britain, and Ceylon by the Dutch: Great Britain restored all her other conquests. Portugal was to make some concessions to France in Guiana, and to cede to Spain the province of Olivença. The Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands was recognized. These islands, taken by the French from the Venetians, and recaptured by the combined Russian and Ottoman fleets, had been singularly enough erected into a Republic[1] by the two most despotic governments in the world, as mutual jealousies would not permit their possession by either of the conquering Powers. They were nominally placed under the suzerainty of the Porte, but with Russian guarantee of their integrity. The British Cabinet preferred passing over North Italy in silence to recognizing the new Italian Republics. In the preceding January, Bonaparte had caused himself to be elected President of the Cisalpine Republic, and had changed its name to that of the "Italian Republic."

By Article X. of the Treaty of Amiens, Malta and its dependent isles were to be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who were to elect a Grand Master. No Frenchman or Englishman was to be admitted into the Order. Malta was to be evacuated by the British troops within three months after the exchange of ratifications, provided the Grand Master was ready to take possession, and that a garrison of 2,000 men, to be provided by the King of the Two Sicilies, had arrived. Half at least of the garrison was to be composed of natives of Malta. The Maltese ports to be open to all nations except the States of Barbary. The present arrangement and the independence of the island, to be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia. The other more remarkable conditions of this Treaty were that the French troops should evacuate the Kingdom of Naples and the Roman State, and the British all the ports and islands in the Mediterranean and Adriatic. The French fisheries in Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence were to be restored to the footing they were on before the war. The House of Nassau was to be compensated for the loss of property accruing from the revolution in Holland: but the august and sovereign character of that House was ignored, nor was it stated whence the compensation was to be derived.

By the great mass of the English people, overwhelmed with the burdens of war, the Peace of Amiens was hailed with delight; the more discerning portion of the public foresaw that it was not likely

[1] By a convention of March 21st, 1800. Martens, t. vii. p. 41.

to be durable. None of the objects of the war had in fact been obtained. All that England could show for her enormous expenditure of blood and treasure during a period of nine years, were the comparatively unimportant possessions of Trinidad and Ceylon, which belonged to the allies of France, while France herself, the principal party in the war, had not been deprived of a single possession, and found her influence on the Continent increased to a formidable extent by connivance at her annexations and by the republics which she had established in Italy and the Netherlands. It was perhaps impossible for England, which now stood alone, to attempt to overturn these arrangements, and on the whole the peace may have been necessary; but at the same time it was not difficult to foresee that it contained the germs of future wars and calamities.[1] In France, on the contrary, the Peace of Amiens prodigiously increased the renown of the First Consul, who appeared to have established by negotiations the acquisitions won by his arms. The Legislature resounded with his praises. It was declared that he was entitled to some signal mark of national gratitude; on May 8th he was re-elected Consul for an additional ten years, and a few months after (August 2nd, 1802) he was rewarded with the Consulate for life.

[1] See especially Mr. Windham's speech on the Address, October 29th; Adolphus, vol. vii. p. 545. Also Lord Grenville's in the Lords. Mr. Pitt in general defended the treaty, but regretted the loss of Malta. *Ibid.* p. 553.

CHAPTER LXII.

AFTER the Peace of Amiens the attention of Bonaparte was principally directed to the consolidation of his own power. With this view he began to restore in his own favour the absolutism of the ancient *régime*, and to banish the traces of the Revolution by re-establishing a courtly etiquette, introducing substitutes for the ancient distinctions of rank, restoring an external decency of manners, and the observances and ceremonies of religion. In March, 1802, twenty of the more turbulent tribunes were ejected by an operation of the Senate, and the number of the tribunate reduced to eighty. The Legislative body also underwent a purification. The Revolution of 16th *Thermidor, an X* (August 2nd, 1802), when Bonaparte was named Consul for life by the pretended suffrages of the people, established as absolute a despotism as any that France had yet experienced. The electors were now to be appointed for life, and the First Consul could increase their number. The Senate, the mere creatures of Bonaparte, were invested with power to alter the institutions of the State, and to dissolve the Tribunate and Legislative Body. The Council of State was recognized as a constituted authority, and its number was increased. The Tribunate underwent a second reduction to the number of fifty, by the elimination of thirty more of its boldest members. A sort of hierarchy was established among the tribunals by the appointment of a Court of Cassation, with power to censure and even suspend the inferior judges; while the whole were subordinate to the Minister of Justice. Such were the rapid strides of despotism!

Along with liberty, such as it had been, Bonaparte sought also to abolish equality. A sort of new order of nobility was established by the institution of a Legion of Honour (May 19th, 1802), destined to confer pecuniary rewards and marks of distinction on those who had signalized themselves by their civil or military services. The Legion was to consist of about 7,000 men, divided into cohorts and dispersed in different parts of France. The cohorts contained privates, subaltern and higher officers, with salaries varying accord-

ing to rank from between 200 and 300 francs to 5,000.[1] This law was very strongly opposed. It passed the Legislature only by a small majority, and was very unpopular out of doors. Those first decorated with the *insignia* of the Order received them with a sort of derisive contempt; but the Order ultimately became a powerful means of attaching men to Bonaparte's service. Among other instruments of despotism may be mentioned a law for a conscription, which placed 120,000 recruits at the disposal of the First Consul's military ambition.

The Concordat arranged with Pope Pius VII. in the previous year was adopted by the Legislature April 8th, 1802. By this act nine archbishoprics, and forty-one bishoprics, with chapters, were re-established in France. The salary of an archbishop was fixed at 15,000 francs; of a bishop at 10,000; of a curé of the first class, 1,500; of the second class, 1,000. The liberties of the Gallican Church were defined in seventy-seven articles, which were to form tho only Ecclesiastical Code recognized by the French tribunals. Protestant worship was also admitted, and regulated by fourty-four articles. The observance of Sunday and of the four grand festivals was restored; and the Government ceased to employ the system of decades, the first step towards the abandonment of the Republican calendar. The completion of the Concordat was celebrated with great pomp at Notre Dame. The First Consul and his suite proceeded thither in the royal carriages, amid salvos of artillery, and with all the etiquette of Monarchy.[2] The pliant Pius VII. displayed his gratitude to Talleyrand, the ex-Bishop of Autun, by a Brief of June 29th, releasing him from all ecclesiastical censures, authorizing him to wear a secular dress, and to take upon himself the conduct of secular affairs. Under this authority Talleyrand soon afterwards married.[3]

It would be unjust not to mention that, along with his acts of despotism, Bonaparte introduced many excellent alterations and reforms, by protecting religion and good manners, encouraging the arts and sciences, and all that improves and adorns society, and by setting an example of social propriety and the virtues of domestic life. He applied his attention to the development of manufactures and commerce, and to the construction of canals, roads, ports, bridges, and other public works. He promoted education by estab-

[1] Goldsmith, *Recueil, &c.* t. i. p. 426.

[2] The Concordat, or treaty of Bonaparte with the Pope, had been arranged without any synod, between Joseph Bonaparte and Cardinal Consalvi, with the aid of Cardinal Spina and two or three theologians. It will be found in Martens' *Recueil*, t. vii. p. 353 sqq. Cf. L'Abbé de Pradt, *Les Quatre Concordats*, t. i.

[3] Montgaillard, t. v. p. 476.

lishing in the different *communes* primary and secondary schools, as well as special schools and lyceums supported at the public expense. He took a personal share in the labours of the committees which had been appointed to draw up new codes of civil and criminal law. He performed an act of policy as well as justice by granting a general amnesty to all emigrants (except about 1,000 attached to the person of the *Pretender*, Louis XVIII.) who should return to France before September 23rd. The list of emigrants formed nine volumes, and presented a total of near 150,000 names.[1] Large quantities of them were already in France, but after this invitation they returned in great numbers; and in a few years many of the former courtiers of Versailles might be observed worshipping the new idol who had established himself in the palace of the Bourbons. Returned emigrants were to remain ten years under the surveillance of the Government. They could not reclaim such property as had been disposed of by the Republic; but, with certain exceptions, what still remained in the hands of the State was to be restored to them.

The reduction of St. Domingo added another laurel to the First Consul's wreath. That island had long been in a state of rebellion, which the maritime inferiority of the French prevented them from quelling. Under the conduct of Toussaint l'Ouverture, a man who, though born in the condition of a common negro slave, possessed great intelligence and many admirable qualities, the negroes of St. Domingo, after subduing the Spanish portion of that island, had, in July, 1801, constituted it and some adjacent islands into a separate colony, decreed a constitution and the perpetual abolition of slavery, and appointed Toussaint l'Ouverture to be their governor. After the signing of the preliminary treaty with England, Bonaparte despatched a fleet to the West Indies, with a considerable land force under Le Clerc; which, in a few months, chiefly through the rivalry and disunion which prevailed among the negroes, succeeded in reducing them to obedience. Christophe, the relative and lieutenant of Toussaint, was the first to surrender, and in May, 1802, Toussaint himself tendered his submission. He was allowed to retire to his estate; but, in the month of June, he was treacherously seized, and carried to France; and, after experiencing the greatest rigour during the passage, was imprisoned in the Castle of Joux, in Normandy.

With regard to foreign affairs, Bonaparte, partly by diplomacy, partly by fresh aggressions, continued after the Peace of Amiens to

[1] Montgaillard, t. v. p. 466.

extend and confirm the influence of France upon the Continent. By the former of these methods he intervened in the affairs of Germany, succeeded in overturning some of the fundamental principles of the German Empire, and in rendering it less able to resist his future attacks: an object, however, in which he could not have succeeded but for the jealousies and quarrels, the shortsighted ambition, and the selfish policy, of Austria and Prussia.

The Peace of Lunéville, as we have seen, had been concluded by the Emperor Francis II., not only for his Austrian dominions, but also for the German body; it had been ratified by the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire; and it remained to indemnify, under the seventh article of the treaty, the Princes who had been deprived of their possessions by the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, as well as the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena, who had been driven from their Italian dominions. We have already said that the Empire had consented at the Congress of Rastadt to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and had admitted the principle that the Princes dispossessed by this cession should be compensated by the secularization of ecclesiastical domains, which now remained to be carried out. Francis was invited to conduct the settlement of the Empire by a decree of the Diet of Ratisbon, April 30th, 1801. The participation of France in this matter was not then anticipated. No such participation had been stipulated in the Treaty of Lunéville, though it had been in the secret articles of Campo Formio. Had the Emperor immediately complied with the requisition of the Diet, the affair might have been arranged without French intervention, but the Cabinet of Vienna adopted the fatal policy of delay. Thugut had now retired from the Ministry, and had been succeeded by Count Franz Colloredo; but the affairs of Austria were in reality directed by the Vice-Chancellor, Count Cobentzl. Francis himself appears to have suggested the interference of France, with the intention, probably, of anticipating Prussia and Bavaria in such an appeal.[1] Nothing could have been more ill-advised than this step. It failed in conciliating the First Consul, who, throughout the negotiations, took a decided part against Austria.

On October 8th, 1801, the Diet appointed a Deputation of eight members, with unlimited powers to settle the question of indemnification and its collateral issues. These plenipotentiaries were the delegates of the Electors of Mentz, Bohemia (the Emperor), Saxony, Brandenburg (King of Prussia), Bavaria, of the Grand

[1] Menzel, *N. Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vi. S. 398 f.

Master of the Teutonic Order, of the Duke of Würtemberg, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. But the Cabinet of Vienna suffered the matter to remain in abeyance another ten months; during which Bonaparte had made peace with England, and had concluded with the Emperor Alexander the Convention already mentioned for their joint action in the affairs of Germany, and, indeed, of the whole world.[1] Alexander, who was connected by ties of relationship with several of the German Princes, was anxious to take a part in the settlement of Germany; a proceeding also conformable to the policy of his grandmother, Catharine II., who, in the Peace of Teschen, had exhibited herself as protectress of the Empire. Alexander's interview with Frederick William III. at Memel, in June, 1802, which produced a personal friendship between those two Sovereigns, was an incident calculated to have an injurious effect upon the interests of Austria.

The Emperor Francis, finding that nothing was to be gained by delay, at length called the Deputation together, August 2nd, 1802. But France and Russia had now taken the matter into their own hands. Early in 1802 Paris had become the centre of negotiations respecting the affairs of Germany. As Austria and Prussia condescended to treat there respecting their particular indemnifications, it is more excusable that the minor German Princes should have adopted the same method. Bonaparte and Talleyrand were courted, as well as their dependents; interest was made even with clerks and servants, and bargains were struck in Parisian garrets for German towns and districts.[2] The result of these negotiations was five treaties: namely, two between France and Prussia, May 23rd, 1802; one between France and Bavaria, May 24th; one between France and Russia, June 3rd; and one between France and Würtemberg, June 20th. Most of these treaties were secret, but their purport has since transpired. It is unnecessary here to state the substance of them;[3] their effects will appear in the final settlement of the Empire. We need only state that by one of the treaties with France, the King of Prussia guaranteed all the arrangements made by the First Consul in Italy; namely, the existence of the Italian Republic, of the Kingdom of Etruria, and of the annexation of Piedmont to France, which we shall have to mention further on. The second treaty with Prussia concerned the House of Nassau. When the Peace of Amiens was signed, France entered into an engagement with the Batavian Republic, that the

[1] See above, p. 147 sq. [2] Menzel, *ibid.* p. 339.
[3] It is given by Garden, t. vii. p. 140 sqq.

compensation for the House of Nassau stipulated by that treaty should not be at the expense of the Dutch. By the treaty between France and Prussia, May 23rd,[1] it was agreed that the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Diez should receive compensation in Germany; but he was to renounce for himself and his heirs the dignity of Stadholder, and all his estates and domains in the Batavian Republic, except the pensions settled on him. In consequence of these treaties, Prussia and Bavaria proceeded to occupy the districts assigned to them as indemnifications, before the Deputation of the Empire which was to sanction the occupation had even assembled. Austria, however, anticipated Bavaria in occupying the town of Passau, which the Emperor claimed for his brother the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and Austrian troops also took possession of the Archbishopric of Salzburg. The Imperial authority convoking the Deputation purported that they were to arrange the questions arising out of the 5th and 7th Articles of the Treaty of Lunéville, with the Emperor's plenipotentiary, and *in conjunction with the French Government*. During the Emperor's delay, France and Russia had drawn up a scheme of indemnification; their Ministers, M. Laforest and M. de Klüpffell, attended the sittings of the Deputation as mediators; and before the opening of the conferences they handed in the scheme alluded to, with the intimation that it was the will of the Emperor of Russia and of the First Consul that it should not be altered, and that the Deputation must abstain from delay in settling this matter beyond the two months allowed to them.[2] The Deputation did not literally comply with these injunctions. Their *Recess* was not completed till February, 25th, 1803; and though in all matters which concerned the policy of the French and Russian Governments they observed the course dictated to them, they were allowed more liberty in such questions as regarded only the internal affairs of Germany. It is impossible for us to detail all the regulations which were now adopted, nor is it necessary in this general history.[3] It will suffice to state the principal changes thus introduced.

The Emperor, for the cession of Ortenau to the Duke of Modena, condescended to receive from the hands of France and Russia, Trent and Brixen, two bishopries situated in his own dominions. The Breisgau and Ortenau were made over to the Duke

[1] Martens, t. vii. p. 424.
[2] Menzel, *ibid.* p. 405.
[3] A full account of the subject will be found in the Comte de Garden's work, who has dedicated to it nearly the whole of his seventh volume.

of Modena in compensation for his Italian dominions. The Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, received on the same account the Archbishopric of Salzburg, Berchtsgaden, and parts of the Bishoprics of Passau and Eichstädt, with the title of Elector of Salzburg. Prussia obtained the lion's share in this partition of spoils. By the cession of her dominions on the left bank of the Rhine she had lost part of the Duchy of Cleves, the principality of Mœurs, the Duchy of Geldern, with two or three more places, and the tolls of the Rhine and Meuse. These territories were computed at 48 German square miles, containing 137,000 inhabitants, with an estimated revenue of 1,400,000 florins. In lieu of them she received the Bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, part of the Bishopric of Münster, the Eichfeld with Trefurt, Erfurt, Untergleichen, Mülhausen, Nordhausen, Goslar, Herforden, Quedlinburg, Elten, Essen, Werden, and Kappenberg; in all 221 square miles, with 526,000 inhabitants, and a revenue of 3,800,000 florins. With such success had she courted the ruling powers! Bavaria, which had lost in the Palatinate and in the Duchies of Jülich and Zwey-Brücken, in Alsace, &c., 220 square miles, with a population of 780,000 souls, and a revenue of 5,870,000 florins, received instead the Bishoprics of Würtzburg, Bamberg, Augsburg, Freysing, Passau, with numerous abbeys and other places, reckoned at 268 square miles, containing 792,000 inhabitants, and producing a revenue of 6,178,000 florins. The Margrave of Baden, the Duke of Würtemberg, the two branches of the House of Hesse (Cassel and Darmstadt) also received, through the favour of the French and Russian Governments, large accessions of territory. The first of these Princes, in particular, was compensated more than sixfold for his territorial losses, and his revenues were doubled. The Prince of Nassau-Orange obtained the Bishoprics of Fulda and Corvey, the Imperial city of Dortmund, the abbey of Weingarten, and other places. The other branches of the House of Nassau also received compensations, and George III., as Elector of Hanover and Brunswick-Lüneburg, for certain rights and pretensions which he lost, received the Bishopric of Osnabrück. By the new arrangement, two of the three spiritual Electors, those of Cologne and Trèves, vanished entirely from the German system. The Elector of Mentz, Charles von Dalberg, Archchancellor of the Empire, who had courted the First Consul with success, was alone spared. The Archiepiscopal seat of Mentz was transferred to the cathedral church of Ratisbon, and was endowed, as to its temporalities, with the principalities of

Aschaffenburg and Ratisbon, with a revenue of one million florins. Pope Pius VII. affected to shut his eyes to the secularization of ecclesiastical property, and the suppression of convents throughout Germany; though he made an attempt at the Congress of Vienna to obtain a reversal of these acts, but without success. The number of Electors was more than made up by the elevation to that dignity of the Duke of Würtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany as Elector of Salzburg. Of the forty-five free cities of the Empire, only six now remained, those of Frankfort, Augsburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, and Nuremberg. Four had fallen to the share of France; namely, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Worms, and Spires. Into other minor changes we cannot enter; nor is it necessary. The German Empire itself, already prostrate at the feet of Bonaparte, was soon to disappear; to which catastrophe these changes were but the prelude.

Bonaparte's interference in the affairs of Switzerland, though totally unjustifiable, since the independence of that country and the right to form its own government had been guaranteed by the Peace of Lunéville, was not, however, so tyrannical and injurious as some of his other steps of the same kind. After the establishment of the Helvetic Republic, two political parties had grown up in Switzerland, called *Unitarians*, or *Unionists*, and *Federalists*. The Unitarians were for establishing a central government, and merging the aristocratic towns and democratic cantons in one common system of political and civil equality. The Federalists, on the contrary, who formed the much larger portion of the nation, thinking it impossible to unite under one form of government many small bodies of people differing in their language, their customs, and their religion, were for maintaining the ancient system of separate governments with a federal Diet. Through the influence of the French party, however, which favoured the Unitarians, an Extraordinary Assembly of forty-eight Notables from all the cantons was convened at Bern, April 17th, 1802, and a central Government proclaimed May 20th. To confirm this change they even ventured to appeal to universal suffrage; and though their plan was condemned by a large majority, yet, as a great part of the people had not voted, they, with shameless audacity, took their silence for consent, and proclaimed the establishment of the new constitution. But the primitive cantons, led by the Landamman and patriot, Aloys Reding, flew to arms, and prepared to overthrow the new Government by force. At this juncture Bonaparte with-

drew the French troops from Switzerland, with the view probably of bringing the two parties into collision, and thus obtaining a plausible pretence for interfering. Under the influence of Reding a Congress of the primitive cantons now assembled at Schwytz, declared their independence, and their determination to establish a constitution suited to their wants; but at the same time they expressed their willingness to come to an arrangement with the central Government; and Reding communicated what had been done to the First Consul, with whom he had had an interview in the previous December, and who, he had reason to think, would not disapprove of their proceedings. The insurrection spread to several other cantons; the peasantry took up arms, the Helvetic Government, after applying to Bonaparte for aid, which was at first refused, was driven from Bern, and compelled to retire to Lausanne, and the Federal Diet was re-established. But the Helvetic Government was soon afterwards restored by a proclamation of Bonaparte, dated at St. Cloud, September 30th, 1802. The primitive cantons, led by Reding, prepared to resist; but Ney having entered Switzerland with a large force, the Diet, after protesting against this violence, declared itself dissolved. Ney caused Reding, Herzel, and some other leaders to be arrested. Reding was imprisoned at Aarburg, and subsequently in the castle of Chillon. Deputies from both parties were now invited to Paris, and after considerable discussion, the First Consul arranged their differences by an *Act of Mediation*, February 19th, 1803. The constitution thus established was perhaps as good as the circumstances would admit. The different cantons, which, by the erection of six new ones, namely, Aargau, St. Gall, the Grison Leagues, the Tessin, Turgovia, and Leman, or Pays de Vaud, had been increased to nineteen, were placed under governments more or less democratic or aristocratic, agreeably to their ancient customs. A Federal Diet was appointed to meet in alternate years at Freiburg, Bern, Soleure, Basle, Zürich, and Lucerne, which thus became in turn *directorial cantons*. The Avoyer, or Burgomaster, of each of these cantons became, during its directorial year, Landamman of Switzerland; in which capacity he presided over the Diet, communicated with foreign ministers, &c. On September 27th, 1803, a new defensive alliance was concluded between France and Switzerland.[1] This treaty was more favourable to the Swiss than the alliance of 1798,

[1] Martens, t. viii. p. 139. The constitutions of the different cantons will also be found in the same collection, *Suppl.* t. iii. p. 373. An analysis of the Act of Mediation in Garden, t. viii. p. 28 sqq. See also Muralt, *Hans von Reinhard, Bürgermeister des eidgenössischen Standes Zürich und Landamman der Schweitz;* a life of one of the chief aristocratical leaders in the revolution.

which was offensive as well as defensive, thus involving them in all the French wars. By the new treaty it was agreed that the French should have in their service 16,000 Swiss. Ney, however, compelled the Swiss to purchase these advantages by delivering up their arms and paying 625,000 francs for costs; nor did he depart with his army till the treaty had been arranged according to Bonaparte's wishes.

A more flagrant act of the First Consul's at this time was the seizure and annexation of Piedmont. Although that country was reconquered by the Austro-Russian army in 1799, the King of Sardinia had not been restored when, by the battle of Marengo, it came again into the possession of the French. Bonaparte then united part of it to the Cisalpine Republic, and promised to erect the rest into a separate State; but he afterwards changed his mind; and by a decree of April 20th, 1801, ordered that Piedmont should form a military division of France under an Administrator-General. Such was its state at the time of the Peace of Amiens. The English Cabinet in that treaty had taken no notice of the affairs of the King of Sardinia, Tuscany, Parma, Holland, and Switzerland. The Emperor of Russia, however, in the Convention with the First Consul of October 11th, 1801,[1] had stipulated an indemnification for Charles Emanuel IV., a condition which he had renewed in ratifying the Treaty of Paris of June 3rd, 1802.[2] The English Ministers were probably not ignorant of this engagement; and by trusting to it for justice towards the King of Sardinia, passed him over in silence rather than recognize or discuss the other proceedings of France in Northern Italy. But Charles Emanuel, disgusted with the injustice and insults to which he was exposed, having abdicated his throne in favour of his brother Victor Emanuel, Duke of Aosta, June 4th, 1802, Bonaparte, in spite of his agreement with Russia, caused that part of Piedmont which had not been united to the Italian Republic to be annexed to France, as the twenty-seventh Military Department, by a formal *Senatus-Consulte*. A little after, October 11th, on the death of Ferdinand de Bourbon, Duke of Parma, father of the King of Etruria, that Duchy was also seized by the rapacious French Republic. The isle of Elba had also been united to France by a *Senatus-Consulte* of August 26th.

Besides these aggressions Bonaparte had given Holland a new constitution, November, 1801, by which the Batavian Government, in imitation of the French Consulate of 1800, became almost aris-

[1] *Supra*, p. 147. Cf. *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 183. [2] *Ibid.* t. vii. p. 141.

tocratic. The legislative body was now composed of no more than thirty-three members; and the Republic at length received, in the person of Schimmelpenninck, a sort of chief like the President of the United States, who, with the title of Grand Pensionary, was invested with a more extensive authority than the House of Orange had ever enjoyed; a first step towards that Monarchy which it was destined soon to become.[1]

These proceedings, which so plainly showed the aggressive ambition of the First Consul, could not be regarded with indifference in England; and, unfortunately, there were many other causes of complaint, on both sides, which revealed to all reflecting persons that the peace between Great Britain and France could not be long preserved. After the conclusion of the preliminaries, but before the definitive treaty of peace was signed, Bonaparte had displayed the malignancy of his feelings towards England by causing the "Fame" packet, bound to Jersey, but driven into Cherbourg by stress of weather, to be seized and confiscated, agreeably to a law passed by the Convention in the time of Robespierre. Many other instances of the same kind occurred, and all explanations and remonstrances were disregarded or rejected. Bonaparte also refused to restore three English vessels captured in India after the peace. English commerce was prohibited through French influence in Holland, Spain, and Italy, and English property sequestrated during the war was still retained, although restitution had been made of all French property agreeably to the treaty.[2] The irritation on both sides was kept alive by scurrilous and defamatory articles published in newspapers and pamphlets. Some of the French emigrants, as well as English writers, abused the liberty of the press in England to make unwarrantable attacks upon the First Consul and his policy; and a Frenchman named Peltier even went the length of openly recommending the assassination of Bonaparte. When the First Consul complained of these attacks, the English Ministry truly replied that they had no power to suppress them, except by civil action; and a suit was actually instituted against Peltier, whose proposition had excited universal disgust in England. On the other hand, libels equally atrocious upon English statesmen were published with impunity in the French journals, of course with the connivance of the Government, which had the power to suppress them; nay, the most virulent of them appeared in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the Government, and some of them are known to have proceeded from Bona-

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 293 sq.

[2] *Ibid.* t. viii. p. 178 sq.

parte himself.[1] Another cause of complaint on the part of England was the employment of French spies, under the guise of commercial agents, in several of the chief ports of the Empire.

The relations between France and England had become so unsatisfactory that already on opening the session, November 23rd, 1802, George III. had given intimation that the duration of the peace could hardly be relied on. Mr. Addington still endeavoured to conciliate matters, though the prevalent opinion in England appeared to be adverse to the maintenance of the peace. This feeling was vastly strengthened by the official publication in the *Moniteur* (January 30th, 1803) of Colonel Sebastiani's Report of his mission to Egypt. The French agent, though his mission was disguised under the pretence of commercial interests, spoke openly of his intrigues with the Egyptian Pashas and Sheiks, reported his examination of the fortifications and defences of the country, gave an estimate of the material and moral force of the Turkish army, and expressed an opinion that 6,000 Frenchmen would suffice for the conquest of Egypt.[2] The only inference which could be drawn from all this was that the views of the First Consul were still directed towards the occupation of that country. The Report was moreover offensive by the manner in which it spoke of General Stuart and the English army in Egypt; affirming, among other things, that the army was supported by the Pasha of Cairo, and that thrice as much was drawn as was necessary for its subsistence. Sebastiani, on his return, visited Djezzar Pasha at Acre, whose friendship he endeavoured to obtain. He also proceeded to the Ionian Islands, and announced, as the result of his observations and conduct, that they were ready to declare for France at the shortest notice.

Lord Whitworth, the English Ambassador at Paris, urged this Report, and several other alleged grievances, on the notice of the French Government. Among these were the annexation of Piedmont and the interference in the affairs of Switzerland. But Piedmont had been occupied, though not formally annexed, by the French before the signature of the Treaty of Amiens; it had not been even mentioned in that treaty; and Lord Hawkesbury was therefore driven to the sophistical argument that the aggrandizement of France since the peace having altered the relative

[1] *Ibid.* t. viii. p. 184. A specimen of them will be found in the *Moniteur* of 20 *Thermidor an X* (August 8th, 1802); in which Pitt is accused of having encouraged the murder of Louis XVI., of being the author of the September massacres at Paris, and of the revolts of Toulon, Lyon, and La Vendée.

[2] The Report will be found *in extenso* in Garden, t. viii. pp. 110-132.

conditions of the two countries when it was made, rendered England entitled to a compensation. If this argument was inadmissible, still more so was the English claim to satisfaction by seizing Malta, the property of a third party. The representations of the English Cabinet respecting Switzerland were not less unfortunate. The affairs of that country had been regulated by the Treaty of Lunéville; and therefore, if the Swiss had been aggrieved, it was for the Emperor, and not for England, to interfere. Besides, as a matter of fact, the French Act of Mediation and the subsequent treaty had actually rendered Switzerland less dependent upon France than it had been since 1799.

The French Government, on their side, had several grievances to allege, and some of them perhaps better founded than those urged by England. We cannot, indeed, place in this category the First Consul's demand that the Princes of the House of Bourbon, actually in England, should be recommended to proceed to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family; and that such Frenchmen as continued to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient Government of France should be directed to quit the British territories. But the First Consul had just reason to complain that Egypt was still occupied by the English troops though the French had evacuated that country more than fifteen months; that the Cape of Good Hope had not been restored to the Dutch, nor Malta to the Order of St. John, though the conditions for the restoration of that island had been fulfilled by the arrival of the Neapolitan garrison, and by the election of a Grand Master. All these were manifest infractions of the Treaty of Amiens, while France, on her side, had fulfilled the conditions of the treaty by withdrawing her troops from the Neapolitan dominions. The first two grievances were indeed removed before the discussions between France and England were concluded. Egypt was evacuated by the British troops, March 17th, 1803, in order to avoid a rupture with Russia; and the Cape of Good Hope was restored to the Batavian Republic, February 21st. Malta, however, was still retained—a circumstance which might have afforded France a just reason for declaring war.

The war, however, was commenced by England. Tokens began to appear that a rupture was inevitable. George III. had sent a message to Parliament, March 8th, calling on them to enable him to adopt the measures necessary for supporting the honour of the Crown and the interests of the country, which were

endangered by extensive preparations in the ports of France and Holland. Lord Whitworth had had several angry and unsatisfactory interviews with Bonaparte and Talleyrand. On March 14th, the First Consul, in one of those fits of blustering rage which he often assumed, insulted the English Ambassador by his violence before the diplomatic circle at the Tuileries. He is even said to have menaced Lord Whitworth with his cane; when the Ambassador laid his hand on his sword with the determination of using it had he been struck. These angry negotiations were terminated in May by a rupture. On the 10th of that month Lord Whitworth delivered the ultimatum of his Government, viz., that the King of Great Britain should retain possession of Malta for at least ten years, after which it should be abandoned to the inhabitants and recognized as an independent State; that France should not oppose the cession by the King of the Two Sicilies of the Isle of Lampedula to Great Britain, as a naval station; that the territory of the Batavian Republic should be evacuated by the French troops within a month after the conclusion of a convention; that Great Britain should recognize the King of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian Republics; that Switzerland should be evacuated by the French troops; that a suitable territorial provision in Italy should be assigned to the King of Sardinia. The First Consul had consented that Malta should be held either by Austria, Russia, or Prussia, the three Powers that had guaranteed its independence; but this proposition was not acceptable to the English Cabinet.[1] The English ultimatum was refused; Lord Whitworth quitted Paris, May 12th, and General Andréossi, the French Ambassador, was at the same time dismissed from London.

Hence it will appear that, so far as the stipulations of treaties are concerned, Great Britain was evidently in the wrong; the ultimatum of the English Cabinet proposing, in fact, a gross breach of the Treaty of Amiens. The war, therefore, can be justified only on general political reasons drawn from the aggressive ambition of the First Consul. The Addington Adminis-

[1] The English Cabinet professed that it would accept the occupation of Russia, but asserted that that Power was not inclined to undertake it. Time, however, was not allowed to ascertain that fact; and, on the very day of the English ambassador's declaration, a letter arrived from the Emperor renewing the assurances of his guarantee of Malta, and tendering his mediation. See the *Rapport au Tribunat* of M. Daru, and the Special Commission respecting the negotiations, May 23rd, 1803, ap. Garden, t. viii. p. 172. This Report, drawn up with great ability, makes out a very strong case for France; which country, technically at least, must be allowed to have had the best of the argument.

tration, one of the feeblest that ever governed England, had placed the country in a false position by concluding a treaty which could neither be executed without fatal consequences, nor broken without an apparent violation of public faith. The latter horn of this dilemma was, however, preferred. And how venial was this act in comparison with some of which Bonaparte had himself been guilty, who now complained of it so bitterly! It could not be doubted that the First Consul would seize every opportunity to aggrandize France without regard to right or justice; the mission of Sebastiani showed him still intent upon Egypt, and consequently upon the English possessions in the East; and, therefore, an immediate war, with possession of Malta, the best protection against such designs, appeared preferable to a future one without it. But what a vista of internecine struggle did such a determination open! The war was not undertaken for any specific object of policy. It was undertaken to put down a man who had rendered himself master of the most powerful and most warlike nation of Europe; it might, therefore, have been evident from the first that it could not be terminated till the resources of one side or the other were exhausted; and, in fact, the sword was not sheathed till Bonaparte, after a struggle which lasted twelve years, was at length hurled from his throne.

On May 16th, an embargo was placed on all French and Dutch vessels in English harbours, and on the 18th appeared the English declaration of war. Bonaparte, at the same time, not only laid an embargo on English vessels, but also caused all English travellers in France, from the age of eighteen to sixty years, to be arrested on the pretext that they should serve as hostages for all Frenchmen that might be captured by the English on board French vessels navigating in ignorance of the rupture of the peace. In order to entrap them Bonaparte had caused to be inserted in the *Argus* newspaper of May 10th, a paragraph in which the English who should remain in France after the departure of their ambassador were assured of protection.[1] To such small and perfidious arts could he descend to gratify his vengeance! By this cruel and tyrannical act some thousands of British subjects were, contrary to international law, detained at Verdun till the peace, separted from their families and friends, their homes and business. The English Government offered the Batavian Republic to respect its neutrality if the French troops were withdrawn from its territory. The Batavian Government

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 213.

solicited the First Consul to consent to this step; the only reply was an order for the arrest of all the English in Holland. This was executed, June 9th, and on the same day, Mr. Liston, the British Minister, left the Hague. Thus the Batavian Republic became a belligerent, with the certain prospect of the loss of its colonies. A French army of 7,000 men had entered Holland at the end of March. General Mortier took the command of it in May, entered the county of Bentheim, under the sovereignty of George III. as elector of Brunswick, on the 26th of that month, and continued his march towards Osnabrück and the Hanoverian Electorate. This invasion was a manifest violation of the neutrality of the Empire, as well as of international law; the Electorate being in no way connected with England, or involved in its quarrels, although governed by the same Sovereign; but the Empire, weakened by intestine divisions, dared not to take any notice of the insult. The Hanoverian Government entered into a convention, at Suhlingen, with General Mortier, June 3rd,[1] by which the French troops were to occupy the Electorate; the Hanoverian troops were to retire beyond the Elbe, and not to bear arms against France or her allies during the present war. Hanover was treated as a conquered and subject country; the French general was to make what alterations he pleased in its administration; the French army was to be maintained, clothed, and mounted at its expense, and all its revenues were to be at the disposal of the French Government. On June 14th, Mortier committed a second violation of Imperial rights, by causing, without the slightest pretext whatsoever, Cuxhaven and Ritzebütel to be occupied by his troops, places which belonged to the city of Hamburg. Talleyrand, in a note to Lord Hawkesbury, June 10th, announced that Hanover had been seized as a pledge for the evacuation of Malta; proposed to exchange the Hanoverian army against French prisoners, and stated that if the Convention of Suhlingen was not ratified Hanover would be treated with all the rigour of war. Lord Hawkesbury having replied that the King of Great Britain refused to identify himself in that capacity with the Elector of Hanover, and that he was resolved to appeal to the Empire, Mortier declared the Convention of Suhlingen null, and compelled Field-Marshal Walmoden, the Hanoverian commander, to sign a capitulation, July 5th,[2] by which he agreed to surrender all his arms, artillery, and horses, and to disband his troops. Mortier then took possession of the

[1] Martens, t. viii. p. 84.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 89.

Duchy of Lüneburg; and thus the whole Electorate, with a population of a million souls, became the prey of the French. In vain the Hanoverian Minister appealed to the Empire for aid, not a voice replied; in fact, the Empire no longer existed except in name. Masters of the Elbe, the French refused to allow any English merchandise to pass. England replied by blockading the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, causing a total stagnation of the commerce of North Germany.

The Emperor of Russia now offered his mediation on the base that the French should evacuate Holland, Switzerland, and all Italy, except Piedmont, and that the King of Sardinia should receive a sufficient indemnification; he also offered to occupy Malta for a certain period. The First Consul declined these conditions, and from this moment a coldness sprang up between the Cabinets of Paris and St. Petersburg. The King of Prussia also failed in an attempt to procure the evacuation of Hanover by the French.

The rupture between France and Great Britain entitled Bonaparte to demand the aid of Spain, agreeably to the Treaty of Alliance of August 15th, 1796. But Spain had been alienated from the First Consul by the cession which she had been compelled to make of Trinidad, and by the sale of Louisiana to the United States of America. It will be remembered that at the peace of 1763, France had, by a secret treaty, ceded Louisiana to Spain; and that, after the battle of Marengo, Bonaparte had recovered that possession for France, by the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, as one of the considerations for making the infant Duke of Parma King of Etruria.[1] But, though it does not appear in the treaty, Spain, in subsequent negotiations, made it a condition of the cession that she should have the preference in case France, in her turn, should be disposed to cede Louisiana. The French Government had not taken regular possession of it when the war with England broke out; and Bonaparte hastened to sell that Province to the Americans, who had already cast their eyes upon it, with the view both of preventing the English from ravishing it from him, and of procuring funds to carry on the war. By a convention with Mr. Monroe and Mr. Livingston, the American Ministers at Paris, Bonaparte disposed of Louisiana to the United States for the net sum of sixty million francs.[2]

Piqued by these transactions, the Spanish Government attempted to elude their obligations towards France; while the First Consul, on his side, evinced a determination to enforce their discharge.

[1] See above, p. 136.

[2] Garden, t. viii. p. 81.

An army of 30,000 men, under Augereau, was assembled in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, and Spain also increased her forces in the Pyrenees. An understanding was, however, effected, and a convention signed at Paris, October 19th, 1803. Bonaparte preferred the Spaniards' money to their vessels or their troops; it suited him that Spain should remain neutral, as he could then make use of her ports, and enjoy her commerce without risking the loss of her colonies, which might prove an obstacle in concluding a peace. By this convention Spain engaged to pay to France six million francs a month during the war, of which, however, two millions were to be retained on account of expenses in repairing and provisioning French ships in Spanish harbours, &c. France was to recognize the neutrality of Spain, and also of Portugal, that Power engaging to pay one million a month of the stipulated subsidy.[1] The sums payable by Spain under this treaty are computed at more than double the amount of her engagements under that of St. Ildefonso. Her refusal to communicate it to the Cabinet of London produced a war with Great Britain. The Regent of Portugal, after some resistance, was at length also compelled by the threats of Bonaparte to purchase his neutrality by the payment of twelve millions, or, according to some, sixteen millions a year (December 23rd, 1803).

Among the first steps of Bonaparte after the breaking out of the war was the reoccupation of Naples. The troops which had been withdrawn had been kept on the frontiers of the Italian Republic and the Roman States, and towards the end of June they were again marched to the south under the command of General Gouvion St. Cyr. The feeble Government of Naples submitted to all the conditions exacted. But the First Consul's chief care was directed, or seemed to be directed, to an invasion of England. A great quantity of flat-boats was assembled in all the ports of the Channel and the North Sea; a numerous army, called, by anticipation, the "Army of England," under Victor, Ney, Davoust, and Soult, was cantoned between the Texel and the mouth of the Seine, and was frequently visited by Bonaparte. These demonstrations excited a glowing spirit of patriotism in England. By August 10th 300,000 volunteers are said to have enrolled themselves.[2] All the male population of the kingdom, from seventeen years of age to fifty-five, were divided into classes to be successively armed and exercised. The militia consisted of 84,000 men; the troops of the line of 96,000;

[1] Cantillo, p. 708; Garden, t. viii. p. 201 sqq. Cf. Gentz, *Verhältniss zwischen England und Spanien.*

[2] Knight's *Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 427.

and there were besides 25,000 troops destined for service at sea. The English fleet numbered 469 ships of war, and the coasts were guarded by a flotilla of 800 vessels. Attempts were made to destroy the vessels in the French harbours, and Havre, Granville, Dieppe, and Boulogne were bombarded, but with little result. The colonial operations of the English were more successful. The French and Dutch colonies of St. Lucie, St. Pierre, and Miquelon, Tobago, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were captured in a few months; General Rochambeau surrendered Cape Town in St. Domingo to Admiral Duckworth, November 30th, and all the French part of that island remained in the power of the negroes.

The year 1804 opened with a conspiracy for the overthrow of Bonaparte and the restoration of the Bourbons. The chief persons concerned in it in France were George Cadoudal, son of a miller in the Morbihan, and one of the most determined of the Chouans; General Pichegru, who had escaped from Guiana; General Moreau, and some members of the Polignac family. Although it does not appear that the assassination of Bonaparte was contemplated, it is, nevertheless, to be regretted that so base and underhand a mode of warfare should have been encouraged by members of the Addington Ministry, and promoted by their diplomatic agents abroad; as Mr. Drake, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Spencer Smith, the English Ministers at Munich, Hesse-Cassel, and Stuttgardt. The plot was discovered. Moreau was apprehended, February 15th; Pichegru on the 28th; George Cadoudal on March 9th. Several other conspirators were also arrested. It is said that Bonaparte was to have been seized by about 1,200 Chouans, Vendeans, and other royalists, dressed in the uniform of the National Guard; Moreau was to have addressed the troops of the line, with whom he was very popular; the Duke d'Enghien, grandson of the Prince de Condé, was then to be summoned to Paris; and it was expected that the Bourbons would be proclaimed without much resistance.[1] For this plot George Cadoudal and eighteen of his accomplices were executed. Pichegru was found strangled in his prison. Moreau's fate we shall record in the sequel. In his prosecution of this affair Bonaparte compelled the Electors of Bavaria, Hesse-Cassel, and Baden to dismiss the English Ministers from their Courts; caused Wagstaff, an English Cabinet-messenger, to be stopped near Lübeck and robbed of his despatches, and Sir George Rumbold, the English Minister at Hamburg, who was also implicated, to be seized on neutral ground and brought to Paris, where he would certainly

[1] Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 32.

have been shot by a military commission had not the King of Prussia interceded in his behalf.[1] Austria, which Power had greatly increased her forces in Tyrol and Suabia, was also suspected of being concerned in the plot. Napoleon, by threats of invasion, compelled the Emperor to reduce his armaments.

The discovery of this conspiracy made the First Consul more popular, and served to strengthen his grasp of power. This popularity was, however, lost among all right-thinking people, and especially in foreign countries, by an atrocious crime which Bonaparte soon afterwards committed. The First Consul, not content with that dignity, had now resolved to seat himself on the throne of the Bourbons. He had even had the audacity, in the intoxication of his success, to demand from Louis XVIII. the cession in his favour of the rights of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France.[2] The asserted complicity of the Duke d'Enghien in the plot of Cadoudal, which appears to have had no foundation in truth, afforded him a pretext to get rid of one of the members of that House. The Duke was residing at Ettenheim, in the neutral territory of Baden, when Bonaparte, in violation of international law and the rights of the German Empire,[3] caused him to be seized on the night of March 15th, by a party of French *gens d'armes* and to be carried to the Castle of Vincennes, where, after a sort of mock trial, he was shot in the fosse of the fortress, March 21st.

Numerous indications had gradually prepared the minds of men for the assumption of the crown by Napoleon. The Court of the Tuileries had put on all the aspect of royalty. Prefects of the Palace had been appointed to do its honours; when the First Consul drove out his carriage was attended by an escort of cavalry with drawn sabres. The press had been subjected to a rigid censorship, while the journal which was supposed to convey the ideas of Bonaparte advocated the restoration of the monarchical principle, and incessantly attacked the philosophers, whose writings had contributed to the Revolution. The clergy gained fresh credit and power; even the Jesuits had ventured to reappear, under the name of *pères de la foi*.[4] George Cadoudal's plot

[1] Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten. Jahrhts.* B. vi. S. 489; *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 378.

[2] Barante, *Lettres et Instructions de Louis XVIII au Comte de St. Priest*, Paris, 1845. Cf. *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 317, and *Pièce Justificative*, G.

[3] Bonaparte, however, in his address to the Council of State on this horrible business, affirmed that he had the consent of the Elector of Baden. Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 34 sq. The true motive of the murder of the Duke d'Enghien is said to have been a challenge addressed by that prince to Bonaparte, in concert with Gustavus IV. of Sweden, who proposed to act as the Prince's second. *Homme d'état*, t. ix. p. 290.

[4] Their establishments were, however, dissolved by an Imperial decree, June 23rd, 1804. Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 128.

hastened Bonaparte's last step towards absolutism. Men anxiously contemplated what would be the fate of France, if deprived of the firm hand which ruled it, and plunged again into anarchy. All who surrounded Bonaparte, his family, his friends, his ministers, urged him to establish his dynasty, and render it hereditary. At the instigation of Fouché, the servile Senate addressed the First Consul, and vaguely demanded institutions which should destroy the hopes of conspirators, by assuring the existence of the Government beyond the lifetime of its head. Bonaparte, with well-acted surprise, assured the deputation, with equal vagueness, that he would consider the subject in the course of the year. When the Senators had retired, he observed to some members of his Council of State: That not having been prepared for this demand, he could give only a vague answer, but the subject was worthy of the greatest attention; that for himself, he wanted nothing—he was content with his lot; but he was bound to think of France and her future interests; in any event, however, he would accept no new title without the sanction of the people.[1]

The deliberation of the legislative bodies on this subject was little more than a solemn farce. Bonaparte had half a million bayonets at his back. It was given out that he would visit all the camps, from Brest to Hanover; the soldiers, no doubt, would salute him Emperor, and their choice would be confirmed by the acclamations of the people. It was the interest of the Legislature to anticipate what it could not oppose.[2] There was, however, more opposition in the Council of State than was pleasing to Bonaparte. He had hoped for unanimity; but seven members out of twenty-seven boldly supported, for the last time, the principles of Republicanism. The Tribunate was more compliant. On May 3rd it voted, almost unanimously, an hereditary Empire. Carnot alone ventured to raise his voice against it. In a bold and vigorous discourse he deplored the fall of the Republic, the ruin of liberty, and the re-establishment of monarchical institutions. But these sentiments found no echo; they were no longer understood. Bonaparte had invited the Senate to declare their opinion. His message was immediately taken into consideration; and he was desired to assume the Empire with only four dissentient votes—those of Sieyès, Volney, Grégoire, and Lanjuinais. The *Senatus-Consulte* for regulating the new Empire, which had been drawn up by Bonaparte himself after several

[1] Lefèbvre, *Cabinets de l'Europe*, ch. x.; Garden, t. viii. p. 214 sqq.

[2] Pelet de la Lozère, *Opinions de Napoléon*, p. 59 sqq.

conferences with various members of the Legislature, was immediately passed, May 18th, 1804; and, on the same day, the Senate proceeded to St. Cloud, to present to the First Consul the Act which declared him Emperor.

By this Act the Imperial dignity was declared hereditary in Napoleon's male issue, by order of primogeniture. He might adopt the sons or grandsons of his brothers, in case he had himself no male issue at the time of the adoption; but the right of adoption was forbidden to his successors and their descendants. In default of heirs of Napoleon the Imperial dignity was to devolve to his brother Joseph and his descendants; in their default on his brother Louis and his descendants. Napoleon had excluded his brothers Lucien and Jerome from the succession, in consequence of their having contracted marriages of which he disapproved; but he had promised to restore their rights if they would dismiss their wives. The Council of State was instituted as an integral part and superior authority of the Empire. The fifty tribunes were suffered to remain for the present, as well as the Legislative Body of 300 members, who no longer represented the opinions and will of the nation.[1] The salaries of the senators and tribunes were considerably augmented. Several new Imperial dignities were created. The Consul Cambacères was appointed Arch-Chancellor, the Consul Lebrun, Arch-Treasurer, Prince Joseph Bonaparte, Grand Elector, and Prince Louis, Constable. Eighteen of Napoleon's most distinguished generals were made Marshals of the Empire, viz., Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefèbvre, Pérignon, Serrurier. Nearly all these men had been born in a very humble rank. Moreau, the greatest of Bonaparte's generals, as great perhaps as Bonaparte himself, though not so fortunate, but as timid a politician as he was a brave soldier, was now languishing in prison. The new Emperor of the French endeavoured to persuade the judges to condemn Moreau to death, in order that he might have the glory of pardoning him; but the majority of them were too honest and too courageous to obey. Moreau was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Napoleon, dreading a military insurrection in Moreau's favour, offered him facilities of evasion, of which he would not avail himself. Eventually a sort of composition was made with him, by which he consented to proceed, by way of Spain, to the United States.[2]

[1] Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 101.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 125.

The EMPEROR NAPOLEON I. deemed two things still wanting to the confirmation of his new dignity—its ratification by the French people and its consecration by the Pope. As he had been already elected Consul for life, the question put to the people regarded not his elevation to the Imperial title, but whether the Crown should be hereditary in his family. To this question 3,521,675 voters out of 3,580,000 are said to have replied in the affirmative.[1] Negotiations were entered into with Pope Pius VII. to induce him to come to Paris and celebrate the coronation of the new Charlemagne.[2] The Pontiff consented to consecrate the usurper, whose hands were still red with the blood of the Duke d'Enghien, in the hope of playing a principal part in this solemnity and obtaining important advantages for the Romish Church; including the restitution, perhaps, of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna. The ceremony took place at Notre Dame, December 2nd, 1804. But the Pope was allowed only to anoint Napoleon and his Empress, to bless their robes and insignia, to lead the Imperial couple to their throne, and to conclude the solemnity with a prayer. Although Cardinal Fesch had promised Pius that he should crown the Emperor, Napoleon with his own hand put the crown on his own head and on that of Josephine; and after the coronation the Pope was left behind in the church like an ordinary assistant. His endeavours to recover the Legations proved also abortive. Several German Princes visited Paris on this occasion; but only the Electoral Arch-Chancellor had the honour of being invited to the Imperial table; the rest were obliged to content themselves with a side-table, presided over by Joseph Bonaparte.[3]

Charles IV. of Spain, implicitly subservient to the counsels of the Prince of the Peace, now the devoted servant and instrument of France, displayed the coldest indifference at the murder of a Prince of his House, and immediately recognized Napoleon's assumption of the Imperial title. Indignant at this conduct, the Count de Lille (Louis XVIII.) sent back to his royal relative the order of the Golden Fleece, accompanying the act with a bitter and appropriate reproof.[4]

With the exception of England, the only voice raised against the violence and aggressions of Napoleon came from the North. The Emperor Alexander alone ventured to remonstrate, as one of

[1] Lefèbvre, ch. x.

[2] The parallel was so striking that the Pope proposed December 25th, the anniversary of Charlemagne's coronation, for that of Napoleon. Lefèbvre, ch. x.

[3] Menzel, B. vi. S. 445 Anm.

[4] Lefèbvre, ch. xi.

the guarantees of the Treaty of Lunéville, against the occupation of Hanover and Naples, and the closing of the Weser and the Elbe, as hurtful to the Hanseatic towns and German Principalities, of which he declared himself the protector. Napoleon replied by treating Markoff, the Russian Ambassador, with studied indignity. After the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, M. d'Oubril, the Russian *chargé d'affaires* at Paris (Markoff having been recalled) was instructed to express the Emperor's surprise and grief at that event, and at the violation of the territory of Baden. The Russian Minister at Ratisbon also handed in to the Diet, May 6th, 1804,[1] a note in which the Empire was called upon in the most forcible manner to remonstrate with the French Government against the violation of its territory by an act of unparalleled violence, and to insist on such amends as the outraged dignity of the Empire and the maintenance of its future safety demanded. On the 12th of the same month M. d'Oubril delivered to the French Government an official note to the same effect.

Talleyrand, in reply, denied the right of Russia to interfere, and accused the Cabinet of St. Petersburg of meditating a fresh coalition, and the renewal of the war. He had also the indecency and bad taste to offend Alexander, and at the same time to calumniate the English Government and the Duke d'Enghien, by inquiring whether when the English were concerting the assassination of Paul I., if Alexander had been informed that the assassins were only a league from the Russian frontier, would not he have felt it his duty to arrest them? The *chargé d'affaires* was reprimanded by his Court for accepting this note; and on July 12th he delivered the Russian ultimatum: that the French troops should evacuate the Kingdom of Naples; that the French Government should immediately establish, in concert with Russia, a basis for regulating the affairs of Italy; that it should engage to indemnify the King of Sardinia without delay; that it should at once withdraw its troops from the North of Germany, and engage strictly to respect the neutrality of the German Confederation. Talleyrand replied in a haughty note dictated to him by Napoleon from Boulogne, in which the Russian demands were evaded; and the Russian Minister, after answering with dignity and moderation, and recapitulating all the complaints of his Sovereign against France, quitted Paris with all the Legation. The Emperor Alexander manifested his indignation at the murder of the Duke d'Enghien by causing a monument to be erected to

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 347.

his memory in the principal church of St. Petersburg, with a Latin inscription purporting that "he had been cruelly murdered by the Corsican brute."[1]

Sweden alone joined Russia in these remonstrances and complaints. Gustavus IV. was accidentally in the dominions of the Elector of Baden when the crime against the Duke d'Enghien was committed almost under his eyes. The Swedish minister at Paris presented a note against that violation of the German territory, May 14th. A violent attack upon the King of Sweden, published in the French official journal, the *Moniteur*, determined Gustavus to recall his Legation from Paris. The French *chargé d'affaires* at Stockholm was informed, in a note of September 7th, in which the French Emperor was qualified only as Monsr. Napoléon Bonaparte, that all diplomatic intercourse must cease between the two countries.[2] The German Sovereigns displayed their usual subservience to Napoleon. The King of Prussia was silent about the fate of the Duke d'Enghien and the violation of the German territory till May, 1806, when events suddenly recalled these matters to his memory. He had hastened to recognize Napoleon as Emperor of the French;[3] whereupon Louis the Eighteenth retired from Warsaw to the Russian town of Grodno. Here he employed himself in drawing up a protest against Napoleon's usurpation; but Alexander would not suffer such an act in his dominions, and the French King, or, as he was now called, "the Pretender," embarked for Sweden, and published his protest at Calmar.[4] The Emperor Francis II. had winked at the murder of the Duke d'Enghien. The Austrian ambassador at Paris, Count Philip Cobentzl, had declared in the presence of the First Consul that there were circumstances which obliged a government to take measures for its safety which other governments should abstain from judging. In fact, Austria herself had sometimes resorted to such "measures." When the Emperor Alexander brought the subject before the German Diet Austria joined Prussia in obtaining its suppression.[5] Francis II. did not recognize Napoleon's new title without some stipulations in favour of himself. As his own dignity of Roman Emperor was elective, it might one day happen, through Protestant and foreign influence, that the House of Austria might be deprived of it, when the reigning Prince, being only Archduke of Austria and King

[1] "Quem Corsica bellua immaniter trucidavit."—Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 41.
[2] Garden, t. viii. p. 274.
[3] By a letter dated May 27th, 1804.
[4] *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 402.
[5] Lefebvre, *Hist. des Cabinets*, ch. ix.

of Bohemia and Hungary, would find himself inferior in rank to the Emperors of France and Russia. It was therefore decided by the Cabinet of Vienna that Francis should immediately assume the title of hereditary Emperor of Austria; and negotiations were entered into with Napoleon for the reciprocal acknowledgment of the new titles. Napoleon insisted upon being first recognized; and when that had been done Francis proclaimed himself hereditary Emperor of Austria, August 11th, 1804.[1]

The breach of Russia and Sweden with France offered the elements of a new coalition, which Pitt, who had returned to power in May, 1804, on the resignation of Mr. Addington, made it a principal object of his policy to establish. But before that could be effected another enemy had entered the lists against England. The Treaty of St. Ildefonso, between France and Spain, confirmed, though modified, by that of October 19th, 1803, being offensive, or, as the publicists call it, a *partnership of war*, would justify Great Britain in treating Spain as an enemy. But there remained the question of policy. Negotiations, which it would be too long here to record,[2] were entered into with the Cabinet of Madrid, with the view of inducing it to remain neutral, or, at all events, to afford but a feeble and ostensible aid to France. But, meanwhile, it was discovered in September, 1804, that large naval expeditions, consisting of French vessels, were preparing in the ports of Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagena; and as Spain was not at war with any other country the only inference could be that they were destined against England. Orders were consequently given for a strict blockade of Ferrol, and British commanders were enjoined to stop and bring into port all Spanish vessels laden with warlike stores. Great Britain had always been accustomed to commence hostilities without a formal declaration of war. How far this practice may be conformable to the Law of Nations[3] it is unnecessary here to examine, as in the present case the English Government had long announced to the Court of Madrid that it claimed the right of hostilities without a previous declaration of war, if the conditions were infringed on which a suspension of them had been granted; and the armament at Ferrol was regarded as such an infringement. The Spanish Minister, indeed, pretended that it was destined for Bilbao, to put down an insurrection in Biscay; but this was evidently false and absurd, as the port of Bilbao will not even admit

[1] Lefèbvre, *Hist. des Cabinets*, ch. x. As Emperor of Austria he was of course Francis I.

[2] See for them Gentz, *Authentische Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen England und Spanien.*

[3] On this point see Garden, *Traité de Diplomatie*, t. ii. p. 255, and Wheaton.

a frigate, much less a ship of the line. The Cabinet of Madrid was evidently seeking only to gain time for the arrival of the treasure-ships.[1]

In consequence of the orders issued by the English Government, Captain Moore, with a squadron of four English frigates, captured, October 5th, near Cape St. Mary's, three Spanish frigates from La Plata, having on board about 240,000*l.* sterling in money, and many valuable effects. Another frigate blew up, and sunk with all her crew. The English Government declared this treasure sequestrated, by way of securing English merchants having credits in Spain. In spite of this affair attempts were made to preserve neutrality with Spain; but as the Cabinet of Madrid would not explain the nature of its engagements with France, and of the preparations in its ports, Mr. Frere, the English Minister, quitted Madrid, November 7th. Orders were given to commence hostilities against Great Britain towards the end of that month: a Spanish manifesto appeared December 12th, and was answered by Great Britain, January 25th, 1805.

The warlike operations of the year 1804, which were only maritime, were not of much importance. In Europe they were confined to Napoleon's preparations for invading England, and the attempts of the English to frustrate and destroy them. The French and Dutch coasts were observed by Lord Cornwallis and Sir Sidney Smith, while Nelson blockaded Toulon and Genoa and observed the other ports of the Mediterranean. The French flotilla having been collected in large numbers in Boulogne harbour, an attempt was made early in October, under the conduct of Lord Keith, to destroy it by means of fire-ships, and by machines called *catamarans*, consisting of copper vessels filled with combustibles, which were to be stealthily affixed in the darkness of night to the bottoms of the enemy's vessels, and exploded by means of clock-work. But this scheme utterly failed, and covered its projectors with ridicule. In the West Indies, the important Dutch colony of Surinam was reduced by Commodore Hood and General Green, April 29th. In the East, Admiral Linois, with a small French squadron, infested English commerce from his station in the Isle of France.

Meanwhile Napoleon was sensible that Pitt was preparing against him another coalition, although as yet he had no positive proof of the concert between the Cabinets of London, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. By way of counterpoise he endeavoured to effect an intimate alliance with the King of Prussia; and he tempted

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 392.

Frederick William III., but without success, by offering to support him in extending his dominions and assuming the title of Emperor.[1] The substitution of Hardenberg for Haugwitz at this time in the Cabinet of Berlin, effected through the influence of the Queen, was adverse to Napoleon's policy. The King of Prussia was also courted at this juncture by the Emperor Alexander. We have already alluded to the friendship which had sprung up between those two Monarchs, and the occupation of Hanover by the French had served to draw it closer. Frederick William, alarmed by that step, and by the arming of the Swedes, which threatened to render North Germany the theatre of war, entered into a secret convention with the Emperor Alexander, May 24th, 1804, which stipulated that if the number of the French troops in the Hanoverian Electorate should be increased beyond 30,000, or if any other German State should be invaded, they should unite their arms against France, and the Emperor, in this case, put all the forces of his Empire at the disposal of Prussia.[2] But Frederick William III. was sincerely desirous of preserving both the peace of Europe and his own neutrality; and in order to heal the misunderstanding which had grown up between France and Russia he offered his mediation. He proposed a plan which, though accepted with some reservation by Napoleon, was at once rejected by Alexander. The latter Sovereign demanded the entire fulfilment by France of the Convention of October 11th, 1801, and especially with regard to the affairs of Italy.[3] His insisting on a point which, while it did not much concern himself, was of vital importance to Austria, confirmed Napoleon in his suspicions of a secret understanding between Austria and Russia. Francis had, in fact, concluded with Alexander a secret convention, November 6th, 1804, which was to have the same effect for the south of Europe as the convention with Prussia for the north. If France committed new usurpations in Italy, extended her occupation in Naples beyond the Gulf of Taranto, effected further annexations in Italy, or threatened Egypt or any part of the Turkish Empire, Austria was to resist with an army of 150,000 men. For this service, if the allied arms were successful, Austria was to have the district as far as the Adda and the Po; the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be restored to their dominions, and Salzburg and the Breisgau, thus vacated, were to revert to the Emperor. The

[1] Lefèbvre, ch. xi.

[2] This convention, first published by M. Thiers, in his *Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire*, t. v. p. 25, will also be found in Garden, t. viii. p. 385.

[3] Lefèbvre, ch. xi.

House of Savoy was to be re-established in Piedmont, Genoa, and the Milanese.[1]

Although Napoleon had no certain knowledge of this treaty, observation had convinced him that the Continental peace could not much longer be preserved. Under this apprehension he addressed another letter to "his brother," King George III., January 2nd, 1805,[2] conceived in much the same style of interrogative objurgation as the former one; in which he invoked a peace in the name of "humanity and reason:" qualities to which, when in difficulties, he was always inclined to pay due honour.[3] Lord Mulgrave, now Foreign Secretary, in his answer of January 14th, addressed to Talleyrand, shortly observed that nothing could be done except in concert with the Continental Powers, and particularly Russia. The speech of George III. on opening Parliament the following day, was couched in terms which showed little hope of a pacification.[4] But if any doubt existed, it must have been removed a few days after (February 18th) by Mr. Pitt's motion for a grant of five millions for Continental purposes.

The English Ministry, in fact, doubted not of their ability to establish a formidable coalition against France. A treaty was first concluded with Gustavus IV. of Sweden, December 3rd, 1804, by which Great Britain engaged to pay that Sovereign 80,000*l.* for the defence of Stralsund, Gustavus permitting that place, or the Isle of Rügen, to be a depôt for a Hanoverian corps which the King of Great Britain proposed to form: also that Stralsund should be an *entrepôt* for British merchandise and manufactures. The French Government having obtained knowledge of this treaty, employed the King of Prussia to threaten Sweden; whereupon Gustavus appealed to the Emperor of Russia, with whom he had concluded an intimate alliance, January 14th, 1805, with the expressed view "of maintaining the balance between the Powers of Europe, and guaranteeing the independence of Germany." At the instance of Alexander, Frederick William III. desisted from his threats against Sweden; but a coldness sprang up; the Prussian Minister quitted Stockholm, May 29th, 1805, and all communication between the two Powers entirely ceased.

But the true foundation of the Third Coalition was laid in a communication from the British Government to M. Novosiltzof,

[1] Also first published by M. Thiers, *Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire*, t. v. p. 355. Garden, t. viii. p. 397 sqq.

[2] *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. x. p. 100.

[3] Some, however, are of opinion that Napoleon was not in earnest, and that his object only was to obtain an indirect acknowledgment of his new title. *Homme d'état.* t. viii. p. 420.

[4] *Ann. Reg.* 1805; State Papers, p. 605.

the Russian Ambassador at London, January 19th, 1805.[1] The genius of Pitt, disdaining the meaner arts of his predecessor, had planned a scheme of warfare on a scale worthy of England, of the adversary with whom she had to cope, and of the vast European interests at stake. The objects of this gigantic project were—1. To wrest from the domination of France the countries which she had subjugated since the commencement of the Revolution, and to reduce her within her previous limits; 2. To make such arrangements with regard to these countries as might insure their peace and welfare, and at the same time render them barriers against the future aggressions of France; 3. To conclude, after the restoration of peace, a convention and guarantee for the mutual surety of the different Powers, and to establish in Europe a general system of public law. The English Cabinet felt that it was impossible to carry out these views, as a whole, without the co-operation of Austria and Prussia. Of the aid of the latter Power little hope was entertained; and the want of it, as Pitt had apprehended, caused the failure of the Coalition. In fact, had a Prussian army operated on the left wing of the French in the campaign of 1805, it would in all probability have been impossible for Napoleon to advance into the Austrian dominions. Both Prussia and Austria were to be induced to join the league by holding out to them the hope, in case of success, of some material rewards for their co-operation. Prussia was to have the territories wrested from France on the left bank of the Rhine, while Austria was to be rewarded with an extension of her dominions in Italy, and by the re-establishment of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena in that country; when the districts which had been assigned to those Princes in Germany, by way of compensation, would revert to Austria.

The Emperor Alexander entered heartily and readily into the English scheme, and on April 11th, 1805, a treaty of alliance was concluded at St. Petersburg.[2] The general object of the contracting Powers in this *treaty of concert* was stated to be, to form a general league of the European States, so that a force of 500,000 effective men should be collected, independently of those furnished by the King of Great Britain. The more specific ends to be obtained were: the evacuation by the French of Hanover and North Germany; the establishment of the independence of Holland and

[1] It will be found *in extenso* in Garden, t. viii. p. 318 sqq.

[2] The treaty is given only imperfectly by Martens, t. viii. p. 330. See Garden, t. viii. p. 327. *Ann. Register*, 1806.

Switzerland; the restoration of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large a territory as circumstances might permit; the evacuation of Italy, and the future safety of the Kingdom of Naples; the establishment of such an order of things in Europe as might effectually guarantee the safety and independence of the different States, and present a solid barrier against further usurpations. Great Britain engaged to contribute to the common efforts with her land and sea forces, by providing transports, and by paying subsidies at the rate of 1,250,000*l.* sterling for every 100,000 regular troops furnished. For this purpose Pitt had demanded the five millions from Parliament, afterwards, on the refusal of Prussia to join the league, reduced to three-and-a-half millions. No peace was to be made without the consent of all the parties to the league. The treaty contained eleven or twelve additional articles, about half of which have remained secret. The most remarkable conditions of the articles that are known are: that active operations should commence when a force of 400,000 men was assembled; of which 250,000 were to be furnished by Austria, 115,000 by Russia, besides levies in Albania, &c.; and the rest were to be composed of Hanoverians, Neapolitans, Sardinians, &c. Certain general principles of justice and international law were to be recognized in the mode of proceeding. Thus neither France nor other countries were to be coerced with regard to their internal government; no conquests were to be appropriated before the peace; at the conclusion of the war a general Congress was to be assembled to fix with more precision the principles of the Law of Nations, and to insure their observation by a federative system formed with reference to the situation of the different European States.

The principles laid down by Pitt in these negotiations with Russia were, after ten more years of war and desolation, ultimately carried out in their main outlines in 1814; and the shade of the great English Minister may be said to have presided over the deliberations of Vienna. Austria did not deem it politic at once to join the league. There could, however, be no doubt of her ultimate co-operation, and she was consulted respecting the plan of the campaign. The King of Prussia resisted alike the enticements and the menaces of Russia. His situation at this time offered the greatest opportunities, though accompanied, no doubt, with dangers. Courted by both sides, he might probably have aggrandized himself by joining either, or if he preferred the dictates of equity to those of ambition, he might, as an armed mediator, have com-

pelled a peace. But Frederick William III. inherited no portion of the spirit of the great Frederick. He followed none of these courses. He thought only of securing his neutrality, and adopted the apparently safe, but, as it proved, fatal policy of doing nothing.

While the storm was thus gathering over Napoleon's head he was ardently pursuing the schemes of his insatiable ambition. On March 15th, 1805, a deputation of the Italian Republic, which he had summoned from Milan, offered to him the crown of Italy. The separation of the crowns of France and Italy—for both were to be united only during the life of Napoleon, though he was to have the power of nominating his successors—seemed to sanction a principle necessary to the repose of Europe; yet as the dignity of King of Italy had been attached since the days of Otho the Great to the Imperial Crown of German Princes,[1] Napoleon was aware that he could not, without offending the House of Austria, assume a title by which the elective Kings of the Romans were regarded as the secular heads of Christendom. Such considerations, however, were of little weight with him. On March 18th he declared to the French Senate that he had accepted the Lombard crown, in order, as he observed, to strengthen it against those tempests which would not cease to menace it till the Mediterranean should have been restored to its natural conditions. He set off for Milan early in May, and was, of course, received in that city "with incredible transports of joy and enthusiasm."[2] On May 26th he crowned himself with the iron crown of the old Lombard Kings; pronouncing at the same time the accustomed words, to which the circumstances of the time gave an additionally solemn and formidable character: *Dio me la diede; guai a chi la tocca.*[3]

A singular scene took place a few days after Napoleon's coronation. Queen Caroline of Naples, who, with the Minister, Acton, governed that country, had incurred the Emperor's anger by her warlike preparations, and had been compelled by his threats to abandon them. Caroline, nevertheless, subordinating pride to policy, sent Prince Cardito to Milan to compliment Napoleon on his new title. The ambassador delivered his felicitations in the midst of a brilliant circle. Scarce had he finished his speech when the Emperor, giving free vent to one of his violent explosions of

[1] Otho, after his conquest of Italy in 961, caused himself to be crowned King of that country, and claimed the exercise of an unlimited sovereignty. Hence Otho called it his *regnum proprium*. Pfeffel, t. i. pp. 128, 176, &c.

[2] Lefèbvre, ch. xii.

[3] "God gave it to me; woe to him who touches it."

passion, denounced the intrigues of Queen Caroline, her hatred of France, and her endeavours to excite against him the Northern Courts; reproached her with the blood which she had caused to be shed at Naples in 1799; compared her with the daughter of Jezebel; stigmatized her with the name of the modern Athaliah, and swore that he would not leave her ground enough for a grave. The courtiers gazed in mute surprise on so unaccustomed a scene. But though Napoleon's invectives turned only on the policy of the Queen, the real cause of his anger was a domestic insult. He had proposed a marriage between his step-son, Eugene Beauharnais, and one of the Neapolitan Princesses; but the daughter of Maria Theresa had haughtily rejected an alliance so incompatible with her illustrious descent.[1] Napoleon was deeply wounded by this refusal. He had a fatherly affection for the son of Josephine, whom he appointed Viceroy of the new Italian Kingdom. In this capacity Eugene Beauharnais was the mere executor of his adoptive father's wishes.

Napoleon ruled Italy with a rod of iron. Making no allowance for habits and customs, he enforced in Lombardy the same regulations which he had made for France; nay, he even caused the *Code Napoléon* to be literally translated into Italian, and ordered it to be adopted and executed; a thing utterly impossible, as many of its provisions referred to customs which existed not in Italy.[2] Napoleon alone convoked and adjourned the Legislative Assembly, ordered all public works, appointed to all civil and military employments. A small State of four million souls, which had been less taxed than any other in Europe, was compelled to pay him near seventy-seven million francs, besides twenty-five millions for the support of a French army in Italy; to which, also, it was compelled to furnish conscripts. These oppressions naturally engendered a spirit of revolt. The little town of Crespino having betrayed some Austrian tendencies, Napoleon placed it under martial law, doubled its contributions, increased the rigour of its penal code; and when the Viceroy solicited its pardon, replied: "My son, I must have blood to wash out the stain upon my colours. Direct four or five of the principal inhabitants to be seized and shot in the public square; after this execution I may, perhaps, forgive the rest the punishment they have incurred."[3] Before Napoleon left Milan, Genoa and the Ligurian Republic were incorporated with France, June 3rd, 1805. This was the fourth Republic which, contrary to the Treaty of Lunéville, he kept under

[1] Lefèbvre, ch. xii. [2] *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 428. [3] *Ibid.* p. 431.

his domination or subjected to his crown. The Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which, together with Guastalla, had been already seized, were declared dependencies of the French Empire by an Imperial decree of July 21st. The Principality of Piombino was bestowed on Napoleon's sister Eliza, wife of the Senator Bacciocchi, but on conditions which retained it under the Emperor's suzerainty: and the little State was increased by the addition of the Republic of Lucca.

Napoleon, the better to conceal his designs upon England, had remained at Milan till late in the summer; when, thinking the time come that Villeneuve might join him with the French fleet to cover the invasion, he quitted Milan secretly, and traversing the Alps and France with the greatest celerity, suddenly appeared in the camp at Boulogne on the night of August 2nd. The army of invasion numbered 167,000 well disciplined troops. But Napoleon found it not so easy to direct the operations of a fleet as the manœuvres of an army. Villeneuve, escaping from the blockade of Toulon, and accompanied by the Spanish Admiral Gravina from Cadiz, had proceeded in April to the West Indies in order to deceive Nelson and the other English Admirals as to his real intentions. But on his return to Europe he was encountered off Cape Finisterre by the English fleet under Sir Robert Calder. An action ensued, July 22nd, in which the English captured two Spanish line-of-battle ships. On the following day the hostile fleets were still in sight, but neither seemed disposed to renew the combat, although the French Admiral bore up several times in order of battle; after which he proceeded to Ferrol. The English were now accustomed to regard victory at sea so much as a matter of course, that Sir R. Calder, though his fleet was considerably inferior in force to that of the enemy, consisting of only fifteen ships of the line against twenty Spaniards and Frenchmen, was subsequently brought before a court-martial and severely reprimanded. In spite of the imperative instructions of Napoleon to proceed immediately to the English Channel, Villeneuve consumed eleven days in revictualling at Ferrol. He at length came out, August 13th; but the English fleet being reported, retreated to Cadiz with thirty-three sail of the line; where he was blockaded by Sir R. Calder, now joined by Collingwood, with twenty-five. Thus vanished all Napoleon's hopes of commanding the Channel. Meanwhile the hostile intentions of Austria had become apparent, and Napoleon was compelled to abandon his scheme of invading England, to turn against another enemy.

Francis I., who had long been increasing his forces in Italy and Germany, formally acceded, August 9th, 1805, to the Anglo-Russian treaty of April 11th, and thus completed the formation of the Third Coalition. After some negotiation the English Cabinet had agreed to pay Austria a subsidy of three millions for the year 1805, and four millions for every subsequent year that the war might last. On August 28th appeared an ordinance putting the Austrian army on a war footing. Nevertheless Francis, who had even had the duplicity to offer his mediation with England and Russia, still continued in September to assure the French Government of his pacific intentions. The Austrian Cabinet wanted to gain time to complete their preparations; but their notes soon assumed a tone which Napoleon could only regard as a declaration of war.

CHAPTER LXIII.

NAPOLEON did not abandon all hope of the appearance of his fleet till August 28th, when, hearing that Villeneuve had put into Cadiz, and also that the Austrians were in motion, he issued orders for raising the camps upon the coast. The troops were directed towards the Rhine in four divisions, under Davoust, Soult, Lannes, and Ney, with orders to be in position between Strasburg and Mentz before the end of September. At the same time the army of Holland, under Marmont, also marched towards Mentz, and that of Hanover, under Bernadotte, was put in motion; but its destination was concealed, in order to deceive the King of Prussia, in case of the failure of the negotiations which were still in progress. The allied Powers had formed a plan to frighten the timorous Frederick William III. out of his neutrality. A Russian army was to advance to the frontiers of Prussian Poland, to force them, if necessary, and to advance through Silesia towards the Danube. Another army, composed of 45,000 English, Swedes, and Russians, was to land in Swedish Pomerania and at the mouth of the Weser, and thence to make an irruption into Hanover. The Allies hoped that, Prussia being thus surrounded with a network of troops, Frederick William, as well from fear as from a secret sympathy with their cause, would be induced to join the Coalition. To oppose these designs, Napoleon, who knew that the King of Prussia had long coveted Hanover, proposed to him, through the French Ambassador, M. de la Forest, to deliver over to him that Electorate, to be incorporated in the Prussian dominions, as the price of his alliance with France. The proposition was supported by Hardenberg. To the King's scruples at robbing the House of Brunswick Lüneburg, his relatives, Hardenberg replied, that the morality of a Sovereign resembled not that of an individual; that the operation was one calculated to place his Monarchy in the rank it ought to occupy in the world, as well as to allay the storm that menaced the Continent, and to force England to a peace.[1] Frederick William, yielding to these

[1] This is Lefèbvre's account. In the *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 466 sq., the matter is

arguments, notified his assent to the French proposal, but on condition that France should engage to respect the independence of Switzerland, Holland, and those States of the Italian Peninsula which belonged not to the French Empire nor to the Kingdom of Italy. Encouraged by this progress, Napoleon despatched Duroc, the Grand-Marshal of his Palace, to Berlin, to bring the negotiations to a conclusion; without, however, consenting to the conditions respecting Italy, and the Swiss and Batavian Republics. But before Duroc could arrive the timorous Frederick William had changed his mind. The hope of preserving the peace of Europe had induced him, as much as the acquisition of Hanover, to listen to Napoleon's offer; and meanwhile he had discovered that war was inevitable. The Allies had also worked on his fears, by representing to him the gigantic projects of ambition entertained by the French Emperor, and their representations were supported by the Queen of Prussia, as well as by the greater part of Frederick William's Court. After an attempt at mediation, the last decision of Frederick William was for a strict neutrality; but in this he was firm as well as sincere. The Emperor Alexander, in pursuance of the plan already mentioned, marched an army towards the Prussian frontiers; requested that it should be permitted to pass through the Prussian dominions towards the Inn; and asked for a personal interview with Frederick William. M. Alopéus, the Emperor's Minister at Berlin, even went so far as to name the day when the Russian troops would cross the frontiers of Prussia. But this insult filled Frederick William with all the energy of anger, and he immediately ordered an extraordinary levy of 80,000 men. At the same time France was informed that the King of Prussia would sign an alliance with her on the slightest infraction of his neutrality by Russia; while the Emperor Alexander received a similar assurance in case of an aggression on Prussia by France. Such was the position of the Prussian Monarchy when the campaign opened on the Danube.[1]

The operations of the Coalition were conceived on an immense scale; they embraced Germany and Italy, and extended from the mouth of the Weser to the Gulf of Taranto. Austria was ready to enter upon the campaign early in September. Her army in Italy, commanded by the Archduke Charles, consisted of 120,000 men; a second of 35,000, under the Archduke John, was posted in Tyrol; a third, in Germany, of about 80,000 men, was nominally

softened down; but enough remains to show that the statement is substantially correct.

[1] For these negotiations with Prussia, see Lefèbvre, ch. xiii.

commanded by the Archduke Ferdinand, a cousin of the Emperor, but in reality by General Mack. The appointment of this incompetent, but plausible person, seems to have been effected through the influence of the English Cabinet, in spite of his signal, nay almost ludicrous failure in Italy.[1] Mack had been condemned by the two greatest captains of the age, Bonaparte and Nelson. Mack, after his capture in Italy, had been brought to Paris, where Napoleon made his acquaintance, and pronounced him the most mediocre person he had ever known.[2] Nelson, who saw him at Naples, had also judged and condemned him.[3] This incompetent man was now to decide the fate of empires.

An army of Russians and Swedes was to operate in North Germany; while two Russian armies of about 60,000 men each, under the orders of Kutusoff and Buxhövden, were to march through Galicia and join Mack on the Upper Danube. Russian troops from the Ionian Islands, combined with some English detachments from Malta, were to land in the Neapolitan dominions, drive out the French, and assist the operations of the Austrians in Northern Italy. To frustrate this plan, as well as to assume the appearance of having removed one of the obstacles to peace, and, at the same time, to be enabled to employ his troops in Southern Italy against the Archduke Charles, Napoleon concluded at Paris a convention with the Marquis de Gallo, September 21st, 1805, by which the French troops were to evacuate the Kingdom of Naples; Ferdinand IV. undertaking, on his side, to observe a strict neutrality, to repel by force any attempt to violate it, and to permit no belligerent squadron to enter his ports.[4] This convention was very distasteful to the Court of Naples; but the dread of immediate hostilities compelled Ferdinand to ratify it.

It was of the highest importance to the success of the campaign in Germany that Austria should assure herself of the co-operation of the Electors of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden. From the situation of their dominions between the contending Powers, it was impossible for those Princes to remain neutral. They were known to be inclined towards Napoleon, by whom, as we have seen, they had been highly favoured in the matter of the indemnifications; and the only method by which Austria could hope to insure their aid was to compel it by a sudden invasion. Instead of this, the Cabinet of Vienna attempted to conciliate the employment of force with the observance of forms. On September 6th

[1] See above, p. 108. [2] Bourienne, *Mém.* t. iii. ch. 8.
[3] In a letter to Lord Spencer, November 9th, 1795.
[4] Garden, t. viii. p. 365 sq.

Prince Schwarzenberg arrived in Munich with a letter from the Emperor Francis, beseeching Maximilian Joseph to unite his arms with those of Austria, and guaranteeing to him the integrity of his dominions, whatever might be the event of the war. The Elector, after giving a ready assent to this request, addressed on the following day a letter to the Emperor Francis, in which he stated that his son, the Electoral Prince, was in France; that he would be lost if the Bavarian troops were to march against Napoleon; and he, therefore, supplicated his Imperial Majesty to be allowed to maintain his neutrality. In fact, however, Maximilian Joseph had already signed the preliminaries of an alliance with Napoleon, August 24th; and actuated by the fear of being crushed between two such Powers, he wrote an abject letter, September 8th, to M. Otto, the French Minister at Munich, stating what he had done, and deprecating the anger of Napoleon. M. Otto, perceiving that the Elector was about to secede, hastened to the palace, and, partly by threats, partly by painting to him in vivid colours the ignominy of his situation if he remained a day longer at Munich, he, with the aid of the Minister Mongelas, persuaded Maximilian to set off with his Court that very night for Würtzburg; where he would be protected by the advancing French columns. The Bavarian troops, 26,000 in number, followed by forced marches.

The day after the Elector's flight, and when it was no longer possible to secure him, the Austrian army crossed the Inn, and entered Bavaria (September 19th). Thus deprived of the co-operation of the Bavarians, Mack should have awaited in that Electorate the arrival of the Russian army under Kutusoff, which was still at a great distance. Instead of doing so, he traversed Bavaria, entered Suabia, and took up a position on the Iller, between Ulm and Memmingen, occupied the defiles of the Black Forest, and pushed the heads of his columns as far as Stockach; thus throwing himself into the jaws of his formidable enemy, and separating himself more and more from the Russians. Unfortunately for Mack, Napoleon in person had undertaken the German campaign with the greater part of his forces; while the Austrian Cabinet, thinking that Italy would be the chief point of attack, had posted their best general and their largest army in that country. Napoleon, after appearing at Paris in the Senate, September 23rd, set off to join his army. He had formed a plan to surprise and overwhelm Mack on the Upper Danube, with all his forces, and to cut him off from the Russians and from Vienna. The French army destined to operate in Germany consisted of

190,000 men. Besides the four divisions already mentioned, and those of Marmont and Bernadotte in Holland and Hanover, a seventh corps, from Brest, with the guard and reserves of cavalry, was directed on Haguenau, Strasburg, and Schlettstadt. The success of Napoleon's plan depended on the precision with which the movements of the different corps were executed. Davoust passed the Rhine at Mannheim, September 26th, and directed his march on Oettingen. Soult and Ney also passed the Rhine on the 26th, the first at Spires, the second at Karlsruhe, and made for Donauwörth and Dillingen. Bernadotte in Hanover, Marmont in Holland, were both to direct their march on Würtzburg; the former by Göttingen, the latter by Utrecht and Mentz. Thus, while Mack was expecting an attack in front, nearly the whole French army was "*pivoting*" on his right, and manœuvring to cross the Danube in his rear. Napoleon, to keep up his delusion, ordered a false attack in front. Lannes, with his division, and Murat, with 7,000 cavalry, having passed the Rhine, September 27th, marched straight forwards towards Reuchen and Hornberg, as if they would force the defiles of the Black Forest. Napoleon having joined this division, October 1st, directed its march upon Stuttgardt. Here he signed a treaty of alliance with the Elector of Würtemberg, October 3rd, who agreed to furnish 8,000 men during the war. Napoleon now made some false demonstrations and manœuvres to conceal from the enemy the march of his columns upon Donauwörth. Marmont's and Bernadotte's divisions had already arrived at Würtzburg. From this place the Elector of Bavaria had sent a declaration to the Emperor Francis, that he had determined to remain neutral, and that all the menaces of France should not make him abandon this unalterable resolution. Yet in less than a fortnight after these solemn assurances the Bavarians joined Bernadotte and Marmont immediately on their appearance; and on October 12th the Elector ratified the provisional treaty with France of August 24th.[1]

Bernadotte, by the junction of Marmont's division and the Bavarians, finding himself at the head of 60,000 men, directed his march towards the Danube. The union of so large a force at Würtzburg should have opened Mack's eyes; but he imagined that Bernadotte was stationed there to watch the Prussians, and he did not begin to perceive that Marshal's real intentions till he arrived at Eichstädt and Donauwörth. The direct road between

[1] Lefèbvre, ch. xiv. *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 471 sqq.; Mailath, *Gesch. Oestreichs*, B. v. S. 255 f.; Pelet de la Lozere, *Opinions de Napoléon*.

Würtzburg and Eichstädt traverses the margraviate of Anspach, belonging to Prussia. A circuitous route might have spoilt Napoleon's combinations, and his troops took that of Anspach at the risk of provoking the hostility of the King of Prussia by this violation of his neutrality. By the 8th of October 180,000 French had crossed the Danube at different points: Bernadotte and the Bavarians at Ingolstadt, whence he marched rapidly upon Munich; Davoust and Marmont at Neuburg; Soult, Lannes, Murat, and the Guard at Donauwörth and Dillingen. The Austrian General, Kienmayer, with 12,000 men, appointed to guard the bridges, was compelled to fly beyond the Isar. Marmont and Soult advanced towards Augsburg; Napoleon in person, with Lannes and Murat, on Zusmarshausen. Ney, with 40,000 men, remained on the left bank of the Danube. Mack might have retreated into Tyrol and joined the army of the Archduke John; but he persisted in thinking that Napoleon was still in his front, and that Bernadotte alone had gotten into his rear. Under the influence of this idea, recalling the corps which he had posted in the Black Forest, he wheeled about, and advanced, as he supposed, against Bernadotte and Marmont. He was soon undeceived. At Wertingen his advanced guard fell in with Murat and the French cavalry, and was completely routed; 4,000 Austrian grenadiers and all their artillery were captured (October 8th). This affair opened Mack's eyes; but, though the road to Tyrol was still open, he persisted in remaining at Ulm.[1] Matters growing hourly worse, he at length adopted the resolution of forcing his way towards Bohemia. With this view he endeavoured to force Ney's positions at Günzburg and Albeck, but was repulsed with considerable loss (October 9th). Napoleon, meanwhile, investing Ulm with his centre and right, extended his left so as to cut off Mack's retreat to Tyrol. The investment on this side was completed by the occupation of Memmingen by Soult, October 14th.

Meanwhile the Russians were approaching; their advanced guard had passed Linz, and the Archduke Charles had detached thirty-three battalions from the army of Italy to proceed to Mack's rescue. Napoleon drew closer the blockade of Ulm. Shut up in such a town with some 60,000 men, with provisions and ammuni-

[1] Military authorities say, that besides Tyrol and the road to Bohemia, Mack had also two other means of escape; namely, by entering Switzerland at Schaffhausen, where he might have been joined by the Archduke John from Tyrol; or by retiring upon the Main and thence into Hesse, and compelling its Sovereign to make common cause with him. This last march would have put him in communication with the Hanoverian, Russian, and Swedish troops, and have decided the King of Prussia. Garden, t. ix. p. 55, note.

tion only for a small garrison, Mack's position was becoming desperate. Another attempt was made to force the road to Bavaria, October 14th, when the Austrians were defeated with great loss by Ney at Elchingen. The Archduke Ferdinand, however, and Prince Schwarzenberg, succeeded in forcing a passage with upwards of 20,000 men, and gained Heidenheim. On the 15th, Napoleon, having carried the heights which command Ulm, summoned Mack to surrender, and in an interview with Prince Lichtenstein pointed out that Mack's position was inextricable, threatened, if forced to it, to treat the Austrian army as he had treated the garrison of Jaffa. To avoid an assault Mack capitulated on the 17th. Ulm, with all its magazines and artillery, was to be surrendered, the garrison were to lay down their arms as prisoners of war, if no Austrian or Russian troops should appear before midnight on the 25th of October to raise the blockade; but if they did appear, the garrison was to be permitted to join them, with all their arms, artillery, and cavalry. Mack had obtained this respite with great difficulty, which, at least, had the advantage of detaining the French army so many days. Yet on the 19th he signed a second capitulation, without any apparent reason, by which, on the assurance of Marshal Berthier of the impossibility of his being relieved, he surrendered Ulm on the following day; stipulating, however, that Marshal Ney's division should remain in the environs till the 25th. On the morning of October 20th 24,000 Austrians defiled before Napoleon, and laid down their arms at his feet as prisoners of war. Among the trophies were forty colours and sixty guns.[1] On the very day of this second capitulation, a division which had escaped from Ulm under Prince Ferdinand, pursued by Murat and Dupont, after one or two previous defeats, was surrounded near Nördlingen, and compelled to surrender at discretion by the capitulation of Trochtelfingen. The Prince, however, escaped this disaster, having pushed on into Bohemia with 2,000 horse.

The Russian advanced guard under Prince Bagration had effected a junction, October 16th, at Braunau with Kienmayer, who had retreated beyond the Inn, pursued and harassed by Bernadotte and the Bavarians. But they were compelled to evacuate Braunau on the approach of the French, who, with the

[1] Respecting the surrender of Ulm, see *Mémoires du Général Rapp*, chap. vi. Mack was arraigned before a court-martial, which, singularly enough, was presided over by Mélas, who had made almost as disgraceful a capitulation as himself. *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 487. Mack was condemned to a short imprisonment, but ultimately retired on a pension.

exception of Ney's corps, advanced rapidly after the surrender of Ulm. Lannes occupied Braunau, October 29th; Bernadotte entered Salzburg on the 30th. On the 4th of November the French army passed the Enns. On the 5th Ney took the fort of Scharnitz, which opened the road to Innsbruck. On the 7th an action took place at Maria Zell between the advanced guard of Davoust and the Austrians under Meerveldt; who lost 4,000 prisoners and sixteen guns. On the 9th the Russians repassed the Danube at Grein; and on the 11th an action between Marshal Mortier and Prince Kutusoff took place near Dürrenstein, a castle rendered famous by the captivity of Richard Cœur de Lion. The French general, who had only 5,000 men, cut his way through four times that number of Russians, and succeeded in reaching Davoust's division. Kutusoff continued his retreat towards Moravia, to join the Russian corps which was coming to his aid. In these disastrous circumstances, the Emperor of Austria, in order to save his capital, sent Count Giulay to Napoleon's headquarters to inquire on what terms he would grant an armistice for the negotiation of a peace. Napoleon demanded that the Russians should return into their own country, that the Hungarian insurrection should be dissolved, and that Venice and Tyrol should be provisionally abandoned to the French. Francis refused these conditions, which were, in fact, equivalent to surrendering at discretion. But it seems probable that the offer was made only to gain time for the advance of the Russians under Buxhövden and the completion of the Hungarian insurrection. Meanwhile the French army continued its march along the right bank of the Danube, and on the 13th of November Murat and Lannes entered Vienna without resistance. Such had been the orders of Francis, on quitting his capital a few days before to join at Brünn the Emperor Alexander, who accompanied the second Russian division: and, in fact, Vienna was not in a condition to make any defence.

We must now turn our eyes awhile towards Italy. We have seen that the Austrians had made vast preparations in that quarter, in the anticipation that it would be the principal scene of action. But Napoleon's movements gave quite an unexpected turn to affairs, and rendered the campaign in Italy only subsidiary to that in Germany. Masséna had at first only 30,000 men to oppose to the vast army of the Archduke Charles, and he was therefore instructed to stand on the defensive on the Adige. On the other hand, the Archduke, through Mack's disasters, which

had compelled him to detach a large force to the assistance of that general, was prevented from taking the offensive. After the King of Naples had ratified the Treaty of Paris, Gouvion St. Cyr, who occupied the peninsula of Otranto with 25,000 men, hastened to join Masséna. But these troops had not yet come up when Masséna, whose army, by reinforcements from other quarters, now numbered near 60,000 men, and about equalled the Archduke's, having learned the capitulation of Ulm, and foreseeing that the Archduke would fly to the defence of Vienna, impetuously attacked the Austrians in their position at Caldiero between Verona and Vicenza (October 29th). In a desperate struggle, which lasted three days, the French lost 6,000 men, were completely repulsed, abandoned the field of battle, and retreated to Verona. Yet M. Thiers and other French writers[1] claim a brilliant victory! The Archduke Charles was now at liberty to pursue his road into Austria, by way of Croatia; a movement, however, which could not but look like a retreat. He was pursued by the French; and a corps of 5,000 men, which he had left behind to cover his march, was compelled to capitulate at Casa Albertini, November 2nd. He summoned his brother John with his army to join him from Tyrol; the two Archdukes effected a junction near Cilli, towards the end of November, and, with their united forces, hastened to the Danube, but were too late to be present at the decisive battle. The Archduke John had also summoned Jellachich from the Vorarlberg; but that commander had been obliged to capitulate to the French.

The French made no halt at Vienna, but crossed the Danube, November 14th, in pursuit of the Russians. Prince Auersperg, who had been instructed to destroy the Tabor bridge, suffered himself to be deceived by Murat, who pretended that a truce had been concluded, and the French were permitted to pass over. This *ruse* was as good as a victory to the French. Marshal Lannes came up with the Russians at Hollabrünn, November 15th. Kutusoff, to escape from a bad position, pretended to parley for an armistice; and leaving Prince Bagration behind, with a corps of 6,000 men, whom he abandoned in order to deceive the enemy, hastened his march northwards. Bagration, though attacked by upwards of 30,000 men at Hollabrünn, No-

[1] *Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire*, t. vi. liv. 23: cf. *Victoires et Conquêtes*, t. xv. p. 164 sqq.; Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 171. Lefèbvre, ch. xiv. is more just, and allows that it was a drawn battle. The true account may be seen in the Archduke Charles's report, drawn up with his characteristic modesty, and printed from the Austrian archives by Count Mailath, *Gesch. Oestreichs*, B. v. S. 260-270.

vember 16th, and again at Guntersdorf on the following day, contrived to save part of his troops, and rejoined Kutusoff at Wischau, on the 19th. That general, having been joined by the Russian army under Buxhövden from Galicia, had now arrested his retrograde march. Murat had entered Brünn, November 18th, and Napoleon fixed his head-quarters in that town on the 20th.

At this moment the Emperors Francis and Alexander were at Olmütz. The Russian Emperor had had, a little before, an interview with Frederick William III. at Berlin, where he arrived unexpectedly, October 25th. Demonstrations of esteem and affection were lavished on both sides; the Queen, especially, was charmed by Alexander's grace of manner and chivalrous bearing. The King of Prussia and his subjects were, at this time, filled with rage and indignation at Napoleon's violation of the Prussian territory; a cry for war again arose at Berlin; when, suddenly, all these transports were damped by the terrible news of Mack's capitulation. The arrival of the Archduke Anthony, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, October 30th, and his recital of the Austrian disasters, filled the Sovereigns with dejection. Alexander, however, persuaded Frederick William to sign a secret convention at Potsdam, November 3rd, by which he acceded to the Coalition; with the reservation, however, of making a last attempt to bring Napoleon to moderate views. As the conditions of a general peace, based on that of Lunéville, a military frontier was to be demanded for Austria, an indemnity for the King of Sardinia, the evacuation of Holland and Switzerland, a guarantee for the independence of those two countries, and the separation of the crown of Italy from that of France. Count Haugwitz was to carry these conditions to Napoleon, and, in case of their rejection, war was to be declared, December 15th. At the same time all the Prussian forces were put upon a war footing.

By way of compensation for the French insult, one of the Prussian King's first steps had been to forward to Alexander an authority for his troops to traverse Silesia and Lauenburg; in consequence of which 36,000 Russians had entered Silesia, while 18,000 more under Tolstoï, and 12,000 Swedes, disembarking at Stralsund, directed their march through Lauenburg upon Hanover. Of this last army, Gustavus IV. of Sweden was to have taken the command in person; and, after its union with 12,000 Hanoverians at Stade, and some British troops under Lord Cathcart, it was to have made a powerful diversion in Holland. But that capricious Sovereign, who had called on Prussia for an explanation of her

armaments, offended by an imaginary slight on the part of the Emperor of Russia, laid down the command of the combined army, and recalled his troops, already on their march for the Elbe, into Pomerania. Several weeks were lost in negotiations before the Swedes were again put in motion; and, shortly after, the battle of Austerlitz changed the policy of the various Cabinets.[1] Frederick William also announced to the French Government, October 14th, that henceforth he regarded himself as released from all his engagements respecting the neutrality of North Germany. He had not, however, made these efforts, though necessary for his own honour, and even safety, without asking to be compensated. In return for his eventual co-operation, he demanded that the King of England should cede to him Hanover, in exchange for the Prussian possessions in Westphalia. The English Cabinet would not accede to this demand; but promised to cede that part of the Electorate which is surrounded by the Prussian dominions, provided Prussia should make war upon France.[2]

Even now Frederick William's intentions were not open and sincere; and had they been so, Haugwitz was not a fit agent to carry them out. In spite of the convention, it is evident that a great latitude had been allowed to that Minister; that his pretensions were to rise or fall, according to the fortune of the French arms. Haugwitz did not obtain an interview with Napoleon till November 28th, at his head-quarters at Brünn. The French Emperor diverted the negotiations from the main subject to collateral ones, and Haugwitz, who saw that a great battle was impending, was not unwilling to wait. Napoleon's situation was by no means secure. He was faced by an Austro-Russian army, superior in number to his own; 45,000 English, Russians, and Swedes were assembled in North Germany; the Hungarian levy or insurrection was going on; the Archdukes, Charles and John, were advancing. Under these circumstances, Prussia really held in her hands the fate of the campaign and the destinies of Europe. Had Frederick William put his troops in motion, the allies would not have delivered the battle of Austerlitz; they would have waited till Haugwitz had discharged his mission, and have allowed time for the Prussian troops to come up.

On the night before he quitted Potsdam, Alexander, accompanied by the King and Queen of Prussia, had visited by torchlight the tomb of Frederick the Great, in the garrison-church of

[1] Garden, t. ix. p. 83 sq. p. 482; Lefèbvre, ch. xv.; Menzel, B. vi. S. 462.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 72; *Homme d'état*, t. vii.

that place; the Sovereigns had prostrated themselves before the ashes of that illustrious warrior, and had sworn to one another an eternal friendship. But events soon showed that this romantic scene was a mere sentimental phantasmagoria, without earnestness or meaning. From Potsdam, Alexander flew to put himself at the head of his army at Olmütz. Here he supplicated in vain for an auxiliary corps of 10,000 Prussians; more, perhaps, with the view of irrevocably engaging Frederick William in the war, than for the actual benefit of their services. The King of Prussia could no longer hope to be sincerely pardoned by Napoleon. His only safety lay in striking a rapid blow; but when it was necessary to act his heart failed him, and his sword fell back into its scabbard. He determined to await the result of Haugwitz's negotiations. Thus, as a French writer has observed,[1] in the hands of this Prince an armed mediation united all the inconveniences both of neutrality and war. Without the security of the first, or the glorious chances of the second, it menaced, without coercing, Napoleon, and deceived Austria and Russia with false hopes.

The Austro-Russian army occupied a very strong position between Olmütz and Olschan. The foremost columns of the Archduke Charles had reached Weinpassing, on the road between Oedenburg and Vienna. The Russian corps of Essen and Benningsen were also coming up. The allies, therefore, had every reason to await the decision of Prussia, and to postpone a battle, till December 15th, whilst the same motives urged Napoleon to seek one. Alexander, however, and the youthful warriors who surrounded him, trusting in their superior force, were for immediate action. Another motive was the want of magazines for the support of so large a force. Some parley took place before the battle. The Emperors of Austria and Russia sent Counts Giulay and Stadion to Napoleon's camp, with proposals for a peace, but on conditions which the French Emperor could not listen to. Napoleon, on his side, on the arrival of Alexander at Olmütz, twice despatched General Savary to compliment him, and to request an interview. His object was, apparently, to impress the Russians with the idea that he dreaded a battle, and thus to entice them into one. Alexander declined the proposed interview; but he sent Prince Dolgorouki, who only offended the French Emperor by his inept and arrogant pretensions.

A feigned retreat of Napoleon's for some miles increased the ardour of the Russians for battle. Kutusoff's plan was to turn

[1] Lefebvre, ch. xvii.

the right of the French, in order to drive them into the mountains of Bohemia, and cut off their communications with Vienna. Napoleon immediately penetrated this design, and delivered at Austerlitz, December 2nd, a battle, which has been reckoned one of his masterpieces. Although he had fewer men than his opponents, yet, at the decisive point, he had massed twice as many as they. The heights of Pratzen, which lay in the middle of the Austro-Russian line, were the key of their position. These he stormed and took, thus dividing the line of the allies, and separating their centre both from the right and left wings. The battle was now lost, though some detached fights ensued. The losses of the allies have been much exaggerated by French writers, but were still very great; 12,000 men were killed or wounded, 15,000 made prisoners, and 80 guns were captured. The French loss was probably 10,000 men,[1] though Napoleon's bulletin stated it at only 3,900. The defeat was terrible, but with skill and courage, perhaps, not irretrievable. The formidable position which the Austro-Russians had held at Olmütz, might have been regained and defended with 50,000 men. The Archdukes, Charles and John, were advancing with 80,000 men, who had not been beaten; they were in communication with Hungary, which was fast rising; the Archduke Ferdinand was bringing 20,000 men from Bohemia; another Russian corps was approaching, and the whole Russian Empire was behind them; 180,000 Prussians, Saxons, and Hessians were in arms, but on these it would have been imprudent to reckon. The allied Emperors and their general, Kutusoff, appear, however, to have entirely lost their heads and their courage, and gave up the game in despair. After an interview with Alexander, December 4th, Francis proceeded by appointment to the French camp. He found Napoleon at the bivouac of Saroschütz. Pointing to the nearest watch-fire, Napoleon exclaimed, "I must receive your Majesty in the only palace I have inhabited these two months." "You make so good a use of it," replied Francis, "that you must find it very pleasant." The two Emperors soon came to an agreement for an armistice, which was definitively concluded, December 6th, at Austerlitz. The French were to occupy Austria with Venice and its territory, the circle of Montabor in Bohemia, and all to the east of the road from Tabor to Linz, also a part of Moravia and the town of Pressburg in Hungary; the Russian army was to evacuate Moravia and Hungary within a fortnight, and Galicia within a month; the levies in Hungary and Bohemia were to be stopped;

[1] Mailath, B. v. S. 274.

no foreign army was to enter the Austrian territory; negotiations for a peace were to be opened at Nikolsburg.[1] The day after the signature of this armistice Napoleon levied on the Austrian provinces a contribution of 100,000,000 francs. The Russians began their homeward march towards Poland. The Emperor Alexander had given no pledge as to his ulterior intentions. Napoleon, who wished to gain his friendship, not only ordered his retreat to be respected, but also sent back Prince Repnin and all the soldiers of the Imperial Guard who had been captured at Austerlitz. Alexander placed his troops in Silesia and Mecklenburg at the disposal of the King of Prussia, and released him from the engagements which he had entered into by the Convention of Potsdam.

Frederick William's prospects began to look somewhat gloomy. When Haugwitz congratulated Napoleon on his success, the latter answered: "This compliment was meant for others, but fortune has changed the address." He then bitterly denounced the King of Prussia's understanding with his enemies; but ended with promising to forgive what had happened, provided Prussia would form a close alliance with France, offensive and defensive, and as a pledge of sincerity should take formal possession of Hanover. General Don, with the Hanoverian legion and some English troops, had disembarked at Stade, November 17th; some Swedish and Russian troops also subsequently passed the Elbe, and the Electorate had been restored to the possession of George III. Haugwitz, instead of fulfilling his instructions, signed, at Schönbrunn, December 15th—the very day on which Frederick William had promised to declare war against France if his ultimatum was refused—a convention laid before him by Napoleon, of which the principal points were, the cession to France of Neufchâtel in Switzerland, and of the remaining portion of the Duchy of Cleves; also of the Principality of Anspach to Bavaria. Prussia, in return, was to take possession of the Electorate of Hanover.

The armistice between France and Austria was soon followed by the PEACE OF PRESSBURG, signed December 26th;[2] to which place the negotiations, if such they can be called, had been transferred. Talleyrand had followed the French army; the treaty was drawn up by him, and the Austrian plenipotentiaries had only to affix their signatures. The Emperor Francis recognized all that Napoleon had done in Italy, and renounced the Venetian States ceded to him by the Treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville. These were now to be united to the Kingdom of Italy. Napoleon

[1] Martens, *Recueil*, t. viii. p. 386. [2] *Ibid.* p. 388.

was recognized as King of Italy; but that Kingdom was ultimately to be separated from France; though Napoleon was to name his successor. Thus the House of Austria was completely excluded from Italy, where she had ruled for centuries, and where she now possessed not even a single fief. The Peace included Napoleon's allies, the Electors of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden; which Princes, as we have seen, he had attached to his fortunes by giving them so large a share of the ecclesiastical spoils in the matter of the indemnifications. The title of King now assumed by the Electors of Würtemberg and Bavaria was recognized by Francis; and these two Sovereigns caused their new dignity to be proclaimed, January 1st, 1806. The Elector of Baden assumed the title of Grand Duke. By Article VIII. Austria made considerable territorial cessions to these three Princes. Bavaria, especially, was augmented by the addition of the Vorarlberg, Tyrol, with Brixen and Trent, the Principality of Eichstädt, part of that of Passau, and several other districts. Napoleon regarded the transfer of Tyrol to Bavaria as necessary to the safety of his Italian Kingdom. The cession of these provinces was particularly grievous to the Emperor Francis. They had been the patrimony of his family from the most ancient times; from their geographical situation they were necessary to the security of his frontiers; and he now saw himself compelled to abandon them to Princes against whom he had several causes of complaint, and who had failed in their engagements towards him. Austria was cut off from her communications with Italy and Switzerland, and deprived of her influence in Germany; she lost a population of nearly three million souls, with a revenue of between thirteen and fourteen million florins.[1] Salzburg was the only compensation which she received, and the hereditary right of appointing the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. The Grand Duke Leopold, to whom Salzburg had been assigned in 1803, was compensated with the Principality of Würtzburg, with the electoral vote.

Such had been the wonderful effects of a campaign of two months! one of the military *chefs-d'œuvre* of Napoleon, though easily achieved through the unskilfulness of the generals with whom he had to contend, the irresolution of the allies, and the sordid conduct of Prussia. But the Peace of Pressburg was too unjust and too humiliating to be lasting. A treaty exacted by force, which compromised the safety of the Austrian Monarchy, and violated the rights and constitution of the German Empire, could

[1] Garden, t. ix. p. 50 sq.

be regarded only as a truce, to be broken on the first favourable opportunity. The victor, by abusing his power, and exceeding the bounds of justice and moderation, was only preparing his own retribution, and arming against himself the animosity of all Europe.

Napoleon's wonderful success had experienced only one material drawback. On October 21st, 1805, Nelson had almost annihilated, off Trafalgar, the combined French and Spanish fleets. We forbear to detail Nelson's chase after Villeneuve, and the particulars of his greatest, but last, victory, almost too dearly purchased with his life. These events are fresh in the memory of every English reader. It will suffice to remind him that of the combined fleet of thirty-three sail of the line, twenty were taken or destroyed by the English at Trafalgar, while four which had escaped from the action were subsequently captured by Sir Richard Strahan, November 4th. This decisive battle secured to England the sovereignty of the seas. The news of it reached Napoleon on his march to Vienna. He saw at once the whole extent of its consequences, and vented his anguish in the exclamation, "I cannot be everywhere!" The destruction or capture of a French squadron of five vessels off St. Domingo, by Admiral Duckworth, February 6th, 1806, gave the finishing blow to the French marine. It never rose again during the war. From May, 1803, to October, 1806, the combined French and Spanish navies lost 32 ships of the line, 26 frigates, and 83 smaller ships.

To the loss of her greatest naval hero England was soon after to add that of her foremost statesman. Pitt expired January 23rd, 1806, at the age of forty-six. Whether he sacrificed the future of England to the present, or whether he saved both, may be matter of dispute. In this question the nature of events affords his antagonists some advantages. The meanest of us may reckon the burdens which his policy entailed upon the country; the wisest of us may not be able to estimate the misfortunes which under a different course might have overwhelmed it. But every Englishman must regard the portentous struggle with Napoleon as one of the grandest pages in the annals of his country; and all who shall candidly examine Pitt's conduct in that great shock of nations will agree to admire his lofty views, his unshaken fortitude, his disinterested patriotism. Pitt's Ministry was succeeded by that of "all the talents," with Lord Grenville at its head, and Fox for Foreign Secretary. Fox, who had always denounced the war as unjust and impolitic, opened negotiations with the French Government for a peace; which, however, as they had no result, we shall

not here relate.[1] They went off chiefly on the subject of Sicily, which the French Government at first consented to include in the *uti possidetis*, but withdrew that concession after effecting a peace with Russia. Fox did not live to see these negotiations terminated. He expired a few months after his great antagonist, September 13th, 1806.

The nature of the convention which Haugwitz had concluded at Schönbrunn with Napoleon, disclosed on that Minister's return to Berlin, filled Frederick William III. with astonishment and grief. With his usual timid and compromising policy he laid the treaty before a Grand Council, collected all the principal objections to it in the form of an explanatory memoir, which he annexed to the act of ratification, and sent Haugwitz to Paris to defend this mutilated monument of his weakness and irresolution. At the same time he caused his troops to enter Hanover; but hastened to inform the British Government that the occupation of the Electorate was only provisional till the general peace. He also proceeded to reduce his army to the peace establishment, either from false economy or by way of proof of his conciliating disposition; and he invited Russia and England to withdraw their troops from Hanover and Lauenburg. Never, as a French writer observes,[2] were so many fatal errors committed in so short a time. Napoleon kept his eyes fixed on the Prussian King. He was persuaded that Frederick William was secretly hostile to him; that he was only seeking to gain time and avoid a rupture with England. But he said nothing, deferred an interview with Haugwitz, waited till Prussia had disarmed herself; when he received the Prussian Minister, brow-beat and frightened him with one of those bursts of rage which were half real, half assumed. A few days after Talleyrand notified to Haugwitz that the treaty of December 15th not having been ratified within the prescribed time, must be considered as null, and laid before him for signature another and more disadvantageous one, in which no compensation was allowed to Prussia for the cession of Anspach; and, in order to involve her in a war with the English, Napoleon's principal object, she was required to shut against them the mouths of the Weser and Elbe and all the Prussian ports, and to declare the occupation of Hanover definitive. Haugwitz was told that if he refused to accept this treaty the French armies would immediately march into Prussia; and under this threat he signed it, February 16th, 1806.

[1] They will be found in Lefèbvre, ch. xix.; in Garden, t. ix. pp. 290-306, and official correspondence, pp. 310-494.

[2] Lefèbvre, ch. xvii.

Frederick William III. ratified it, March 9th. Thus the successor of Frederick the Great had fallen all at once to the humble condition of an Elector of Brandenburg.

In consequence of this treaty the King of Prussia published a fresh patent, in which he declared that having by a convention with France, and in consideration of the cession of three Provinces, obtained lawful possession of the German States of the House of Brunswick Lüneburg, belonging to France by right of conquest, he hereby took possession of them, and henceforward they were to be considered as subject to Prussia. The Baron d'Ompteda, Minister of George III., as Elector of Hanover, at Berlin, demanded his passports, April 7th; and on the 20th the King published a manifesto reproaching Prussia with her conduct, and calling upon the Emperor and the German body for aid, as one of the States of the Empire. At the same time an embargo was laid on Prussian vessels in British ports, and all communication with Prussia forbidden. The blockade of the Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave was declared (May 16th), but that of the Trave was raised a few days after in favour of Russian and Swedish commerce. On the 11th of June Great Britain declared war againt Prussia.[1] The occupation of Hanover by the Prussians also led to a declaration of war against that Power by Sweden. Gustavus IV. was a warm partisan of Great Britain; even against the desire of the British Cabinet he persisted in occupying the Duchy of Lauenburg, part of the Hanoverian dominions, after Prussia had announced her intention to take possession of them. As, however, hostilities were chiefly confined to a blockade of the Prussian ports by the Swedes, and were terminated in a few months without any event of importance, we forbear to relate them.[2]

Such, in Northern Europe, were the consequences of the battle of Austerlitz and Peace of Pressburg. We must now survey their effects in the South. Upwards of 13,000 Russians from Corfû, and about 6,000 English from Malta, had landed in the Bay of Naples, November 20th, 1805. The King of the Two Sicilies, although bound by the treaty of September 21st to resist by force any infringement of his neutrality, not only made no opposition to the landing of these troops, but openly joined in the coalition, by putting the Neapolitan army at the disposal of General Lacy, the Russian commander. The Court of Naples thus committed, no

[1] Garden, t. ix. p. 81 sqq.

[2] For the latter years of the reign of Gustavus IV. see *Historisches Gemälde der letzten Regierungsjahre des gewesenen Königs Gustav IV. Adolphs*; translated from a semi-official Swedish work.

doubt, a technical breach of its engagements. But the treaty had been forced upon it by an act of high-handed despotism, just as a highwayman might compel a man to sign a bond with a pistol at his head. The matter, therefore, resolves itself into a question of policy; and in this view no doubt Ferdinand IV., or rather Queen Caroline, committed an error, but a very natural and excusable one. The Anglo-Russian and Neapolitan armies, when united, numbered more than 60,000 men, and it was decided that this force should traverse Italy and throw itself upon Masséna's rear. To oppose this movement, the Viceroy, Prince Eugene Beauharnais, detached all the men that could be spared from Gouvion St. Cyr's force at Venice, mobilized 25,000 of the National Guard, and with the addition of the garrison of Ancona, and some detachments from Leghorn, collected on the frontiers of the Roman States an army of 45,000 men.

Napoleon at first dissembled his resentment against the Court of Naples. It was not till after the Peace of Pressburg had been signed that he drew up at Schönbrunn, December 27th, 1805, a proclamation addressed to his army, but intended for all Europe, in which he denounced the perfidy and ingratitude of the King of Naples, lauded his own generosity, and announced that the Neapolitan Dynasty had ceased to reign. The proclamation, however, was not published at Paris till January 31st, 1806, after Napoleon's return, when he had ripened his plans and assured himself of all the advantages of the Treaty of Pressburg. Never before had conqueror employed such despotic language, disposed so arbitrarily of a great kingdom. Napoleon gave the nominal command of the army destined against Naples to his brother Joseph, thus designating him as the successor of Ferdinand IV.; but the operations were in reality directed by Masséna. The invasion of the Neapolitan dominions was a mere military promenade. The day after his defeat at Austerlitz the Emperor Alexander had directed General Lacy to evacuate Italy and return to Corfû. The English were consequently also obliged to retire, but they proceeded only into Sicily. Queen Caroline, thus deserted by her allies, despatched Cardinal Ruffo to deprecate Napoleon's wrath, and to offer very humble conditions; but he refused to receive her ambassador. Ferdinand, perceiving that all was lost, embarked for Sicily, January 13th. Caroline, who inherited her mother's spirit, showed a more virile disposition. She remained behind, raised an army composed of the brigands of Calabria and the Abruzzi, and the *lazzaroni* of the

metropolis, with whom were joined the prisoners in the jails. But the richer and more respectable classes, alarmed at a proceeding which threatened their properties and their lives, also armed, formed themselves into regiments, and awaited the approach of the French as liberators. Masséna arrived before Naples with the centre of the French army without having fought a battle, February 14th, and entered the capital without resistance. The Queen did not quit Naples till the French had arrived, when she embarked for Sicily. Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples, February 15th. He was received by the common people with visible feelings of hatred, by the citizens and nobles with undisguised joy.

The Prince Royal had retired into Calabria with about 18,000 men under Marshal Rosenheim and Count Roger de Damas; while the Prince of Hesse Philippsthal, with another division of the Neapolitan army, had thrown himself into Gaeta and announced his intention to hold out to the last extremity. Masséna undertook the siege of Gaeta; General Reynier was despatched against the Count de Damas and Rosenheim, whose troops he soon dispersed. The Prince Royal embarked at Scylla for Sicily. Joseph Bonaparte now proceeded into Apulia and Calabria, and received at Sciliagno the Imperial Decree of April 1st, 1806, which constituted him King of the Two Sicilies. The crown was to be hereditary in the male line, and his rights to the crown of France were reserved, but the two crowns could not be united on the same head. Napoleon, however, still kept his brother in dependence by giving him, at the same time with the Neapolitan crown, the dignity of Grand Elector of the French Empire, and thus reducing him to the rank of a feudatory.

King Joseph did not enjoy his new dignity altogether unmolested. The revolution had caused great discontent in the provinces, the lawless population of which revolted at the strict and severe administration introduced by the French. Their discontent was encouraged by Queen Caroline, who opened a correspondence with the brigands of Calabria, engaged their two most famous chiefs, Michael Pezzo, better known as Fra Diavolo, and Sciarpa, to organize an insurrection, and placed them at the head of the royal army. The movement was assisted by the English. General Stuart, embarking at Messina, July 1st, 1806, with 6,000 English and 3,000 Neapolitans, landed in the Gulf of Eufemia. Stuart defeated at Maïda, July 5th, the French under Reynier, inflicted on them a loss of 4,000 men, and compelled

them to retreat to Catanzaro. A general rising of the peasantry now took place; many of the French were massacred, Reynier was surrounded at Catanzaro, but succeeded in cutting his way through the insurgent bands and reaching Cassano. The surrender of Gaeta at length enabled Masséna to come to his assistance. On July 10th the intrepid commandant of that place was wounded in the head, and conveyed on board an English vessel; and on the 18th it capitulated. Masséna soon succeeded in putting down the insurgent royalists. General Stuart re-embarked for Sicily, September 5th, and thus put a virtual end to the insurrection. Some of the more obstinate, however, still held out, as Fra Diavolo; which leader, however, was captured at Sora, and guillotined at Naples, November 10th.

After his splendid campaign of 1805, Napoleon proceeded with his favourite object of obliterating all traces of republicanism. On January 1st, 1806, the Republican calendar was suppressed and the Gregorian restored. The Pantheon was again dedicated to Divine worship. Before long the Tribunate was to be abolished, although that body had paraded its servility by voting that a column and statue should be erected to the Emperor in one of the principal places of Paris, with the inscription: *A grateful country to Napoleon the Great.* Bonaparte, who, on his accession to the Consulate, had proclaimed aloud the principles of liberty and democratic equality, now proceeded to elevate his family by royal and princely marriages and promotions. His step-son, Eugene Beauharnais, was married to a daughter of the King of Bavaria. The Grand Duke of Baden demanded for his son the hand of Eugene's sister, Stéphanie. Of Napoleon's three sisters, the principality of Guastalla was conferred upon Pauline, married to Prince Borghese: Eliza, married to the Corsican Bacciocchi, had, as we have seen, been invested with the Principalities of Lucca and Piombino, to which Massa Carrara was added: his third sister, Caroline, was married to Murat, on whom Berg and Cleves, ceded by Prussia, were now bestowed, with the title of Grand Duke of Berg. Two more brothers besides Joseph were soon to receive the royal diadem. Thus the grand fiefs and grand vassals of the middle ages were to be restored in favour of Napoleon's despotism, and to the aggrandizement of his family and dependants, and France and Europe were to be replunged into the feudal system, which it had been the great object of the Revolution to overthrow. The Venetian States were united to the Kingdom of Italy by Imperial Decrees, and the Pro-

vinces of Dalmatia, Istria, the Friuli, Cadora, Belluno, Conegliano, Treviso, Feltre, Bassano, Vicenza, Padua, Rovigo, were erected into Duchies, grand fiefs of the Empire. Six more fiefs were created in the Kingdom of Naples, three in Parma and Piacenza. But Napoleon did not yet venture to appoint the holders of them. This honour was at present reserved for two or three of his most illustrious companions. Berthier was presented with the Principality of Neufchâtel; Talleyrand with that of Benevento; Bernadotte with that of Ponte Corvo.

A distinction began at this period to be drawn between France and the French Empire. Napoleon had revived, and with more prospect of success than any previous monarch, the project of a universal monarchy. France was to become the centre of a political system, round which other States were to gravitate. But her government having become a despotism, a republic among her satellites would have been an incongruity; and the Dutch, who had already sacrificed their independence, were therefore now to lose even the forms of freedom. Their subjection to France had been productive of nothing but misery and discontent. The maritime war into which they had been compelled to enter had deprived them of their colonies and their trade.[1] Even the former partisans of France in Holland abhorred a domination from which there was no escape, and longed for the return of the House of Nassau and the prosperity enjoyed under its sway. But, instead of this, they were to receive a Sovereign from the house of their oppressor. The elevation of M. Schimmelpenninck to the rank of Grand Pensionary, and a reduction of the powers of the Assembly, had been steps towards this new revolution. To have a monarch thrust upon them seemed to the Dutch a fresh calamity. Napoleon's will to this purpose was notified to the Grand Pensionary early in 1806, and in May some Batavian deputies appeared, as if spontaneously, in Paris, to demand the Emperor's brother, Louis, for their Sovereign. Yet the Dutch Assembly had declared that they acted by constraint in this matter, to avert from the Republic irreparable evils. Louis himself, who, with the title of King of Holland, received also that of Constable of France, reminding him that he was but a feudatory of the Empire, seems hardly to have desired a dignity which in fact made him only a sort of prefect under his brother. The burdens imposed upon his kingdom were of a corresponding

[1] The Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope was reduced by the English in January, 1806.

nature. Holland was compelled to increase its army from 10,000 to 50,000 men, and to keep it on that footing by the French method of conscription. It is just, however, to say that Louis resisted as much as he could the tyranny of Napoleon.[1] The French Emperor did not venture to convert the Helvetic Republic into a monarchy, but contented himself with the office and title of Mediator.

The appropriation of the Kingdoms of Italy, Naples, and Holland, and the erection of the Italian fiefs, were the direct results of conquest; the overthrow of the German Empire, the most audacious, and, it may be added, the most lasting act of Napoleon's reign, and the erection on its ruins of another subservient State, the CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE, though also due to the preponderance of the French arms, were effected by the fiat of Napoleon in the midst of peace, and with the consent of the Powers forming the Confederation. The German Empire had long been declining. The Reformation had struck the first blow at it by dividing its unity and separating the interests of its various States. The growth of the Prussian kingdom, and especially the reign of Frederick the Great, had tended further to its ruin, not only by weakening the power and prestige of the House of Austria, in which the Imperial crown had become almost a heirloom, but also by destroying all respect for the forms of the ancient *régime*. The consequences became apparent in the war with the French Republic. The want of union among the German States in that struggle, we have already seen. Many of them adhered to the policy of defection adopted by Prussia, and hence the Imperial authority became little more than nominal. The Treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville, the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and the indemnifications and secularizations consequent upon it, gave the first tokens of dissolution; and after the Treaty of Pressburg the Holy Roman Empire existed only by sufferance.

The project of a Confederation of the secondary German States under the protection of some great foreign Power, originated with the Baron de Waitz, principal Minister of the Elector of Hesse, in 1804. It was proposed that the Confederation should consist of purely German States, that is, such as were unconnected with any other country; a regulation which excluded Austria, Prussia, and Hanover.[2] The scheme was favourably received by Talleyrand; but so long as Napoleon hoped to obtain the alliance of Prussia,

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. ix. p. 102. [2] Garden, t. ix. p. 129 sqq.

nothing was done towards its execution. That hope being entirely dissipated in 1806, the project was revived. The Baron Dalberg, Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, was the prime mover in it; and especially he appointed Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, to be his coadjutor, a step which gave great displeasure to the Emperor Francis. The matter was concluded by a treaty signed at Paris, July 12th, 1806, by Talleyrand and the Ministers of twelve Sovereign Houses of the Empire, of which the principal were the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Elector of Mentz, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. These Princes declared themselves perpetually severed from the German Empire, and united together as "the Confederate States of the Rhine." The common interests of the Confederation were to be treated in a Diet to assemble at Frankfort (Art. 6). This Diet, however, never met, nor was its Assembly ever invoked by any member of the League. In fact, the only aims of the Confederate Princes were to exempt themselves from all control, and to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbours; purposes which needed not the deliberations of a Diet. Hence the Confederation, in reality, never existed; for there can be none without deliberation in common, and a general law.

The Emperor of the French was proclaimed Protector of the Confederation (Art. 12). As such, he was privileged to name the successor of the Prince-Primate, to call out the contingents of the members of the Confederation, and to concur in the admission of new members. Napoleon proclaimed, by a letter of September 11th, 1806, that he intended not to meddle with the internal affairs of the different States, and he kept his word; for they were, in fact, a matter of perfect indifference to him. The sole object at which he aimed was secured by Article 35, which established an alliance between the French Empire and the Confederation, binding it to make common cause with Napoleon in all his wars; an arrangement which immediately placed at his disposal near 70,000 men. The Confederation was gradually enlarged by the accession of other States up to the year 1808. They were admitted by Napoleon alone, without consulting the other members. The potentates thus subsequently admitted were the Elector of Würtzburg, the Elector of Saxony, the new King of Westphalia, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Gotha, and many minor Princes. In 1810, the States composing the Confederation had a total population of between fourteen and fifteen million souls, bound to furnish contingents amounting to

120,682 men.[1] By Articles 24 and 25 of the Treaty of Confederation, the *immediate* German nobility, that is, those Princes and nobles who were before subjected only to the sovereignty of the Emperor and the Empire, were now reduced under that of the Princes in whose dominions their domains lay; and thus, from being subjects of the Empire, they became subjects of co-estates of the Empire. Such princes and nobles were said to be *mediatized;* a new euphemism, invented for an act of spoliation. Two of the few remaining Imperial cities, Nuremberg and Frankfort, lost their independence by the Act of Confederation; Augsburg had been placed under the dominion of Bavaria by the Peace of Pressburg.

On August 1st, 1806, M. Bacher, Napoleon's *chargé d'affaires at* the Diet of Ratisbon, presented a note declaring that the French Emperor no longer recognized the German Constitution, and that he had accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. A declaration to the same effect was also handed in by the Confederate Princes. Napoleon alleged as his principal reasons for this step: that the Treaty of Pressburg had placed the German Courts allied with France in a condition incompatible with that of States of the Empire; that the Empire had been reduced to such a condition of weakness as to afford no protection to its subjects, and to have become only a means of dissension and discord. Thus an Electorate had been suppressed by the union of Hanover with Prussia, and a Northern King had incorporated with his other States a Province of the Empire. This allusion referred to Gustavus IV. of Sweden, who, offended by the conduct of his Pomeranian subjects, had annulled, by a rescript of June 26th, 1806, the actual constitution of his German provinces, and introduced that of Sweden.

The Emperor Francis immediately determined to resign a crown which had long been little more than a vain ornament. He published a declaration at Vienna, August 6th, 1806, to the effect that by the Confederation of the Rhine he considered himself released from all connection with the German body, and that in laying down the Imperial Crown and Government, he absolved the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire from their allegiance to him. At the same time he liberated all his German Provinces from their obligations towards the Empire.[2] Thus was

[1] See Statistical Table, in Garden, t. ix. p. 279.

[2] *Declaration* in Garden, t. ix. p. 140 sqq. For the whole history of the Confederation, *ibid.* p. 119-284; Lefèbvre, ch. xix.

extinguished, after a duration of more than a thousand years, the Holy Roman Empire. Francis II., the twenty-first Emperor of the House of Austria, henceforth bore the title of Francis I., Emperor of Austria.

All resistance would, indeed, have been useless, even had Francis been inclined to resist. Napoleon had retained 160,000 men in Bavaria and Suabia, who were supported at the expense of those subservient provinces. An act of the Russians afforded him a pretext for this proceeding. By the Treaty of Pressburg, Istria and Dalmatia were ceded to the French; but the Montenegrins, at the instigation of the Russians, who had a squadron in the Gulf of Cattaro, descended from the mountains to prevent the French General Molitor from taking possession of Cattaro; and Baron Brody, the Austrian commandant, under the plea of compulsion, had delivered that place, together with Budna and Castel Novo, to a few Russian troops (March 4th, 1806). Napoleon hereupon declared that it was for Austria to deliver to him these places agreeably to treaty; that he should not attempt to take them by force; but that meanwhile, till the treaty was fully executed, his army would continue to occupy the central provinces of Germany. In this occupation was included the Austrian town of Braunau, which the French had not yet evacuated.

Negotiations for a peace between France and Russia had been going on at the same time with those already mentioned between France and England. M. d'Oubril, the Russian plenipotentiary, signed a treaty at Paris, July 20th, 1806, by which it was agreed that the Russians should evacuate all the district known as the Bocca di Cattaro; Napoleon, on his side, consenting to restore the independence of the Republic of Ragusa, which the French had seized, May 27th, and to withdraw his troops from Germany within three months after signature of the treaty. But the Emperor Alexander, alleging that M. d'Oubril had not observed his instructions, refused to ratify. The abolition of the German Empire, indeed, in the maintenance of which Russia took a great interest, made an essential alteration in the questions between that country and France. Alexander declared in a manifest addressed to his Senate, September 1st, 1806, that he found himself compelled to continue the war against Napoleon.[1] Hence the Bocca di Cattaro remained in the possession of the Russians till the Peace of Tilsit, August, 1807.

Napoleon's tyrannical proceedings in Germany, the extinction of

[1] Garden, t. ix. p. 310.

the Empire, the burdens imposed upon the inhabitants for the maintenance of the French troops, excited indignation in many a bosom, even among those who had once been his admirers. Numerous articles and pamphlets were published at Nuremberg and Leipsic, painting him in the darkest colours as the oppressor of Germany, and calling on the Germans to shake off the yoke. Marshal Berthier caused Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, charged with selling a pamphlet entitled *Germany in its deepest Humiliation*, to be apprehended and conducted to the fortress of Braunau; where, by sentence of a court-martial, he was shot, August 26th. The sentence is said to have been founded on an opinion expressed by Napoleon, that the dissemination of libels in places occupied by the French troops, being calculated to incite the inhabitants to deeds of violence against them, was to be regarded as high treason.[1] But this cruel and tyrannical act was calculated to inspire the Germans with a deeper hatred of Napoleon and the French than any pamphlets could have excited.

The Confederation of the Rhine completed another great step towards universal domination. Napoleon was now master of Italy and Dalmatia; he had humbled Austria and overturned the first throne of Christendom; he was the Protector and Dictator of a great part of Germany. A German coalition against him was no longer possible; yet, while a military monarchy like Prussia remained intact, he could hardly be said to reign in Germany. That monarchy, however, was now isolated, and it would not be difficult to crush it. The subjection of Prussia would open out new paths to Napoleon's boundless ambition. The conquest of Denmark would then be easy, and would insure that of Sweden. Russia might next submit to the yoke; and then, if even England herself could not be subjugated, a march into Asia and the destruction of her empire in that quarter might at least cease to be chimerical.[2]

The establishment of the Rhenish Confederation was at once an attack and an insult upon Prussia. Although she had the deepest interest in the matter, she had not been consulted; nay, it had been kept a profound secret from her. Contempt was thus added to perfidy. Both these were also manifested by the twenty-fourth

[1] "Ce n'est pas un crime ordinaire que de répandre des libelles dans un lieu où se trouvent les armées françaises; quand ces libelles provoquent à l'assassinat en insurgeant les habitants contre les troupes, c'est un crime de haute trahison." Dumas, ap. Wachsmuth, *Gesch. Frankreichs im Revolutionszeitalter*, B. iii. S. 400; Menzel, B. vi. S. 470.

[2] That Napoleon really entertained projects of this sort, appears from Count Stadion's revelations. See Garden, t. ix. p. 286.

article of the treaty, by which Frederick William's brother-in-law, the head of the House of Nassau-Orange, was *mediatized*, and one of the most illustrious princes of Europe reduced to the condition of a vassal under the plebeian Murat, the new Grand Duke of Berg.[1] By way of conciliating the King of Prussia, he was told that if he should be inclined to unite the remaining German States into a new Confederation, and to assume the Imperial Crown for the House of Brandenburg, Napoleon would second the project.[2] The latter part of this offer was at once declined by Frederick William, out of consideration for the House of Austria; but he appears to have joyfully accepted the idea of a new Confederation, and to have made some advances in that way to the Electors of Saxony and Hesse-Cassel, and to the Dukes of Mecklenburg. Napoleon, however, was not sincere in these overtures. The French Government took care to excite the suspicions of the Court of Dresden respecting the intentions of Prussia. The Elector of Hesse was openly menaced with the loss of Hanau, if he should accede to the rival Confederation, while the principality of Fulda was held out to him as a bait for joining that of the Rhine. The towns of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck received imperious orders not to enter the Prussian League, though Napoleon had no right to dictate to those cities.[3] Napoleon's unfriendly intentions were also displayed by other measures. Marshal Bernadotte was ordered to occupy Nuremberg, and to advance towards the frontiers of Prussia and Saxony. The fortress of Wesel, on the right bank of the Rhine, was seized and incorporated with the department of the Roer. The Abbeys of Verden, Elten, and Essen, in Westphalia, were also seized by Murat. A large force was assembled on the Ems; the Duchy of Berg was inundated with troops, and the western frontier of Prussia appeared to be surrounded.

It is possible, however, that Frederick William III. might have overlooked these injuries and insults, but for another, which filled up the measure of them. It will be recollected that negotiations for a peace were at this time going on between England and France. Lord Yarmouth, the English plenipotentiary at Paris, whether carelessly or purposely, let out the secret over his wine,

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. ix. p. 167.

[2] Letter of Talleyrand to Laforêt, the French Ambassador at Berlin, July 22nd. Lefèbvre, ch. xx. Laforêt made the proposition to the Cabinet of Berlin only verbally and with some alteration in the terms. Thus, instead of saying that Napoleon would *second* it, he only said that he would *not oppose it*. *Homme d'état*, t. ix. p. 172 sq.

[3] *Homme d'état*, p. 174 sqq.

that the restoration of Hanover to England was to be one of the conditions of it. Lucchesini, the Prussian Minister at the Court of the Tuileries, immediately conveyed this piece of intelligence to his Government, who received it, August 7th. The effect was magical. When Frederick William learned that Napoleon intended to deprive him of the Electorate which he had received in order to avert the French Emperor's wrath, and which he looked upon as the price of his dishonour, his grief and rage knew no bounds. The news soon got abroad, and produced a like effect upon the people. It was, in fact, the immediate cause of the war which ensued. The Prussian Ministers affected to attribute their indignation solely to the perfidy of the French Government, in threatening to deprive them of a country which it had forced them to accept; but it is certain that the King and many leading personages had thrown a covetous eye upon Hanover, and that they were exceedingly sorry to be deprived of it.[1] The relinquishment of it was, however, now become necessary, in order to make their peace with England.

Napoleon affirmed that he was driven into the Prussian war; that it had not entered into his calculations. But it appears from the correspondence of his Foreign Office, that the overthrow of Prussia had been contemplated since November, 1805;[2] his measures were well calculated to provoke a war, and the retaining of his troops in Germany to carry it on with speed and success. On the other hand, Prussia chose an unfortunate moment to commence it. She had already devoured many insults, and if she could have digested those now offered to her but half a year, she might probably have found herself supported by another coalition. But a violent war party had arisen, at the head of which was the beautiful and spirited Queen, the King's cousin, Prince Louis, and many of the leading statesmen and generals of the Kingdom; and the melancholy and irresolute Frederick William found himself unable to resist the warlike ardour of his Court and people. Another motive seems also to have operated with his Ministry. Prussia was in a state of isolation. She had lost the confidence of Europe, and any propositions for support and alliance would not have been listened to, unless she first proved her sincerity by a war.[3]

A day or two after it was known in Berlin that Napoleon con-

[1] This appears from the confession of Lucchesini to the celebrated Prussian publicist, M. Gentz. See Gentz's *Mém. du mois d'Octobre*, in Garden, t. x. p. 354.

[2] Garden, t. x. p. 8.

[3] See the confession of the Marquis Lucchesini, ap. Gentz, *ubi suprà*, p. 358.

templated the restoration of Hanover to England, the Prussian army was ordered to be placed on a war footing. Before commencing the war, it was necessary for Prussia to disembarrass herself of the enemies which her alliance with France had brought upon her. A reconciliation was effected with the King of Sweden, August 17th. Diplomatic relations were renewed with the English Government, and Lord Howick, who had succeeded Fox as Foreign Minister, announced, September 25th, the raising of the blockade of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems. Lord Morpeth was despatched a few days after to negotiate a treaty. On his arrival at Berlin, the King and Queen of Prussia had already set off for the army. He found them at Weimar, October 12th. A great battle was then impending, and Haugwitz would settle nothing with the English Ambassador till it had been decided. The King of Prussia, it is said, if his arms should be successful, was resolved to keep Hanover; in the other event, to exchange it for the alliance and subsidies of England.[1] As a last attempt to avert a war, which Frederick William viewed with increasing dread as it became more imminent, General Knobelsdorf was despatched to Paris early in September to attempt a renewal of negotiations. When the Prussian ultimatum arrived, Napoleon was already at Bamberg, superintending the march of his army (October 7th). It demanded the immediate evacuation of Germany by the French troops; that France should not oppose a league of North Germany to embrace all the States not comprised in the Confederation of the Rhine; the opening, without delay, of a negotiation to arrange all matters still in dispute; with the basis, for Prussia, of the separation of Wesel from the French Empire, and the re-occupation of Elten, Essen, and Verden, by the Prussian troops.[2] Frederick William could hardly have imagined that such an ultimatum would be accepted; and it can, therefore, only be regarded as a declaration of war.

Such a declaration was formally issued, October 8th. Prussia had thus committed herself irrevocably to a struggle with all the might of France, without the hope of any timely succour. Frederick William had delayed to apply to the Emperor Alexander for aid till he had received his first despatch from Knobelsdorf, September 18th. A promise of assistance was frankly given by the

[1] *Mémoires* de Gentz; Lefèbvre, ch. xxii. A treaty of peace between Great Britain and Prussia was signed at Memel, Jan. 28th, 1807, after Frederick William's terrible reverses, by which he agreed to restore Hanover. But subsequent events rendered this treaty null. Garden, t. x. p. 191.

[2] Garden, t. x. p. 16; Lefèbvre, ch. xxi.

Russian Emperor; but it was now impossible that his troops should arrive on the scene of action before the end of November. Application had also been made in a somewhat humble and supplicatory tone to the Emperor of Austria, but met with a refusal. Prussia was now repaid in her own coin. Her only ally was Saxony, and that a forced one. Prince Hohenlohe had invaded that country, compelled the Court of Dresden to declare for Prussia, and enlisted under her banner the Saxon army of 18,000 men. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel maintained his neutrality, with the view of joining the winning side.

The Prussian army consisted of about 180,000 men; good troops, no doubt, but of which only a small portion had seen any actual service. The King had intrusted the command-in-chief to the Duke of Brunswick, now upwards of seventy years of age, whose military reputation dated from the Seven Years' War. His campaigns against the French had not been such as to add to his renown; but nobody was in a better position than the Court of Berlin to determine whether his failures had been owing to military or political causes. The rest of the Prussian *état major* was also for the most part composed of old men; as Marshal Möllendorf, Prince Hohenlohe, Gneisenau, Blücher, Kalkreuth; though Blücher, at more than sixty years of age, still retained all the fire and energy of youth. The army of France, superior in number to that of Prussia, was reinforced by a contingent of 25,000 men from the Rhenish Confederation. The Emperor of Austria's brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, had been compelled to join the League, September 25th. Thus, this unfortunate Prince, after being successively driven from Tuscany and Salzburg, was reduced, for his new principality of Würtzburg, to become the ally of the man who had inflicted on his house the grossest insults and injuries. The French, commanded by Bonaparte in person, and his best generals, Bernadotte, Lannes, Davoust, Ney, Soult, Augereau, Lefèbvre, were already in Germany. But Brunswick, thinking that they were dispersed in Franconia, and not yet prepared to take the offensive, formed the plan of falling suddenly upon their dispersed divisions from the hills and forests of Thuringia. With this view he concentrated his centre at Erfurt, extended his right wing beyond Gotha towards Eisenach, while his left was placed between Jena and Blankenheim. But the Duke neither knew the true position of the French, nor allowed for the eagle's eye and the eagle's swoop of Napoleon. By October 8th, the French army was already assembled at the foot of the Fichtelgebirge, which separates the valley of

the Main from that of the Saale. Napoleon had determined to repeat the grand manœuvre which he had performed with such wonderful success at Marengo and Ulm. Brunswick's position exposed his left to be turned, his communications with the Saale and the Elbe to be intercepted; and thus his retreat to be cut off, and his junction with the Russians prevented. The French advanced in three columns. On the right, the corps of Soult and Ney marched by Hof upon Plauen; on the left, Lannes and Augereau debouched from Coburg upon Grafenthal and Saalfeld; the centre, with Murat and the Imperial Guard, and the corps of Davoust and Bernadotte, took the direction of Lobenstein along the high road between Bamberg and Leipsic. Further on the same road, at the little town of Gera, all the three columns were to form a junction. Brunswick, on discovering this movement, instead of securing the bridges over the Saale, concentrated his forces at Weimar, as if to await a battle there. Bernadotte, having defeated a Prussian corps at Schleitz, October 9th, continued his march towards Gera. On the following day, Lannes, with the French left, obtained a still more important victory over the Prussians at Saalfeld. In this battle, Prince Louis was killed in a single combat with Guindet, a French *maréchal des logis*. On the 12th, Napoleon had established his head-quarters at Gera. Hence Davoust and Murat with the light cavalry were despatched to seize Naumburg and the bridge of Kösen, thus cutting off the Prussian line of retreat from Weimar to Berlin; while Bernadotte was directed upon Dornburg. From Gera, Napoleon addressed a letter to Frederick William, which seems to have been rather intended as a *ruse de guerre* to frighten him and throw him off his guard, than as a sincere offer of conciliation. At the same time, Napoleon directed his main body towards the left, hoping to envelop the Prussians at Jena.

After the check at Saalfeld, Prince Hohenlohe and the greater part of the Prussian generals had expressed their opinion that no time should be lost in repassing the Saale, and retiring behind the Elbe. But the Duke of Brunswick took three days to decide. Meanwhile Naumburg had been seized, his left turned, and his army placed in the same situation as that of Mélas at Marengo, and Mack at Ulm. It was not till he heard that some of the French forces were marching upon Leipsic, quite in his rear, that he began to understand the true nature of his position. Now, at last, when it was too late, he began to move. The King and the Duke of Brunswick, with 65,000 men, the *élite* of the army, and

the most distinguished generals, Möllendorf, Blücher, Schmettau, Kalkreuth, the Prince of Orange, the Princes Henry and William of Prussia, directed their march on Freiburg, by Auerstädt and Naumburg; the remainder, including the Saxons, under the command of Prince Hohenlohe, were left behind at JENA to cover the retreat. Here they were entirely defeated by Napoleon in person, with much superior forces, October 14th, and compelled to retreat beyond Weimar behind the Ilm. On the same day the King of Prussia and Brunswick fell in with Davoust at AUERSTADT, where they experienced a still more signal defeat, though the French forces scarcely numbered more than half the Prussians.[1] In this fatal day, Brunswick was soon disabled by a wound in the forehead; Möllendorf, who succeeded him in the command, was also mortally wounded. Frederick William, uninformed of the battle of Jena, ordered a retreat upon Weimar; but the flying troops fell in near Apolda with Bernadotte's van. Here also they learned that Weimar was occupied by the French. Now commenced a disorderly flight, the horror and confusion of which was soon augmented by falling in with the fugitives of Jena. A great part of the army dispersed itself; a portion, with which was the King, retreated by Sömmerda to Sondershausen; at which place Frederick William arrived October 16th, escorted by a regiment of Guards and a battalion of Grenadiers. Thence after a sojourn of a few hours, he set off for his northern provinces, leaving the command to Prince Hohenlohe, with instructions to make Magdeburg the rallying point.

The loss of the Prussians in these two battles is variously estimated, but, at the least, may be stated at 30,000 men, killed, wounded, or captured, with almost all their guns and magazines. Those who had escaped were in a state of complete demoralization. The Prussian Monarchy lay at Napoleon's mercy. From Sömmerda, Frederick William had written to the French Emperor to propose an armistice, who rejected it with the remark that he must first of all gather the fruits of his victories. Murat, Soult, and Ney were despatched after the Prussians, who were retreating upon Magdeburg; Davoust and Lannes were directed on Wittenberg and Dessau, *en route* for Berlin; Bernadotte on Halle, into which the Prince of Würtemberg had thrown himself with 16,000 men,

[1] It is plain that the victory at Auerstädt was both much more glorious and more important than that at Jena; yet because Napoleon gained the latter, he caused both to be called by its name, thus defrauding Davoust of his due merit. The two battles were entirely distinct, and fought at a distance of eighteen miles. Napoleon did not even know the direction taken by the King of Prussia and Brunswick, but thought that he had surprised the whole Prussian army at Jena.

and whence he was driven with great slaughter, October 17th. Murat and Ney had appeared at Erfurt on the 15th, where they took 14,000 prisoners, 120 guns, and large magazines. Among the captured were four wounded generals: the Prince of Orange, Grawert, Zweiffel, and Field-Marshal Möllendorf; the last expired soon after. Napoleon dismissed all his Saxon prisoners, in number 6,000. This act had the effect intended. On the 23rd of October the Elector announced that he had separated his arms from those of Prussia, and proclaimed his neutrality.

Napoleon arrived at Potsdam, October 24th. Here he visited the tomb of Frederick the Great. Had anything been capable of awakening in his breast a generous sympathy, it might, one would think, have been the remains of a Sovereign who among all modern conquerors most resembled himself. But Napoleon had no feeling except for what he considered to be his own glory. The sword, the cordon of the Black Eagle, even the sash and stock of the Prussian hero, were seized, and sent as trophies to the Invalides at Paris. Napoleon entered Berlin October 27th, and was received with the acclamations of the populace. A twelvemonth had not elapsed since he had also occupied Vienna as a conqueror. The wounded Duke of Brunswick wrote to Napoleon, imploring mercy for his subjects. The conqueror, in his reply, styled him only *General* Brunswick, refused to recognize him as a Sovereign, overwhelmed him with bitter reproaches, which, even had they been just, should not have been uttered at such a moment to a vanquished and dying enemy. To escape such ruthless hands, the Duke fled from his capital in the direction of Altona. Anguish and fatigue put an end to his life at Oltensee. He expired in the arms of his son, who vowed to avenge him, and who, by a just retribution, before many years had passed, was baiting the tyrant in his own lair.

Prince Hohenlohe, with the remnant of the Royal army, made no stay at Magdeburg, but hoping to reach Stettin and the Oder before the French, rapidly directed his march on that place by way of Rathenow, Ruppin, and Prenzlau. But at Zehdenick, where the road is crossed by that from Berlin through Oranienburg, the Prussian advanced guard was overtaken and defeated by Murat and his cavalry. Murat, closely followed by Lannes, then hastened on to Prenzlau; and when Hohenlohe arrived at that place, October 28th, he found it occupied by the French. Some proposed to cut their way through, but the enterprise was clearly too desperate; and the Prince, after a short conference with

Murat, surrendered at discretion. This division consisted of 16,000 foot, six regiments of cavalry, and 64 guns: the last considerable remains of the Prussian army. There were, however, still some dispersed corps. Of these, two were compelled to surrender at Pasewalk and Anclam. More to the North were Blücher, with a large body of cavalry, and a division under General Winning. Blücher learned at Boitzenburg the occupation of Prenzlau by the French, and, finding the road to Stettin thus intercepted, resolved to make for Stralsund. Having formed a junction with Winning, he found himself in command of about 20,000 men. But the active Murat, with his accustomed celerity, had occupied Demmin, cut off the road to Stralsund, and advanced upon Güstrow. Blücher being also pressed in other directions by the advance of Soult and Bernadotte, had no resource but to seize the neutral town of Lübeck, November 5th, and to maintain himself there a day or two, till he should have embarked his troops, and so gained the Baltic. But on the night of the 5th, the columns of all his pursuers entered the town in different directions. Blücher, after an heroic resistance, effected his escape to the left bank of the Trave, whilst Lübeck was subjected to all the horrors and excesses of a sack. But the Prussian general was surrounded, his escape hopeless, and on the 7th of November, he was obliged to surrender himself prisoner with all his division. Thus was completed in less than a month the annihilation of that numerous and well-appointed army.

Several strong fortresses still remained to be reduced, but a panic seems to have seized the Prussian soldiery, and they were surrendered with a haste which does little credit to their commandants. Stettin, with a garrison of 6,000 men, 150 guns, and provisions for a long siege, capitulated at the first summons, October 29th. Cüstrin, an almost impregnable place on an island of the Oder, surrendered to a detachment of light cavalry, November 1st. Magdeburg on the Elbe, the chief fortress of the Prussian Monarchy, with a garrison of 20,000 men, after a blockade of a fortnight surrendered at discretion to Ney, who had only about 10,000 men, and was destitute of siege artillery, November 8th. In this place were found near 800 guns and immense magazines. Several smaller places capitulated in the like disgraceful manner. The surrender of these places rendered the French masters of the Elbe and the Oder, and may be said to have terminated the campaign. Never had a great Kingdom fallen so rapidly and so shamefully. Prussia was subdued morally

as well as physically; the courage of its defenders was broken and extinguished.

Hesse-Cassel, Swedish Pomerania, the Principality of Fulda, the Hanseatic Towns, the Duchies of Mecklenburg and Brunswick, condemned as more or less concerned in the Prussian cause, were occupied by the division of Marshal Mortier. A paragraph in the *Moniteur* announced soon after that the Elector of Hesse had ceased to reign. It remained to reduce the fortresses of Silesia, Glogau, Breslau, Brieg, Neisse, Schweidnitz, Glatz. This operation was intrusted to the troops of the Rhenish Confederation, under Prince Jerôme and General Vandamme. The commandants of most of these places distinguished themselves by a resistance which contrasted strongly with that of the Prussian towns; most of them were eventually reduced.

While the French were advancing in their irresistible career, Frederick William III. was flying towards the eastern frontiers of his kingdom. From Cüstrin he had addressed a letter to Napoleon, October 25th, with offers of peace and friendship, and promises to send back the Russian army. But Napoleon's demands increased with his success. Although the Prussian plenipotentiaries notified their acceptance of the terms previously offered by Napoleon at Wittenberg, their note remained unanswered; nor did a second letter from Frederick William, from Graudenz, alter his determination. Lucchesini and General Zastrow, the Prussian negotiators, now endeavoured to obtain an armistice; which Napoleon granted, but on terms which he knew could not be accepted. They involved the occupation by the French of the Prussian provinces on the right bank of the Vistula, and the surrender by them of Thorn, Graudenz, Dantzic, Colberg, Glogau, Breslau, Hameln, and Neuburg; none of which places had at that time capitulated.[1] Indeed, Talleyrand plainly told the plenipotentiaries that the Emperor was not disposed to make a separate peace with Prussia; that France, and Spain and Holland, her allies, had lost many of their colonies; that it was only just that the French conquests should serve to regain some of these possessions. Thus the successes of England were to compensate the reverses of Prussia. Napoleon publicly announced this to be his policy in a message to the Senate, November 21st.

Lucchesini and Zastrow, however, signed this capitulation at Charlottenburg, November 16th; but the King refused to ratify. In fact he was no longer in a condition to do so without the con-

[1] Martens, t. viii. p. 550.

sent of the Emperor Alexander, whose troops now occupied part of the territories demanded by Napoleon. Napoleon, rejoicing at Frederick William's determination, applied himself to raise an insurrection in Prussian Poland, fixed his headquarters at Posen, November 24th, pushed forward his army to the Vistula, and with the view of inciting the Poles, caused a letter to be forged in the name of Kosciuszko, calling them to arms. But the Polish patriot, faithful to the oath which he had given to the Emperor Paul, refused all Napoleon's solicitations to engage him in the insurrection, and publicly disavowed the letter attributed to him. General Dombrowski, however, one of Kosciuszko's former associates, took an active part in organizing an insurrection. A national administration was everywhere substituted for that of Prussia, and a deputation waited upon the French Emperor to supplicate the re-establishment of Poland. But Napoleon had no such intention. His measures were intended only to aid him against Russia and Prussia, and to enable him to raise for that purpose two regiments of Polish patriots.[1]

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. ix. p. 414. See also Napoleon's instructions to General Andréossy, ap. Lefèbvre, ch. xxii.

CHAPTER LXIV.

WHILST Napoleon was at Posen he concluded a peace with Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who had only by compulsion taken up arms against the French. By this treaty, signed December 11th, 1806, the Elector was created KING OF SAXONY, and agreed to enter into the Confederation of the Rhine.[1]

The French were now to encounter a new enemy. The Russian army of about 73,000 foot and 16,000 horse, under the command-in-chief of Field-marshal Kamenskoï, had entered Prussian Poland about the middle of November. Several affairs occurred between the French and Russians before the end of the year, and especially a double battle at Pultusk and Golymin, December 26th. Both sides claimed the victory, which seems, however, really to have been in favour of the French. At all events Kamenskoï now resigned the command, and Bennigsen, who succeeded him, found it necessary to retire upon his reserves at Lomza. These affairs, however, in which the French suffered very severely, were attended by no important results, although Napoleon, in his mendacious bulletins,[2] claimed the most decisive advantages. Both armies then went into winter quarters for a few weeks; but operations were resumed before the end of January, 1807. Bennigsen advanced with the view of raising the blockade of the Prussian fortresses on the Lower Vistula; a movement which produced a series of indecisive combats. The most important of these was the battle of Eylau,[3] February 8th, at which Napoleon was present. The Russians were attacked in their position behind Eylau by the divisions of Davoust, Soult, Ney, Augereau, and by the cavalry of Murat. The loss was enormous on both sides. Napoleon, as usual, claimed a splendid and decisive victory; but the facts appear to be that the Russians remained in possession of the field; that Bennigsen did not begin his retreat

[1] Martens, t. viii. p. 552.

[2] They became so notorious for this quality, that the French soldiers themselves adopted the phrase, *mentir comme un bulletin*.

[3] *Prussian* Eylau, 20 or 30 miles south of Königsberg.

towards the Pregel till three days afterwards, unmolested by the French; that Napoleon then advanced, and took possession for a few days of Eylau; but instead of pursuing the Russians, finally retired behind the Passarge.[1] Eylau was one of those battles in which Napoleon pitilessly sacrificed his men in that reckless manner which caused Kléber to call him *Général à 6,000 hommes par jour*. His loss was so great that it has been thought, if the Russians had advanced on the following day, the French army would have been exterminated.

The real state of the case may be best inferred from Napoleon's acts. After the battle of Eylau he sent General Bertrand to Bennigsen with pacific overtures; but the Russian general bluntly replied, "that his master had not sent him to negotiate, but to fight." Bertrand then repaired to the King of Prussia, at Memel, with a letter from Napoleon proposing a separate peace; but received a vague and evasive answer.[2] Active operations in the field were not resumed till towards the end of May, though the sieges of the Prussian fortresses went on. In this interval the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia concluded the Convention of Bartenstein, April 26th, 1807, which was in fact, when it was now too late, the revival of Pitt's plan in 1805 for a general European coalition against France. This Convention shows to what an extent the battle of Eylau had revived the hopes of Alexander and Frederick William. Great Britain acceded to the Convention, and in June Mr. Canning, then Foreign Secretary, signed a treaty with Prussia, granting a subsidy of a million sterling; but the Peace of Tilsit, which ensued soon after, prevented this treaty from taking effect. On April 29th, Napoleon made another attempt at negotiation with the King of Prussia, but without success.

Dantzic capitulated, May 24th, to Marshal Lefèbvre, who was rewarded with the title of Duke of Dantzic. The surrender of this place having liberated 30,000 French troops, and Napoleon having also obtained large reinforcements from other quarters, offensive operations were resumed; and in the first half of June, several actions, of more or less importance, occurred between the French and Russian armies. On the 14th was fought the decisive battle of Friedland, a town on the Alle. Bennigsen had repulsed Lannes and Mortier, and towards midday his army was disbanding, when, in the afternoon, Napoleon in person, with his guards, and the corps of Ney and Victor, came up, and inflicted

[1] Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 162 sqq. [2] Lefèbvre, ch. xxiii.

an immense loss on the unprepared Russians. The result of this battle was the occupation, by Soult, of Königsberg, the capital of Prussia, June 16th. After the battle of Friedland, Lestocq had marched out with the garrison, and joined the combined Russian and Prussian army, which crossed the Niemen at Tilsit on the night of June 18th. Napoleon entered Tilsit on the following day.

The Russians now made proposals for a suspension of arms, to which Napoleon consented, June 21st, on condition that it should be employed in negotiating a peace. The King of Prussia had thus no alternative but to submit to the conditions of the conqueror, and, on the 25th, another armistice was signed between the Prussians and French. The fortresses of Colberg, Graudenz, and Pillau, and a few in Silesia, had not yet been reduced, and it was agreed that matters should remain as they were till the peace.[1]

On the 25th of June took place the celebrated interview between Alexander and Napoleon, on a raft, moored in the middle of the Niemen. The reconciliation of the two Emperors is said to have been founded on mutual hatred of England.[2] Alexander conceived that he had some just causes of complaint against the English Government. The Whig Ministry, which held office during the struggle between France and the two Northern Powers, had refused, and in no very civil terms, Alexander's application to them, to guarantee a Russian loan of six millions sterling, or to make a diversion, by landing troops in the North of Europe, in Holland, or on the coasts of France. But, at all events, Alexander's hatred of England was not very profound or lasting; for, notwithstanding the Peace of Tilsit, and the invectives which, to please Napoleon, he uttered against the English, one of his officers proceeded to London to reassure the Cabinet of St. James's, and testify his admiration.[3] The Whigs, indeed, had then gone out of office, and Canning had replaced Lord Howick (afterwards Earl Grey) in the Foreign Office.

A second interview between the two Emperors took place on the Niemen, June 26th, at which the King of Prussia was also present. Negotiations for a peace were now begun; Tilsit was declared neutral, and that obscure little town was enlivened by the presence of three Sovereigns. The Queen of Prussia had

[1] For these armistices see Martens, t. viii. p. 633 sqq.

[2] Lefebvre, ch. xxiv.

[3] Garden, t. x. p. 214, note.

also come thither, hoping, perhaps, to mollify the victor by her beauty and fascinations. But, at the same time, she forgot not her dignity, which seems to have offended the coarse-minded conqueror; for Napoleon was wholly destitute of generosity and elevation of mind, and would, perhaps, have granted to base and abject supplication what he denied to conscious majesty in distress. Alexander and Napoleon lived together a fortnight in the closest intimacy, settling between them the partition of the world. The arrangements for peace, thus discussed between the principals, instead of their diplomatic agents, though these were also present, were soon brought to a termination. The Peace of Tilsit, between France and Russia, was concluded July 7th, and ratified on the 9th.[1] Napoleon accepted the mediation of Alexander for a peace with England; the Emperor of Russia recognized Joseph Bonaparte as King of Naples, Louis Bonaparte as King of Holland, the Confederation of the Rhine, and the states and titles of the different Sovereigns composing it; also, the new Kingdom of Westphalia, to be erected in favour of Jerôme Bonaparte. As a war was then raging between Russia and Turkey, to which we shall allude further on, Alexander consented to accept the mediation of France between the two Empires, and to withdraw his troops from Moldavia and Wallachia, which they had occupied.

The treaty also regulated the affairs of Prussia (Art. 4-9). Talleyrand at first proposed that Prussia should be blotted out from the European system, and it appears to have been only at the intercession of the Russian Emperor that Frederick William III. was allowed to preserve his crown. He was, however, deprived of nearly half his Kingdom. He was compelled to renounce all his possessions between the Elbe and the Rhine; to cede the Circle of Cottbus in Lusatia to the King of Saxony; and to abandon all his Polish possessions, including Dantzic, with the exception of Warmia, or Ermeland, and a part of the district of Netze. All the rest of Prussian Poland, with the title of Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was to be transferred to the King of Saxony. To connect his possessions, the King of Saxony was to have a military road through the Prussian territories; a stipulation evidently made in the interests of France. Thus a new Sovereign and a constitution, drawn up in a few hours by Talleyrand, agreeably to the interests of Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia, were all that the Poles obtained by their

[1] Martens, t. viii. p. 637.

rebellion.[1] The new Duchy was, however, designed as a standing menace against Russia; as a centre whence, in case of need, rebellion might be spread into the other provinces of Poland.[2] Dantzic, with a territory of ten leagues in circumference, was to be restored to its ancient independence, under the protection of Prussia and Saxony. The province in East Prussia, called the department of Bialystok, was made over to Russia. The treaty between Prussia and France, signed July 9th,[3] was little more than a repetition and ratification of the conditions in the Russian treaty. Frederick William recognized the Kingdom of Westphalia, formed out of the provinces ceded by himself, and those of other States, as Hesse-Cassel, the Duchy of Brunswick, &c., which were in the possession of Napoleon. All the Prussian ports were to be shut against the English. No English vessel was to be admitted into them, no Prussian vessel was to sail for England.

Frederick William III., in a proclamation dated at Memel, July 24th, took a farewell of the subjects of whom he had been deprived, with the exception of the Poles who had risen against him. The sacrifices imposed upon him were severe, the humiliation deep but far from undeserved. Prussia had prepared her own ruin by the selfish policy which she had pursued during the last ten or twelve years—a policy rendered more deplorable by the vacillation and timidity of the reigning Sovereign. Nevertheless, Napoleon's treatment of Prussia, like most measures of compromise, was a great political mistake. He should either by his generosity have made her a firm friend, or have deprived her of the power of ever avenging her humiliation.

The burdens imposed upon Prussia were not confined to those named in the treaty. The French generals and administrators compelled Frederick William to pay 140,000,000 francs; to deliver up, by way of securing the payment, the fortresses of Glogau, Cüstrin, and Stettin, and to support in them, at his own expense, a French corps of 10,000 men. He was also obliged to undertake that, during the next ten years, he would not keep on foot more than 42,000 regular troops.[4] To the patent treaties were annexed certain separate and secret articles[5] of great importance, stipulating that the Bocca di Cattaro should be transferred to the French troops; that the Ionian Isles should be possessed by

[1] *Homme d'état*, t. ix. p. 448.
[2] Lefebvre, ch. xxiv.
[3] Martens, t. viii. p. 646.
[4] *Homme d'état*, t. ix. p. 455.
[5] These are not given by Martens. See Garden, t. x. p. 234 sqq.

Napoleon; that Alexander should recognize Joseph Bonaparte as King of the Two Sicilies—he had already recognized him as King of Naples—so soon as the Neapolitan Bourbons should be compensated with the Balearic Isles or the Island of Candia. Prussia engaged to make common cause with France, if England should not, by December 1st, 1807, consent to an honourable peace and one conformable to the true principles of maritime law.

A secret treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was also concluded between France and Russia. Those Powers agreed in all circumstances to employ their arms together. The alliance was to be particularly applicable to Great Britain and Turkey; but, first of all, Russia was to mediate with the former Power, France with the latter. If England refused Russian mediation, or if, having accepted it, she did not, by November 1st, consent to conclude a peace, recognizing the perfect independence of all flags, and restoring to France and her allies the conquests she had made since 1805, then Russia was to notify to the English Government that she would make common cause with France. If the English Cabinet did not give a satisfactory answer by December 1st, then France and Russia were to summon the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to shut their ports against the English, and declare war against them. Austria was to be urged to adopt the same resolution. If England accepted the conditions offered, then Hanover was to be restored in compensation for the French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies. In like manner, if the Porte refused to listen to French mediation, then France was to make common cause with Russia.

Another secret treaty in ten articles is also said to have been executed by the two Emperors at Tilsit. These articles, which comprise, in fact, little less than a partition of the world, seem almost too extravagant for belief. Turkey in Europe was to be assigned to Russia, with any further conquests she might make on the side of Asia; a Prince of Napoleon's family was to become master of Spain and Portugal; the temporal authority of the Pope was to be destroyed, and the Roman States were to be annexed to the Kingdom of Italy; the French were to occupy Tunis, Algiers, Malta, and Egypt; the Mediterranean was to be navigated only by French, Russian, Spanish, and Italian vessels; Denmark was to resign her fleet to France, and was to be compensated with the Hanseatic Towns and some territories in Germany; no Power which did not possess a certain number of ships of the line was to have merchant vessels at sea.

The following arrangements were also made between Alexander and Napoleon: in case Sweden and Portugal should refuse to comply with that article of the treaty of alliance calling upon them to shut their ports against England, then Russia was to take Finland in compensation for the war she would have to wage against Sweden; whilst Napoleon would come to an understanding with Spain about Portugal, and would send a French army to Lisbon. If the two Powers should make war upon Turkey in consequence of her refusal of French mediation, then Russia was to have Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria as far as the left bank of the Maritza; but in no case would Russia be allowed to possess Constantinople. Bosnia and Servia were to be assigned to Austria; while France was to take Albania, Epirus, the Peloponnesus, Attica, and Thessaly, or the maritime provinces. An expedition against the English possessions in India was also discussed; but on this subject no decisive stipulations were made.[1]

Such was the grand scheme for the partition of the world, in which Napoleon reserved for himself the lion's share.[2] However extravagant it may seem, and although the documents which contain it have never been published in a formal and authentic manner,[3] it is, nevertheless, now received as an historical truth. Many of the parts of it have been indirectly confirmed. The substance has been given by Lefèbvre, who, as Director of the French Department for Foreign Affairs, had the best means of information.[4] That part which relates to Spain has been confirmed by the Duke de Rovigo, in his *Mémoires*.[5] The French Foreign Minister, in a letter addressed to the Russian Chancellor, Count Roumantsof, April 12th (1812), reminds him of the Emperor Alexander's engagement at Tilsit, to call upon the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to shut their ports and declare war against England, if she would not consent to a peace on terms of maritime equality.[6] The plan for dividing the Turkish Empire is proved by a Report addressed to Napoleon by Savary, afterwards Duke of Rovigo, his Envoy Extraordinary at St. Petersburg, a few months after the Peace of Tilsit.[7]

[1] Garden, t. x. pp. 238—242.

[2] A French author thus characterizes these arrangements: "Mettant de côté toute finesse diplomatique on s'explique franchement, *comme des chefs de bandes sur un partage de butin!*"—Thibaudeau, *L'Empire*, t. iii. p. 222.

[3] The Articles of the Treaty of Partition were first published, but incorrectly, in the *Biographie Univ.* Art. *Alexandre*, t. lvi. Supp. They will also be found in Schnitzler, *Secret Hist. of Russia*, vol. i. App. p. 398, and in Garden, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Hist. des Cabinets de l'Europe*, t. iii. p. 113 sqq.

[5] Vol. iii. See also *Exposé des Motifs, &c.*, par Don Juan Escoiquiz, p. 131.

[6] *Moniteur Universel*, de 8 Juillet, 1812, ap. Garden, t. x. p. 243.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 243-253.

By the events just related, Napoleon appeared to have established an absolute domination over the Continent. Russia, the only Power at all capable of counterbalancing his designs, had agreed to participate in them. Prussia was reduced to the condition of a second-rate Power, and Austria had also been weakened and discouraged. The greater part of Germany was subjected to France by means of the Confederation of the Rhine and the Kingdom of Westphalia. French Princes ruled in Italy and Holland. The other Continental States were incapable of any effective resistance. England alone still proudly raised her head among the subjugated nations, holding out to them the hope of eventual deliverance, and bidding defiance to all the power of the tyrant. Whilst he was enjoying his triumphs, an order of the British Government had declared all the ports of the French Empire blockaded, from Brest to the Elbe, (May 16th, 1806). It was evident that either he or England must perish. With this conviction, Napoleon resorted to what has been called the Continental System; which, as England was mistress of the seas, was, in fact, nothing less than a prohibition of all commerce, and a struggle with nature herself, in which he could not but eventually succumb. It was to carry out this system that, in spite of the protests of his Senate, and the public voice of France, which called for peace, he refused to set bounds to his conquests, and proceeded to occupy with his armies the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea.

Napoleon's first step towards the Continental System was the celebrated Berlin Decree, of November 21st, 1806. By this Decree the British Isles were declared in a state of blockade; all commerce and correspondence with them were forbidden; all letters addressed to Englishmen, or written in English, were to be seized; every British subject, of whatever state or condition, who should be found in countries occupied by the French troops, was to be made a prisoner of war; all merchandize coming from England, or her colonies, or belonging to an Englishman, was to be confiscated, and all trading in such merchandise was prohibited; no vessels coming directly from England, or the English colonies, or which had visited them after the publication of this Decree, were to be received in any port.[1]

Such were the main features of this extraordinary manifesto, which was nothing less than the proscription of England from the pale of European society and fellowship, so far, at least, as the power of Napoleon should extend. It was followed up during the

[1] Garden, t. x. p. 305.

remainder of his reign by other decrees of a like kind. Thus a Decree, dated Warsaw, January 25th, 1807, ordered the confiscation of all English or colonial merchandise seized in the Hanse Towns. The Decree of Fontainebleau, of October 19th, 1810, carried the system to its highest pitch, and almost bears the marks of insanity. It ordained that all English manufactures that should now, or in future, be found in France, in Holland, in the Grand Duchy of Berg, in the Hanse Towns, and generally, in Germany, from the Main to the Sea, in the Kingdom of Italy, in the Illyrian Provinces, in the Kingdom of Naples, in the Spanish provinces occupied by the French troops, or in any towns within their reach, should be publicly burnt.[1] The Princes of the Rhenish Confederation hastened, with a base subserviency, to execute this commercial *auto-de-fé*, at the expense of their own merchants; and, as Frankfort manifested some reluctance, French troops were sent thither to carry out the will of the despot.

France justified these measures as just reprisals against the English maritime system, and especially the paper blockade before mentioned, of May 16th, 1806. That order had been issued during the ministry of Fox, on the occasion of the occupation of Hanover by Prussia. Negotiations were then going on between England and France; the latter Power did not complain of it at the time, and, as we have seen, the blockade was partly revoked in September. Great Britain retaliated for Bonaparte's measures by an order in Council of November 11th, 1807, which declared all the ports of France, and of countries in alliance with her, as well as all ports and places in Europe whence the British flag was excluded, as well as all ports and places in colonies belonging to her enemies, to be subject to the same restrictions as if they were actually blockaded. Vessels bound for such ports were to be visited by the English cruisers at an appointed station in Great Britain, and were to be subject to a tax, to be regulated by the British Legislature. It was in consequence of this order that Napoleon published his MILAN DECREE, December 17th, 1807; by which every vessel submitting to the English regulations was declared *denationalized*, and lawful prize. All vessels, of whatsoever nation, coming from, or going to, ports in England, or the English colonies, or countries occupied by English troops, were to be liable to capture. Napoleon, however, after some vain attempts to substitute indigenous products for those of the colonies, and, at the same time, with the view of

[1] Garden. t. x. p. 315 sqq.

raising a revenue, somewhat modified his system. By the Decree of Trianon, August 5th, 1810, completed by that of September 12th, colonial productions, such as tea, sugar, cotton, coffee, &c., instead of being prohibited, were subjected to an *ad valorem* duty of fifty per cent. He also adopted the method of *licenses*, by which speculators were permitted to import a certain quantity of colonial goods, on condition of exporting their value in certain fixed sorts of French manufactures. These licenses he afterwards *sold*.

Such were the main features of the Continental System, which we have here flung together, without regard to their chronological order, to avoid recurring to the subject. The design of it, which was the ruin of England, of course totally failed. English commerce found outlets in other quarters of the globe, and also still to a considerable extent in Europe. For the system was, in reality, a blockade, not of England, but of the Continental States, which suffered to a degree that threatened a return of the misery and barbarism of the dark ages. Russia, which had so readily accepted the plans of Napoleon, found the value of the rouble sink rapidly from three francs to one.[1] We now return to the narrative.

The Peace of Tilsit was immediately followed by a rupture between England and Denmark. The Danes had hitherto succeeded in maintaining their neutrality; but now the tide of war had rolled up to their very frontiers, and it was evident that a neutral policy would not much longer be possible.[2] Compelled to choose between France and England, it was evident from her antecedent policy that Denmark would decide for France. Napoleon had three motives for desiring possession of Denmark: it would enable him to close her ports against the English, to attack Sweden by an invasion from Zealand, to seize the Danish fleet and employ it against England. There could not be a reasonable doubt that the policy pursued by the First Consul and the Emperor Paul I. in 1801, would be renewed—that Denmark and Sweden would be called upon to declare war against England, and to shut the Sound against her. But the Cabinet of St. James's

[1] See the Report of a financier, ap. Garden, t. x. p. 321. It is a singular fact that, a few months after the Berlin Decree, an order having arrived at Hamburg for clothing for the French army which the Hanse Towns were not able to execute, Bourrienne, the French agent, was obliged to contract with English houses. Thus the French soldiers who fought the battle of Friedland were clothed in the manufactures of England! —Bourrienne's *Mémoires*, t. vii. p. 292.

[2] Talleyrand wrote to M. Didelot, the French minister at Copenhagen: "Le Danemarck ne pourrait rester passif et il faudra bien qu'il se décide pour ou contre l'Angleterre."—Ap. Lefèbvre, ch. xxv.

had good grounds for something more than mere suspicion. A French bulletin, published after the battle of Friedland, had announced that the Continental blockade would very soon become effectual. When the Berlin Decree was communicated to the Danish Court, it was requested to withdraw its troops from Holstein, and to shut its ports against English and Swedish commerce. Besides these overt indications, the English Government had gotten possession of the Secret Treaties of Tilsit, of which we have already recorded the designs against Denmark and the Danish fleet.[1] These designs they resolved to anticipate. No time was to be lost. Holstein was already menaced by the French; the winter was approaching, when any expedition to the Baltic would become impossible. Fortunately an armament was in readiness which had been prepared for the assistance of the Swedes and Prussians, and which was instantly diverted to meet the emergency. Part of it, under Lord Cathcart, had already arrived at the Isle of Rügen; and an additional force of 25 sail of the line, 9 frigates, a number of smaller vessels of war, and 377 transports, having on board 27,000 troops, was despatched to Copenhagen, July 27th. These were to be joined by the force at Rügen, when Lord Cathcart was to take the command in chief. Under him served Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Lord Wellington. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Gambier and Commodore Keats. At the same time Sir F. Jackson was despatched to Copenhagen to propose to the Danish Government that their fleet should be carried to England and kept there till the peace, when it was to be restored in the same condition in which it had been found. To the Crown Prince, who ruled during the incompetence of his father, Christian VII., were offered an intimate alliance with Great Britain, a guarantee of all the Danish possessions, and even an augmentation of territory; in a word, the fleet, the armies, and the treasure of Great Britain were placed at his disposal to protect him against present danger and shelter him from future injury. But the Crown Prince, whether from a secret inclination to France, of which he was suspected, or from natural indignation at a demand, which, notwithstanding its conciliatory and advantageous terms, was a breach of his sovereignty and independence, peremptorily

[1] The English Ministry is said to have obtained these treaties by bribing Talleyrand.—Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18en Jahrhts.* B. vii. S. 275. They themselves announced in their Declaration of December 18, 1807, in answer to that of Russia of November 7th, that they were not ignorant of the nature of the engagements which Russia had been forced to subscribe during the conferences at Tilsit. *Ann. Reg.*

refused to listen to these proposals. The British troops were in consequence landed; Copenhagen was twice summoned to surrender, and General Peymann, the commandant, having refused to comply, a bombardment by sea and land was commenced, September 2nd, with such terrible effect that on the 5th the town capitulated. It was stipulated that the Danish fleet and naval stores should be surrendered; in consquence of which condition eighteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, with a number of sloops and gun-boats, were carried to England: also upwards of 2,000 guns and an immense quantity of naval stores, a considerable part of which is said to have belonged to the French Government.[1]

This was, no doubt, a high-handed act, which can be justified only by the necessity of it. The violation of the independence of a peaceful, but high-spirited, nation was calculated to produce a sympathy for it; and it is not surprising that the proceeding of the English Ministry, though far outdone by many of Bonaparte's acts, should have been loudly denounced, not only on the Continent but also by many persons in England. Of the indignation of the latter much was doubtless genuine and unaffected, much also the offspring of party spirit. But whoever shall calmly weigh the exigencies of the moment, the position of England in that portentous struggle, the importance of the Danish fleet, not only from its intrinsic force but also from its position at the entrance of the Baltic, the moral certainty that it would be seized and used against us, the fact that the French were already threatening the Danish frontier, the knowledge that Russia would be a voluntary, Sweden a forced enemy of England, and that the fleet of Portugal was also to be seized and employed like that of Denmark, will perhaps admit that the prompt and vigorous act of the British Government was both justified by the circumstances and of the greatest utility to the country. Of this nothing can be a stronger proof than the fury of Napoleon on learning that he had been anticipated. He had, in fact, been foiled at his own weapons.

The Danish Government having rejected all proposals of accommodation, England declared war against Denmark, November 4th, 1807. The capitulation of Copenhagen was, however, faithfully observed, and the English troops evacuated that city and the Island of Zealand towards the end of October. The war between Denmark and England lasted till the Peace of Kiel,

[1] Lord Galloway's speech in Parliament, January, 1808.

January 14th, 1814. The Danes immediately lost their colonies of St. Thomas and St. Croix; nor were they able to make reprisals, though they entered into an alliance with France by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, October 31st, 1807. They published, however, some virulent edicts against England; by one of which, dated at Rendsborg, November 6th, 1807, all correspondence with that country was to be punished with death.[1] By the Treaty of Fontainebleau, 30,000 French, under Bernadotte, were to invade Sweden from Denmark.[2] The Peace of Tilsit had left Sweden still at war with France. Gustavus IV. entertained for Napoleon a hatred almost approaching to insanity. Even after the overthrow of Prussia, Gustavus was still dreaming about the restoration of the Bourbons![3] Napoleon, on his side, deplored the war with Sweden. He had offered neutrality for Swedish Pomerania, and when on its rejection Marshal Mortier occupied that province, he was instructed to do the Swedes as little harm as possible. Early in February, 1807, Mortier had laid siege to Stralsund, which was occupied by General Essen, with 15,000 Swedes. Mortier having withdrawn the greater part of his troops from before Stralsund in order to press the siege of Colberg, Essen seized the occasion to make a sortie, defeated the French and drove them beyond the Peene (April 1st); upon which Mortier returned from Colberg and defeated the Swedes at Belling. But in conformity with Napoleon's instructions to spare the Swedes, he concluded with Essen the armistice of Schlatkow, April 18th, 1807. Hostilities were not to recommence without ten days' notice on either side; and during the armistice no troops were to be landed at Stralsund, nor in the Isle of Rügen, nor at any point of Swedish Pomerania. An additional article of April 29th extended the notice to thirty days, but the King of Sweden never ratified it. Gustavus IV. was at this time negotiating with the King of Prussia respecting the means of a joint attack upon the French; and by the Convention of Bartenstein, April 20th, 1807, it was agreed that a Prussian corps should join the Swedes in Rügen, for the purpose of driving the French from Pomerania. After ratifying this Convention at Malmö, Gustavus IV. suddenly embarked and arrived at Stralsund, May 12th, with a corps of French Royalists: and Blücher, in pursuance of the Convention of Bartenstein, also entered Stralsund with a Prussian corps.

[1] Garden, t. x. p. 341.
[2] Koch et Schöll, *Traités*, t. ix. p. 77.
[3] See his letter to the King of Prussia, June 2nd, 1807, ap. Garden, t. x. p. 269.

The King of Sweden had been very dissatisfied with the conduct of England under Lord Grenville's administration. Large promises had been made, but nothing done, though the forces of the country, which might have been better employed nearer home, had been dissipated by distant and abortive expeditions to Buenos Ayres, Egypt, and other places. But towards the end of March, 1807, Lord Grenville had been succeeded as First Lord of the Treasury by the Duke of Portland, with Canning for Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh as Secretary-at-War, and Mr. Perceval as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The new Ministry adopted a more vigorous line of foreign policy. The expedition to Rügen, under Lord Cathcart, to which we have already referred, was resolved on; and, after some negotiation, a Convention with Sweden to that effect was signed at London, June 17th, by which, however, Great Britain reserved the power of employing her troops in Pomerania for other purposes. About the same time, a new treaty of subsidies was also concluded with Sweden, on condition that her army should be increased; and another with Prussia, June 27th.[1] These steps, as we have seen, were rendered abortive by the battle of Friedland and the Peace of Tilsit. Gustavus IV., in ignorance of those events, and inspired with a blind confidence by the presence of the British and Prussian troops, denounced the Armistice of Schlatkow, July 3rd, and declaring that he had not recognized the additional article of April 29th, fixed the 13th of July for the recommencement of hostilities.

Meanwhile the French army on the coasts of the Baltic and North Sea had been reinforced and placed under the command of Marshal Brune. Among the reinforcements were 15,000 Spaniards under the command of the Marquis de la Romana, despatched by Charles IV. as a pledge of his fidelity.[2] Only a few days after the rupture of the armistice, Gustavus was informed by the King of Prussia of the Peace of Tilsit: Blücher and his troops were in consequence withdrawn from the Swedish army, and Lord Cathcart and his division were, as before related, transferred to Zealand. Gustavus now evacuated Stralsund, in order to spare it a bombardment; that place was entered by Brune, August 20th, and the Swedes were also compelled ultimately to abandon Rügen by a Convention of September 7th.[3]

Agreeably to the Peace of Tilsit, the Emperor of Russia offered to the British Cabinet his mediation for a peace with France;

[1] All these treaties will be found in Garden, t. x. *Notes et Documents.*

[2] Lefebvre, ch. xxiii. See below.

[3] Martens, t. xi. p. 467.

which was accepted, but on condition that the Emperor should communicate the secret articles of that peace and frankly explain his views. It was, in fact, impossible for the English Government to expect that a Power which had sold itself to France, and had sacrificed her Prussian ally, should perform impartially the duty of a mediator. The bombardment of Copenhagen had aggravated the resentment which Alexander felt towards England for the refusal of a loan. He declined to make the communication desired; and in a declaration of November 7th, 1807, broke off all communication with Great Britain, reproached her with the grievances which he conceived he had suffered at her hands, declared null all former treaties with her, and proclaimed anew the principles of the Armed Neutrality. The English Ministry answered, with dignity and moderation, in a counter-declaration of December 18th. They intimated that they were not ignorant of the nature of the secret engagements to which Russia had been forced to subscribe at Tilsit, but had hoped that, by a reconsideration of them, the Emperor might have been induced to withdraw himself from those new counsels and connections which he had adopted in a moment of alarm and dejection. They showed, indeed, their knowledge of the secret articles by reproaching the Emperor with abandoning to France the Ionian Republic, whose independence he had solemnly guaranteed. They declined to exculpate themselves respecting the Danish expedition; it was not for those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit to demand satisfaction for a measure which those arrangements had occasioned, and by which the object of them had been happily frustrated. They concluded with expressing their determination to maintain their principles of maritime law against any Confederation whatsoever; which were become of incalculable importance at an epoch when the maritime power of Great Britain was the sole existing defence against the unceasing usurpations of France, and the only refuge to which other nations might in happier times have recourse.[1]

Thus began the war between Great Britain and Russia, which lasted nearly five years. From the position of the two countries, it was productive of but few military events, though it occasioned great privation and distress in the Russian Empire, and was highly unpopular among its inhabitants. Austria was also drawn into the Continental System by the influence and example of the Emperor Alexander. Summoned after the Peace of Tilsit to enter into that league, she called upon Great Britain to enter into negotia-

[1] See these Declarations in Garden, t. x. pp. 348-363. *Ann. Register.*

tions with France for a peace; and on the refusal of the English Cabinet, principally on the ground that no bases of negotiation were laid down, the Austrian Minister took his departure from London in January, 1808. The evacuation of Braunau by the French was the reward of this base subserviency. Thus England was deserted by her faithless allies; she, instead of France, became the object of a European Coalition. Her commerce was excluded from the ports of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Germany, Holland, France, Italy, and Dalmatia. In the North, Sweden alone endeavoured to preserve herself from the Continental System; but her efforts involved her in a war to which we shall presently advert. The Turks showed more good sense and more fidelity to their engagements than most of the Christian Powers. Their ports remained open to all friendly nations, and the commerce between London and Hamburg was conducted through Constantinople! Yet the Porte had only recently emerged from a war with England, which we must here briefly relate.

The conquest of Egypt, so perfidiously undertaken by Bonaparte, had roused the indignation of the Turks; his expulsion had excited their contempt. France had lost, with the Turk, the prestige both of friendship and of power. The Porte had, indeed, concluded a peace with Bonaparte as First Consul in June, 1802; but it refused to acknowledge him as Emperor of the French and King of Italy. But the battle of Austerlitz, and the rupture between France and Russia, conveyed at once a strong idea of the military power of the French, and of the utility of their alliance to the Porte. Reciprocal embassies were sent early in 1806, and the Porte consented to give Napoleon the title of *Padishah*, or Emperor. In the summer of that year, General Sebastiani was despatched to Constantinople, with instructions to incite Sultan Selim III. against the English and Russians, and to place at his disposal all the resources of France. Sebastiani denounced the perfidy of Russia in keeping possession of the Ionian Islands; he insinuated that the French army in Dalmatia would act for or against the Turks according to circumstances; and in a note of September 16th, 1806, he called upon the Porte to close the Bosphorus against all Russian and English ships of war and transports. At his instance, the Sultan deposed the Princes Moruzzi and Ypsilanti, the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, who were attached to Russian interests, and appointed in their places Suzzo and Callimachi, the devoted partisans of France. The Porte was moved to this anti-Russian policy by some causes of complaint

which she had against that nation. Questions of maritime right had arisen between the two countries; and the Porte also accused Russia of supporting an insurrection in Servia, conducted by George Petrowitsch, which had assumed a very formidable character.

The dismissal of the Hospodars was contrary to a convention between Russia and the Porte, of September 24th, 1802, by which it had been agreed that those Princes should be appointed for seven years; and in case they should commit any offence, their conduct was to be submitted, before dismissal, to the Russian Court. Here, then, was a clear breach of treaty which might justify a war; and as Russia had long cast a covetous eye on the Danubian Provinces, and, moreover, foresaw that through French artifices a war with Turkey would become inevitable, she resolved to anticipate it. The Porte was summoned to observe her stipulations with respect to Moldavia and Wallachia; to restore order in the latter province, which had been disturbed; to permit the passage of the Dardanelles by Russian ships of war, and to renew its alliance with England. But previously to the delivery of this note, and although the Hospodars had been restored, the Russian General, Michelson, had entered Moldavia, surprised Choczin, occupied Jassy, blockaded Bender, and advanced towards the Danube. On December 23rd, 1806, a battle took place at Groda, in which the Turks were defeated, and, on the 27th, Michelson entered Bucharest in Wallachia. On the 31st, the Porte formally declared war against Russia, and, a few days after, notified to foreign Powers that the Bosphorus was closed.

After the Turkish declaration of war, Russia demanded the aid of England. This was an embarrassing demand. But the Whig Ministry accepted it, nay, though Turkey was an ancient ally, determined to attempt the seizure of part of her dominions. On January 25th, 1807, Sir C. Arbuthnot, the English ambassador at Constantinople, accused the Porte of partiality for France, demanded the expulsion of the French ambassador, threatened an expedition against Constantinople. The Reis Effendi having denied these accusations, and refused the satisfaction demanded, Sir C. Arbuthnot, accompanied by all the English merchants, went on board the "Endymion" frigate, and joined the English squadron off Tenedos. Admiral Sir John Duckworth was summoned with his squadron from Cadiz; and on February 19th he forced the passage of the Dardanelles with nine ships of the line, three frigates, and several fire ships, and seized and burnt a Turkish

squadron at Gallipoli. His appearance before Constantinople filled that city with consternation. He demanded the immediate dismissal of the French ambassador; the renewal of the alliance with England and Russia; free passage of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles for Russian ships of war; the surrender of the Turkish navy, to be kept in an English port till the peace. But he suffered himself to be amused with negotiations, whilst the Turks, directed by Sebastiani and other French officers, put Constantinople into so formidable a posture of defence that he found it prudent to accelerate his retreat; which was effected, not without some loss, March 3rd. After this failure, Duckworth, proceeded to Malta and embarked 5,000 troops for a *coup de main* upon Egypt; a force wholly inadequate for such a purpose. Alexandria, indeed, was taken, but two attempts on Rosetta failed. The English held Alexandria till September 22nd, when they were attacked by Mahommed Ali Pasha, and forced to capitulate. This was another instance in which the force of England was frittered away, which might have been better employed in another quarter.

Meanwhile a revolution had occurred at Constantinople. Sultan Selim III., an excellent Prince, had become unpopular by introducing some reforms, and especially by attempting to substitute regular troops, after the European fashion, in place of the Janissaries. These latter, incited by the Ulemas and led by the Mufti in person, rose in insurrection, deposed Selim, May 30th, 1807, and placed upon the throne his nephew, Mustapha IV., son of the Sultan Abdul Hamed, who, at the time of his father's death, was too young to ascend the throne.

The Russians had carried on the war without much vigour. The only important action on shore was the defeat of Yussuf Pasha by General Groudowitsch, on the river Aspatschaï, June 18th. At sea, the Turkish fleet under Saïd Ali was completely defeated off Lemnos by the Russian admiral Siniavin, July 1st. By the Peace of Tilsit (*supra*, p. 229), Russia agreed to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, and an armistice was concluded at Slobosia, August 24th, 1807.[1] The English ambassador, Sir Arthur Paget, had acquainted the Porte with the secret articles of Tilsit, and the abandonment of their interests by Napoleon, who had induced them to take up arms, but whom they now beheld the intimate ally of their ancient and most dangerous enemy. These occurrences tended to reconcile the Porte with

[1] Martens, t. viii. p. 689.

England. In spite of the hostilities which had occurred, there had been no declaration of war between the two countries, and at length a treaty was effected, January 5th, 1809.[1] The treaty between Charles II. and Mahomet IV. in 1675, which was very favourable to England, was taken as the basis of it. The navigation of the Black Sea, accorded to the English in 1799, was also confirmed, but no ships of war were to pass the Dardanelles. The armistice between Russia and Turkey was prolonged till 1809, when a fresh war broke out between those Powers.

The war between Russia and Sweden, to which we have alluded, was an immediate result of the Peace of Tilsit, and we shall, therefore, briefly relate it here. The adherence of Gustavus IV. to a cause which the Emperor Alexander had repudiated produced a breach between them. Hostilities were brought on by the Emperor in a most artful and insidious manner. His long silence, his feigned irresolution, his affected scruples, the pacific and friendly language of his ministers, were all calculated to deceive the unhappy Gustavus, and lull him into a false security. Such was the odious duplicity of one of the most powerful Monarchs of the world to one of the weakest, his ally and brother-in-law, whom he could reproach with no other wrong than his refusal to violate the oaths which, but a little before, had united them both to England.[2] After the bombardment of Copenhagen, Alexander summoned the King of Sweden, whose sister he had married, to revert, like himself, to the principles of the Armed Neutrality. Gustavus replied, November 13th, 1807, that the neutrality of the Baltic was out of the question, so long as the French had a preponderance upon its coasts, and called upon the Emperor to engage the French to withdraw their troops from those quarters. As the Emperor persisted in his demand, Gustavus applied to England for aid; and on February 8th, 1808, a treaty of subsidies was concluded at Stockholm,[3] by which the English Government agreed to pay the Swedes 100,000*l.* sterling a month, for twelve months, to commence from the previous January; Gustavus, on his side, undertaking to keep up a respectable force, and especially at sea. The Emperor of Russia delivered a last declaration, or manifest, to the Court of Stockholm, February 22nd, 1808; but before any reply could be made, a Russian army, under Buxhövden, passed the Kymené, and entered Finland. At the news of this invasion, which had not

[1] Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. i. p. 160. [2] Lefebvre, ch. xxix.
[3] Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. i. p. 2.

been preceded by any declaration of war, Gustavus, against the law of nations, caused M. Alopeus, the Russian Ambassador at Stockholm, to be arrested, March 3rd. When the Emperor Alexander received intelligence of this act he declared to the Foreign Ministers at his court that he should not make reprisals for this breach of international law; but he notified that henceforth he should regard Swedish Finland as annexed to his Empire: certainly a very handsome indemnification for the arrest of his ambassador! On the other hand the King of Sweden sought to compensate himself for the injury inflicted upon him by Russia by invading Norway, belonging to Denmark, and diverted for that purpose 20,000 men, who might have sufficed to hold the Russians in check. The Danes, agreeably to the treaty with France already mentioned,[1] had undertaken to conquer the Swedish province of Schonen. The Emperor had detached from the grand army for that purpose 14,000 Spaniards under La Romana; these were united in Funen with 15,000 Danes, the whole under the command of Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo. The Danes declared war against Sweden February 29th, 1808.

The campaign in Norway, without any marked success on either side, turned on the whole to the advantage of the Danes; the Swedes were driven out, and the Danes in their turn invaded Sweden. In Schonen, Gustavus, instead of keeping on the defensive, meditated an expedition against Copenhagen, and he had, therefore, assembled a considerable body of troops in that Province. He was assisted by an English army of 12,000 men, under Sir John Moore, as well as an English fleet under Admiral Saumarez (May, 1808). The English Government, however, aware of the eccentric character of the King of Sweden, had placed some restrictions on the employment of these forces. The troops were principally intended for the defence of Gothenburg, and they were by no means to undertake an expedition into Zealand; but as Gustavus did not relish these restrictions, the troops were not permitted to land. Gustavus proposed to Sir John Moore, first an expedition to Russian Finland, and then to Norway, neither of which was deemed feasible by the English general; and as the disembarkation of the troops continued to be forbidden, Sir John Moore, after notice to that effect, returned to England with the fleet, July 3rd. The presence of the English, however, as well as the Swedish troops in Schonen, had compelled Bernadotte to abandon his project of an invasion, and had

[1] *Supra*, p. 238.

filled Copenhagen with the terror of another bombardment. Bernadotte's army, too, was weakened by the desertion of La Fontana, who contrived to evade in August with 8,000 of his men.

The war in Finland produced more decisive results. The Russian general, Buxhövden, entered Abo, the capital of the Grandduchy, March 23rd, 1807, and burnt the fleet there. The important place of Sveaborg surrendered on the 6th, with ninety-four vessels. The Russian admiral, Bodiskoff, captured Gothland and the Aland Isles. But these reverses were in part retrieved. The Swedish general, Klingspor, seconded by the patriotic devotion of the Finns, marching from Uléaborg about the middle of May with 17,000 men, drove the Russians from East Bothnia. The Swedes, assisted by the English fleet, compelled the Russians to evacuate Gothland and the Aland Isles. Admiral Saumarez defeated the Russian fleet, and kept it blockaded several months in Baltischport, till the approach of winter forced him to leave the Baltic. But these successes were not lasting. The Russians, under Kamenskoi, having received considerable reinforcements, again drove back the Swedes, and successively took possession of Lappfiord, Christianstadt, Wasa, and the two Carlebys. Gamla (old) Carleby was entered September 24th. The Swedes were also repulsed in some descents in South Finland. Klingspor obtained from General Buxhövden a suspension of arms, September 29th; but the Emperor Alexander refused to recognize it, and proclaimed the union of Finland with Russia. A fresh armistice, more favourable to the Russians, was signed at Olkioki, November 19th, 1808,[1] by which the Swedes agreed to evacuate the whole province of Uleaborg, and the Russians were allowed to occupy both banks of the Kemi, at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia.

Gustavus IV. concluded with Great Britain a treaty of subsidies, March 1st, 1809,[2] by which he was to receive 1,200,000*l*. But this was the last political act of his life. The expensive and disastrous campaign of 1808 had excited great discontent, especially among the soldiery; and as Gustavus had increased it by attributing the recent misfortunes to his Guards, the officers of that regiment, and some generals and nobles, entered into a conspiracy to dethrone him, and marched upon Stockholm. Field-Marshal Klingspor, General Adlercreuz, and other officers, arrested Gustavus in his apartments on the night of March 12th, 1809. His uncle, Duke Charles of Sudermania, who had played a very equivocal part when

[1] Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. i. p. 15. [2] *Ibid.* p. 8.

Gustavus III. was assassinated, appeared amidst the tumult, but interposed not his authority in favour of his nephew. On the 14th Duke Charles undertook the Regency; the King was conducted to Drottingholm, and on the 29th he signed his abdication. Not a hand was raised in his favour; so far from it, the States thanked the Duke for undertaking the Regency, as well as the conspirators for an act which had saved the country from ruin. Gustavus, who was hardly in his right mind, was ultimately permitted to quit the Kingdom. A committee was appointed to make some alterations in the constitution; the chief feature of which was the establishment of a Council of State, consisting of nine members, responsible to the nation, who were to decide upon important matters. The executive power was left to the King. The Regent accepted the crown on these conditions, and was proclaimed as Charles XIII., June 5th.

Hostilities had commenced in 1809 with balanced success, but negotiations were opened by the new King, and a treaty of peace was signed at Friederichsamn, September 17th.[1] Charles XIII. promised to adhere to the Continental System, but made an exception in favour of salt and colonial productions. Finland with the Aland Isles, and part of West Bothnia, were ceded to Russia. Napoleon, however, would not recognize the exceptions stipulated in the treaty, though absolutely necessary to the comfort and welfare of the Swedish people; and, in order to make peace with France, Charles was obliged to abandon them. The war declared against Napoleon by Gustavus IV., October 31st, 1805, was terminated by the Treaty of Paris, January 6th, 1810.[2] Napoleon restored Swedish Pomerania and the Principality of Rügen. Peace between Sweden and Denmark was signed at Jönköping, December 10th, 1809.[3] The treaty contains no article of importance.

It has been seen that by the secret arrangements at Tilsit, Portugal also was to be compelled into the Continental System. Napoleon, after that peace, had returned to Paris, July 29th, 1807, and was saluted with the servile flattery of all the public bodies. The base adulation of the Legislature can only be compared with that of the Roman Senate under Tiberius. Napoleon experienced no difficulty in riveting their chains. The Tribunate was entirely suppressed, August 19th, and at the same time the Legislative Body was modified. Nobody under forty years of age was henceforth

[1] Koch et Schöll, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xiv. p. 208 sq.; Martens, *ibid.* p. 19.

[2] Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. xii. p. 232.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 223.

to be a member of that Assembly. These arbitrary measures were lauded even by those who were the victims of them. But the Emperor's views were chiefly directed to the execution of his Continental plans. By an Imperial Decree of August 18th, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Fulda, the greater part of Hanover, and other districts were annexed to the Kingdom of Westphalia, which, till Jerôme should assume the crown, was placed under the administration of a Regency. Napoleon next turned his views towards Portugal. But, in order to reach that country, he determined to use the arm of Spain; and we must, therefore, describe the relations existing between him and the Court of Madrid.

Since the erection of the Kingdom of Etruria in 1801, in favour of the son-in-law of Charles IV., an apparent harmony had existed between that Sovereign and France. But the compulsory alliance was entirely in favour of the French. Napoleon, measuring his demands only by the contempt which he felt for Spain, treated her rather as a vassal than an ally. Thus she had been compelled to abandon her claim upon Louisiana, to pay a tribute of 72 million francs, to lend her navy for the purposes of France, to see it almost annihilated by the English at Trafalgar: all this without any prospect of advantage, but on the contrary, with the certainty of having her colonies ravished from her and her commerce destroyed. The Royal family, besides these grievances common to the whole nation, had others peculiar to themselves. Charles IV. had seen his brother Ferdinand hurled from the throne of Naples, and had been compelled to recognize Joseph Bonaparte as his successor. The hostility manifested by Napoleon towards all the Bourbons,—the murder of the Duke d'Enghien,—afforded little hope that the Spanish branch of that house would escape overthrow when the occasion should present itself. It was also known to the Court of Madrid that Napoleon had contemplated bestowing portions of the Spanish territory on others. Thus, in the negotiations for a peace with England, he had offered to cede the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico. He had also proposed to give the Balearic Islands to the Neapolitan Bourbons, as an indemnity for Sicily, to be ceded to his brother Joseph, and to burden Spain with a large annuity payable to the same family.[1] These considerations awakened in the Court of Madrid a desire to throw off the French yoke; and a resolution to that effect appears to have been taken about June, 1806. Secret negotiations were opened with England and Russia,

[1] See Sir A. Alison, *Hist. of Europe*, ch. lii.

and Portugal also appears to have been in the plot.[1] The Spanish Government promised to declare against France, as soon as she should be engaged with the Northern Powers. The Prince of the Peace, sometimes under pretence of a war with Portugal, sometimes of an attack upon Gibraltar, began to raise troops, and on the 5th October appeared a proclamation calling the whole nation to arms. Nine days later Prussia was overthrown at Jena and Auerstädt! The news of that event overwhelmed the Court of Madrid with consternation. The Prince of the Peace sought to excuse himself with the French Ambassador by falsehood, flattery, and humiliation. The sudden suspension of the armaments was explained by various pretexts; the state of the finances, the lack of public spirit, the reluctance of the King to attack Portugal. The bad faith of these excuses was transparent; but Napoleon, who had learned the whole truth from the intercepted despatches of the Prussian Minister at Madrid, had a formidable war on hand with the Russians, and for the present he dissembled his resentment. He demanded, however, a force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery to join the army of observation in Hanover. "Spain had just raised troops, now was the time to employ them."[2] He also required that a Spanish squadron of six ships of the line at Carthagena should proceed to Toulon. He sent into Spain 25,000 Prussians captured at Jena. Finally, he communicated to the Spanish Government the Berlin Decree, and desired that it should be put into immediate execution in all the ports of Spain. It was in consequence of these demands that the Spanish force under the Marquis de la Romana, already mentioned, proceeded to the north of Europe.

Napoleon had learned that he could no longer trust the Spaniards, and he secretly resolved to overthrow the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, to render that country another satellite of France. This plan, as we have seen, was arranged with the Emperor Alexander at Tilsit. But such an enterprise was not to be lightly undertaken. An open attack might awaken the patriotism of a brave and loyal nation; and Napoleon, therefore, determined to use perfidy. He resolved, first to make Spain a cat's-paw for the destruction of Portugal, and then to overwhelm her by the very means which had been prepared for that purpose. A French army, intended both to conquer Portugal and to overawe Spain, had been assembled in the environs of Bayonne early in 1807. The Prince of the Peace was gained by splendid promises, and in July the Court of Madrid

[1] Lefèbvre, ch. xxviii. t. iii. p. 289. [2] *Ibid.* p. 303.

was called upon to join France in summoning the Portuguese Government to shut their ports against the English. In case of refusal, France and Spain were to declare war against Portugal, and a combined French and Spanish army was to march upon Lisbon. The Regent of Portugal had married a daughter of the Spanish Sovereigns; but they had no alternative but to submit. On the 12th of August, the Spanish and French Ambassadors at Lisbon jointly signified to the Regent that if by September 1st, 1807, he had not declared war against England, dismissed the English Ambassador, and recalled his own from London, arrested as hostages all the English in Portugal, confiscated all property belonging to that nation, and united his squadrons with those of France and Spain, he would find himself at war with those countries. At the same time the French and Spanish forces began to move towards the frontiers of Portugal.[1]

The Regent Don John, naturally irresolute and mistrustful, had recently betrayed symptoms of the same mental alienation which had so long afflicted his mother; and the Ministers had even deliberated whether they should not transfer the Regency to the hands of his wife. Such was the man on whom reposed the destinies of Portugal and of the House of Braganza in a crisis which not even the firmest courage, the most brilliant intellect, might be able to meet. The first impulse of the Regent was to fly to the Brazils. But it is a hard thing to quit one's country and a throne into the bargain. He endeavoured to appease the French Emperor by some submissions. He promised to declare war against England, to shut his ports against her, to put his fleet at the disposal of France. Such concessions, one would imagine, ought to have satisfied Napoleon, had he not had ulterior designs. But he had resolved on the ruin both of Portugal and Spain. He insisted on the fulfilment of all the proposed conditions, including the arrest of the English, and the confiscation of their properties. The moral and religious sentiments of the Regent revolted at so unjust and tyrannical a requisition, and he positively refused to comply with it. The French Ambassador, M. de Reyneval, now demanded his passports, and Don John, by the advice of his Ministers, prepared to quit Portugal. The English established in that country had been secretly informed of the danger which menaced them, and more than three hundred families embarked, carrying with them a large proportion of the circulating medium of the country. At the same time five ships of the line and other vessels

[1] Lefèbvre, ch. xxviii. t. iii. p. 308.

were rapidly equipped to convey the royal family to Brazil, and the aid of England was invoked in the undertaking.

The resolution was neither unnecessary nor premature. Two secret conventions between France and Spain were signed at Fontainebleau, October 27th, 1807, for the division and occupation of Portugal.[1] The kingdom was to be divided into three portions. The Province of Entre Douro and Minho, with the title of North Lusitania, was destined for the young King of Etruria, who was to cede his Italian Kingdom to France. The Algarves and the Province of Alemtejo were to be given to the Prince of the Peace, with the title of Prince of the Algarves. These two States were to be under the protectorate of the King of Spain; and if issue of their Sovereigns, both male and female, should become extinct, then the right of investiture devolved to his Catholic Majesty; but on condition that these Principalities should not be united with the crown of Spain nor with each other. The rest of Portugal, comprising the provinces of Beira, Tras-os-Montes, and Estremadura, were to be sequestered in the hands of France till the general peace; when they were to be restored to the House of Braganza, on condition that England should agree to return to the King of Spain, Gibraltar, Trinidad, and the other Spanish possessions which she had conquered during the war. The Portuguese colonies were to be divided between France and Spain. Napoleon guaranteed Charles IV. his European possessions, and the title of "Emperor of the Two Americas," to be assumed at the general peace, or, at latest, within three years. Such were the baits with which Charles was to be lured on to his ruin.

Napoleon did not await the signature of the treaties to act against Portugal. General Junot, with the army of invasion, crossed the Bidasoa, October 18th, and advanced with rapid marches on Salamanca. At the same time three Spanish divisions were put in motion, two of which were to take possession of the Provinces assigned to the King of Etruria and the Prince of the Peace; while the third was to join the French at Alcantara, and in conjunction with them to march upon Lisbon. A second French army of 40,000 men, assembled at Bayonne, was also to enter Portugal in case the English should threaten an attack. By a treaty of October 22nd, England secretly authorized the Portuguese Regent ostensibly to separate his cause from hers, and to shut

[1] They will be found in Cantillo, *Tratados de Paz y de Comercio*, p. 710, and in Cevallos, *Exposé des moyens qui ont été mis en usage par l'Empereur Napoléon pour usurper la Couronne d'Espagne*, App. (translated by Nettement). See also Lefèbvre, t. iii. p. 321 sq.; Garden, t. x. p. 372 sqq.

against her his ports and markets; but only on condition that France and Spain should declare themselves satisfied. The Regent accordingly declared war against England, recalled his ambassador from London, sequestered all English property still remaining in Portugal; and, in virtue of this apparent submission, demanded that the advance of the French troops should be arrested. But Napoleon, persuaded that the Regent was deceiving him, directed Junot to precipitate his march.

Don John, irresolute to the last, had vainly attempted to appease Napoleon by proposing a marriage between the Prince of Beira, his son, and the daughter of the Grand Duke of Berg, and by offering a considerable subsidy. Sir Sidney Smith, with an English fleet, arrived at the mouth of the Tagus, and declared that river blockaded, November 22nd. Sir John Moore, who was proceeding from Sicily to the Baltic with a corps of 10,000 men, destined to aid the King of Sweden, was also ordered to wait at Lisbon, and in case of need to support Sir Sidney Smith. These forces were intended to facilitate the escape of the Portuguese Royal Family, if it was really their intention to fly; or, if they were playing false, to treat Portugal as an enemy. Another reason for their appearance was the presence of the Russian Admiral, Siniavin, who had put into the Tagus with a fleet of nine ships of the line, two frigates, and more than 6,000 troops, on his return from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. A notice from Junot that he had arrived at Abrantès, within four days' march of Lisbon, at length put an end to the irresolution of the Regent. On the same day that he received this news, Sir S. Smith forwarded to the unfortunate Prince the *Moniteur* of November 13th, in which appeared the following notice: "The Prince Regent of Portugal is deprived of his throne. The fall of the House of Braganza will be a fresh proof that the ruin of those who attach themselves to the English is inevitable."

All doubt was now removed. Liberty and a throne in Brazil were preferable to a compulsory abdication, and perhaps imprisonment in France. The Royal family embarked November 27th, amid the regret and lamentations of the people. For the first time since sixteen years the afflicted Queen Maria I. quitted her palace of Mafra to abandon her native land. Most of the great families and rich merchants of the kingdom accompanied their Sovereigns in their exile, to the number, it is said, of more than 15,000 persons. The royal fleet, escorted by some English ships of the line, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, January 18th, 1808.

Junot entered Lisbon, November 30th, 1807, with only about 1,500 men, a great part of his army having been left far in the rear, through the difficulties of the march. The people were filled with contempt on beholding this small force, composed, for the most part, of beardless conscripts; and an attempt was made at insurrection, but was put down by the promptitude and decision of Junot. That general was appointed by Napoleon Governor-General of the Kingdom, which he ruled in the most tyrannical and oppressive manner. The Spanish armies invaded with equal success the provinces assigned to the King of Etruria and the Prince of the Peace, but were not suffered to retain them. Maria Louisa, Queen Dowager of Etruria, who acted as Regent for her minor son, Charles Louis, resigned the Government in December, 1807, and set off for Spain; when Tuscany was immediately occupied by the French. By the conquest of Portugal was completed the establishment of the Continental System in Southern Europe, to which Pope Pius VII. had already acceded for the States of the Church. But that Pontiff was to experience some further consequences of the Peace of Tilsit.

Pius VII. had several reasons to be dissatisfied with Napoleon's conduct. Although, contrary to the advice of many of his Cardinals, he had proceeded to Paris to crown the Emperor, he had received no benefit from that act of condescension. So far from procuring the restoration of the Legations, a plan had even been formed by some of the French Ministers, while Pius was in France, to secularize the territories which he still held in Italy, to annex them to the Italian Kingdom, and to detain him in France, where he was to exercise his papal functions.[1] Napoleon did not indeed sanction this project, but he treated the Holy Father with marked disrespect. Although the period had been fixed for his return to Rome, the means of conveyance were withheld, and he was kept some time in France, to the great alarm of his Court and subjects. Napoleon subsequently made some important ecclesiastical reforms in Lombardy, without even deigning to ask the opinion, much less the approval, of the Court of Rome. Pius, on his side, seized every occasion to display his resentment. He refused Napoleon's application to him to dissolve the marriage contracted by Jerôme Bonaparte in America with Miss Patterson, a Protestant. In the war of 1805, Pius had showed himself a decided partisan of the Coalition; had opposed Cardinal Fesch's demand that the Pontifical Government should establish a military cordon on its Neapolitan frontier

[1] Lefebvre, ch. xxvii.

to prevent the irruption of the allies; nay, had even declared that if the Russians made an attempt on Cività Vecchia he should not oppose them. Napoleon, as usual, deferred his anger, till he had triumphed over his enemies. After the Peace of Pressburg he gave it vent. He addressed an angry letter to the Pope from Munich, January 7th, 1806. On February 13th, he wrote to him from Paris in still harsher terms, and instructed Cardinal Fesch to demand the immediate expulsion of all Russians, English, Swedes, and Sardinians from the Pontifical States, and the shutting of all the Papal ports against the enemies of France. Pius at first declined to comply with these demands. Sensible, however, of the danger to which he exposed himself, he privately engaged the English, Russian, and Sardinian Ministers to leave Rome. He also hinted that he should not object to see a French garrison in Cività Vecchia, and General Duhesme in consequence took military occupation of that place. But Napoleon was not to be so conciliated. His violence and hauteur towards the Pontiff were redoubled. Pius gave fresh offence, when Joseph Bonaparte was made King of Naples, by reviving the Papal claim of investiture with regard to that crown, and from this time Napoleon appears to have determined upon the eventual seizure of the Pope's temporal dominions. He immediately adopted some arbitrary and violent measures. He proceeded to fill up some Venetian bishoprics without asking the sanction of the Pope. He demanded the expulsion from Rome of certain leaders of bands who had formerly fought against France. Nay, as the Papal Government, in an edict for raising some new taxes, had imputed the necessity for them to the passage and presence of French troops, thus pointing them out to the hatred of the Romans, Napoleon demanded an account of the revenue and expenses of the Roman State for the last two years; thus treating it like a dependent province. He also seized the Principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, which, though situate in the Kingdom of Naples, belonged to the Holy See, and presented the first to Talleyrand, the second to Bernadotte.

To all these blows Pius VII. opposed the most unbending resistance. He had conceived that the persecution of the Church would infallibly reanimate the fervour of religious faith now almost universally extinct, and he gradually resigned himself to the idea of deprivation, flight, even death itself, in that holy cause. After the battle of Friedland, M. Alquier, the French ambassador at Rome, attempted to persuade the Pontiff to reconcile himself with Napoleon before it was too late, by recognizing the King of Naples,

joining the offensive and defensive league of the Italian States, and adopting the Continental System. But Napoleon had now determined on annexing all Italy to his Empire, as he had stipulated with Alexander at Tilsit. He was willing, indeed, at first, to leave Rome and its territory to the Pope; who, however, was to be deprived of the Duchy of Urbino, the March of Ancona, and Macerata, the richest provinces of the Holy See, and the chief sources of the Papal revenue. An order for the occupation of these provinces was issued, September 29th.

The advance of the French troops had been already announced, when a treaty, concluded at Paris by Cardinal Bayanne, the Papal plenipotentiary, in which all Napoleon's demands had been conceded, arrived at Rome. Pius rejected it with the deepest indignation, as an attack upon the independence, dignity, and spiritual rights of the Head of the Church; and in these views he was supported by the Consistory. He wrote with his own hand to Cardinal Bayanne, to disavow all that he had done, and to cancel the powers with which he had been intrusted. Nothing could be more agreeable to Napoleon's views than this rupture of the negotiations. General Miollis being immediately instructed to occupy Rome, appeared at the head of his troops before the Porta del Popolo, on the morning of February 2nd, 1808, marched unopposed to the Castle of St. Angelo, and received on the first summons the keys of that fortress. Resistance would, indeed, have been useless. The Pope contented himself with placarding on the walls of Rome a protest against the entry of the French, in which he proclaimed his inability to prevent it, and exhorted his subjects to imitate his resignation. All the Italian cardinals and bishops, the Pope's chief advisers, were compelled to leave Rome, and General Miollis was directed to assume the government of the States of the Church. The Pontiff retorted with such arms as he had at his disposal. Pius ventured in the nineteenth century to launch against Napoleon the feeble thunders of a comminatory brief of excommunication, in retribution of the aggressions which he had committed upon the temporalities of the Holy See (March 27th, 1808). The French Emperor replied by a decree of April 2nd, annexing, by virtue of his right as successor of Charlemagne, the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino to the Kingdom of Italy.[1] But this was not to be the whole extent of the Pontiff's misfortunes. Fate, or Providence, had still other trials in store for him, which will be related in the sequel.

[1] Garden, t. x. p. 382 sqq.

CHAPTER LXV.

AT this period all the thrones of Europe had been more or less shaken by Napoleon, except that of England, which he could not reach, and that of Spain which had purchased exemption from the common lot by an oppressive and humiliating alliance. The latter also was now to feel the shock, but after a different manner. The conquests of Napoleon, whatever may be thought of their lawfulness, had hitherto, with the exception, perhaps, of Venice, at least been achieved in the open field by military skill and force of arms. He was now to show himself a no less consummate master in all the arts of fraud and intrigue.

The detested reign of Don Emanuel Godoy at length raised up against him at Madrid a party determined to rescue the Spanish nation from the disgrace of being governed by him. At the head of it were the Duke de l'Infantado, of one of the most illustrious families of Castile, and the Canon, Don Juan Escoïquiz, who had conducted the education of Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, and heir to the crown.[1]

Ferdinand, who was now twenty-three years of age, had espoused, in 1803, a daughter of Queen Caroline of Naples. This Princess, whose violent and intriguing character resembled that of her mother, soon rendered the Queen of Spain her enemy; Ferdinand naturally espoused the quarrels of his wife, and Escoiquiz, the confidant of the young Prince, became irrevocably engaged in his cause. Thus the royal family was torn by faction, which continued after the premature death of the young Princess who had occasioned it. A little knot of distinguished persons attached themselves to the heir to the crown, and the Court bècame divided into two parties, that of the Prince of the Asturias, and the Prince of the Peace. Godoy, having failed in an attempt to conciliate Fer-

[1] For Spanish affairs at this period, see Escoiquiz, *Exposé des motifs qui ont engagé en* 1808, *S. M. C. Ferdinand VII. à se rendre à Bayonne;* Cevallos, *Exposé des moyens qui ont été employés par l'Emp. Napoléon pour usurper la couronne d'Espagne;* Lefebvrè, *Hist. des Cabinets de l'Europe*, ch. xxx., xxxi.; De Pradt, *Mém. Hist. sur la Révol. d'Espagne;* Toreno, *Hist. del Levantamiento, Guerra y Revolucion de España.*

dinand, and to bring about the Prince's marriage with the sister of his wife, saw no hope of safety except in Ferdinand's ruin. Queen Louisa entered warmly into his plans against her own son; and as the feeble health of Charles IV. foreboded a speedy termination of his life, she conceived the abominable project of procuring from him a declaration that his eldest son was unfit to reign, and of thus prolonging her authority, with the title of Regent, in concert with Godoy. With this view, Ferdinand was painted in the blackest colours, was kept aloof from all affairs of state, and surrounded with spies; whilst the favourite, on the other hand, was raised to some of the highest and most important dignities of the Kingdom, honoured with the title of "Royal Highness," and all the prerogatives of the Infants of Spain.

As the situation of Ferdinand seemed to grow still more dangerous and painful after the Peace of Tilsit, and the apparently intimate union which ensued between the Courts of Madrid and the Tuileries, Ferdinand was advised by his confidants to supplant Godoy in the favour of the French Emperor, and to seek his protection by offering to marry a Princess of the Imperial family. In these plans the Prince of the Asturias found a friend and guide in M. de Beauharnais, recently appointed French ambassador at Madrid. M. de Beauharnais cast his eyes upon Madlle. Tascher de la Pagerie, a niece of Josephine's, a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments, and Ferdinand privately wrote to Napoleon October 11th, 1807, imploring his protection, and soliciting the hand of a Princess of his family. The French Emperor did not commit himself by answering Ferdinand's letter; nevertheless from this period a family alliance with the Prince of the Asturias formed part of his political combinations. He did not, however, select Madlle. Tascher for that purpose. He had now begun to contemplate a divorce from Josephine, and he turned his views to the family of his brother Lucien. In an interview which he had with Lucien, towards the end of 1807, at Mantua, he offered his brother the throne of Portugal, and the hand of the Prince of the Asturias for his daughter Charlotte, but on condition that Lucien should divorce his wife, Madame de Jauberton. But with Lucien affection proved stronger than ambition. He refused to separate from his wife; but consented that his daughter should proceed to Paris, to await the splendid destinies that seemed in store for her.

Meanwhile at Madrid, Godoy having caused Ferdinand to be arrested, October 29th, on the charge of conspiracy, the young

Prince was subjected to a severe and searching examination, at the end of which he was confined to his own apartments, and sentinels were posted at his door. Papers were found in his handwriting in which the crimes and vices of the favourite were denounced in the most exaggerated terms; also a copy of the letter which he had written to Napoleon, a plan for what was to be done on the death of Charles IV., and various decrees, which already bore the signature of Ferdinand VII., appointing different nobles of his party to various important posts. This discovery threw the Queen into transports of ungovernable fury. Aided by Godoy, she extorted from the King a proclamation, in which he denounced the conspiracy of his son and his perfidious advisers. She also persuaded him to write a letter to the French Emperor, charging Ferdinand with a plot to dethrone himself and put the Queen to death, and promising that the succession to the Spanish crown should be diverted to a younger and more worthy son. Ferdinand, however, totally lacked the courage necessary to a conspirator. No sooner was he arrested than he informed his mother that he had important revelations to make. Caballero, the Minister of Justice, was sent to receive his depositions; when, in the basest and most cowardly manner, he gave up the names of all his advisers, without the slightest stipulation for their safety. Godoy, however, deemed it prudent to adopt the policy of clemency. The minute of the Prince's letter to Napoleon, which seemed to have been written with the knowledge of the French ambassador, was a powerful motive to this course. It was evident that the Emperor was concerned in the matter, and with him a collision was not to be lightly ventured. Godoy counselled pardon, but on condition that Ferdinand should make, in writing, an humble, nay an abject, confession. The young Prince did not hesitate at this degradation. He not only signed the required confession, but was base enough to swear eternal friendship and devotion to the Prince of the Peace. His accomplices were subjected to a trial, but acquitted by the judges, to the inexpressible rage of the Queen.

While these things were going on at Madrid, the conquest of Portugal was accomplished, and the time had arrived for the division of that Kingdom, according to the Treaty of Fontainebleau. But the aspect of affairs had changed, and with them the intentions of Napoleon; or rather, the plans which he had long formed now appeared ripe for execution. "France," observes a French author, "could not remain confined by the terms of the Treaty of

Fontainebleau; it was necessary to be as frivolous and as blind as the Prince of the Peace to have taken this treaty seriously. Junot's troops were evidently only the van of a much more considerable army destined to occupy and defend all the points of the Peninsula."[1] The Prince of the Peace had been used; he was no longer good for anything; both he and the young King of Etruria were therefore sacrificed. For the division of Portugal another "combination" was substituted, destined to subjugate Spain more effectually; namely, to incorporate with France all the Spanish provinces between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, and to give Portugal to Spain, in the name of an indemnification. But it is evident that, with a French army occupying the northern provinces, the independence of the Spanish Crown was gone.

Napoleon determined to effect his object by stratagem. Towards the end of 1807 large divisions of French troops began to enter Spain at different points, apparently in a straggling manner. The strongest fortresses in the north of Spain, Figueras, Barcelona, Pamplona, St. Sebastian—so vigorously and precisely were the Emperor's orders executed—were suddenly and simultaneously occupied, by surprise, or stratagem, or downright falsehood. In a state of war, and in difficult positions, it might be superfluous to inquire too nicely into the morality of a *ruse de guerre*. But good faith is at all events expected in time of peace; and France and Spain were not only at peace, but intimately allied together for common objects. Yet French officers did not blush to effect their ends by falsehood. Thus General Nicholas obtained admission into Figueras by telling the commandant that the arrival of the Emperor was expected; General Duhesme was received into Barcelona on his statement that he was *en route* for Valencia; General Thouvenot was admitted into St. Sebastian on his request to remain there only a few days, in order to collect his lagging and scattered troops. These arrived first in small detachments, then in larger ones, till at length they outnumbered the garrison, when the governor, discovering that he had been tricked, resigned the command of the place to Thouvenot.

The entry of the French troops into Spain, a decree of the Emperor's at Milan, December 23rd, 1807, imposing a contribution of war of a hundred million francs upon Portugal, and appointing Junot governor of that country, a demand that the execution of the Treaty of Fontainebleau should be suspended, began at length to open the eyes of Godoy. He perceived that

[1] Lefèbvre, t. iii. p. 410.

he had been duped; that the offer of the Algarves was a snare; that he had been only a tool in the hands of the French despot. At the same time he was suspected by the Spanish people of having collusively admitted the French into the northern fortresses. Thus while the support of Napoleon was withdrawn from him, he fell still deeper into the hatred of his countrymen. The discontent and anger of the Spaniards, as well as the fears of the Court, were augmented when, early in March, 1808, another French corps of 35,000 men, entered Vittoria. The French troops in Spain, numbering 100,000 men, were now put under the command-in-chief of Napoleon's brother-in-law, Murat, Grand Duke of Berg. Murat arrived at Burgos March 13th, assumed the direction of the army, and immediately marched upon Madrid.

An ignominious fall, exile, perhaps the scaffold, now rose in terrible perspective upon the mental vision of Godoy. Flight seemed to offer the only chance of safety. He counselled the King and Queen of Spain to adopt the course of the Portuguese Sovereigns, and take refuge in their American possessions. The Queen at once consented. Charles IV. was more difficult to persuade; he could not believe that Napoleon intended to dethrone him. At length he yielded to the entreaties of the Queen and her paramour. It was resolved that the King should go first to Seville, from that place should demand from the French Emperor an explanation of his motives in assembling so large a force in Spain, as well as a guarantee for the security of the Royal Family and the independence of the Kingdom. If Napoleon's answer should be unsatisfactory, Charles IV. and his family were to proceed to Cadiz and embark for America, under the protection of the English fleet which was cruising before that port. Charles having announced his determination to his Council, March 15th, the disposable troops were ordered to be cantoned on the road to Andalusia to protect the journey of the Royal Family; but the preparations for departure, and especially an order for the garrison of Madrid to proceed to Aranjuez, having excited the suspicion of the people, large masses of armed men proceeded thither, March 17th, and amid shouts of *Death to Godoy*, mingled with *vivas* for the King, prepared to prevent the departure of the Sovereigns. The King, however, having again consulted his council, resolved to proceed. But Ferdinand, on leaving the council-chamber, observed to the *gardes-du-corps* on duty: "The Prince of the Peace is a traitor; he wants to carry off my father; I beseech you to stop him." These words had the desired effect

The troops, instead of protecting the flight of the royal party, now opposed it, became in fact their jailers. At night Godoy's hotel was broken open by the mob, his furniture destroyed; he himself with difficulty eluded their fury by hiding himself in a garret. On the morning of the 19th he was discovered, more dead than alive, by some *gardes-du-corps*, who protected him from the rage of the populace, and Ferdinand sheltered him from further violence by undertaking that he should be brought to trial. The reign not only of the favourite but of his master also, was now at an end. On the 19th of March, Charles IV. signed at Aranjuez a solemn abdication of the crown in favour of his son, the Prince of the Asturias, who assumed the title of Ferdinand VII.

Delivered from immediate danger, Charles and his consort began to regret the throne, and attempted to recall the Act of Abdication. They sent a message to Murat, then some days' march from Madrid, informing him of the violence they had suffered, and conjuring him to hasten to their protection. Charles IV. also addressed a letter to Napoleon accusing his son Ferdinand of having incited the soldiery against him, and robbed him of the crown (March 21st); thus making the Emperor the arbiter of his fate. Murat arrived under the walls of Madrid, March 23rd. He was in a difficult situation, as he knew not how Napoleon would act under the new circumstances which had arisen. Conjecturing, however, that the Emperor would avail himself of the discord which reigned in the Spanish family to place a Prince of his own house on the throne of Spain, a hope began to rise in Murat's breast that this Prince might be himself. The other members of the Imperial family were already provided for, except Lucien, who was in disgrace. Hence Murat began to regard Ferdinand as a sort of rival. This Prince had entered Madrid March 24th amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the people, and had signified to his parents his determination to banish them to Badajoz; but Murat, at the instance of Charles and his consort, compelled Ferdinand to abandon his design. The Grand Duke of Berg would not recognize the King's abdication, and spoke with contempt of Ferdinand's claim.

The revolution at Madrid had not entered into Napoleon's calculations. A very little reflection, however, determined him to use the occasion to execute the plans he had already formed, and place a Prince of his own dynasty on the Spanish throne. The news of the revolution at Aranjuez arrived in Paris March 26th,

and on the very next day Napoleon addressed a letter to his brother Louis, King of Holland, offering to him the crown of Spain.[1] The old Sovereigns and their favourite, he reasoned, had sunk into too great a depth of contempt and hatred to allow of their restoration, while Ferdinand was of a character too base to be trusted. The Emperor, moreover, was of opinion that the marriage of that Prince with one of his nieces would not afford so good a security for the subjection of Spain as the transfer of the crown to a relative of his own. But in his views of this question Napoleon omitted from his considerations a very important element—the Spanish people. The apathy of the Spaniards had indeed been so long and so profound, they appeared so deeply plunged in ignorance and superstition, so entirely dominated by bigotry and prejudice, as to be incapable of forming an opinion or exercising an independent will. But among their prejudices was a devoted attachment to the reigning dynasty. In a priest-ridden country this feeling had become almost a religion. They looked upon their Sovereigns as the heirs of a divine right, and felt for the youthful Ferdinand, whose despicable qualities were not publicly known, an enthusiastic loyalty. Yet in his place, a foreign Prince was to be thrust upon them.

Not, however, by open force of arms. Napoleon had determined to carry the matter through, as he had begun it, by stratagem and fraud. He formed the plan of proceeding to Bayonne, enticing thither both the new King and the old, extorting the resignation of both. The hateful passions by which each was devoured were to be the means of their common ruin. The dissensions which divided father and son would seem to find their natural arbitrament and termination in an appeal to the French Emperor; the whole family might be expected to obey his summons, to enter France, and put themselves in his power. The plan, however, required dexterous handling. General Savary, afterwards Duke of Rovigo, was selected for the purpose; a devoted servant of Napoleon, equally clever and unscrupulous in laying such a plot as resolute in its execution, who had already served his master but too well in the murder of the Duke D'Enghien. Savary arrived in Madrid, April 7th, and immediately paid his respects to the abdicated King and Queen. On the following day he had an interview with Ferdinand himself, in presence of the Canon Escoïquiz, the Duke de l'Infantado, and

[1] *Documents hist. et réflexions sur le gouvernement de la Hollande*, par Louis Bonaparte, ex-roi de Hollande. t. ii. p. 291 sqq. Thibaudeau, *Empire*, t. iii. p. 334.

Don Pedro Cevallos; which last person had preserved under the new reign his former post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is affirmed both by Cevallos and Ferdinand himself, that Savary on this occasion informed the young Prince that he had been sent to compliment him, and to inquire whether he entertained towards France the same sentiments as his father; to state that, in such case, the Emperor would take no notice of what had passed and would recognize him as King.[1] Savary, on the other hand, asserts that he acquainted Ferdinand with the Emperor's displeasure at the revolution of Aranjuez, and his determination not to adopt any course before he had come to an understanding with Charles IV.[2] It is certain, however, that instead of assuming the ambassadorial character, he retained that of a private traveller, in order that, unembarrassed by etiquette, he might be the better able to deceive Ferdinand by giving him the title of King, and thus the more readily induce him to proceed to Bayonne. The exact terms of the conversation become therefore of less importance, as Savary's conduct was at all events calculated to inspire Ferdinand with the belief that Napoleon would recognize his royal title. He succeeded in persuading the young Prince and the majority of his counsellors that he should proceed to meet the Emperor, who, it was represented, must have crossed the frontier, and would probably be found between Burgos and Vittoria.

Ferdinand set off with a small suite, including Escoïquiz, the Dukes de l'Infantado and San Carlos, Don Pedro Cevallos, Counts Altamira and de Labrador, and a few other grandees. Savary had also obtained permission to accompany him. The travellers arrived at Burgos, April 12th, but found no letter from Napoleon, no news of his approach. Savary, remarking that the Emperor could not be far off, persuaded the party to proceed to Vittoria. There also no tidings, no message; but the town was full of French troops! Ferdinand was already a prisoner in his own dominions. The new King and his little Court, seized with fear and irresolution, resolved to go no further. Savary's plausible eloquence again succeeded in quieting their alarms. But it was now resolved that Ferdinand, instead of at once proceeding on his journey, should address a letter to Napoleon from Vittoria, announcing his arrival at that place, and expressing a wish to see the Emperor. Savary offered his services to convey this letter.

[1] Cevallos, *Exposé des Moyens, &c.* p. 28 sqq.; Ferdinand's Letters to his Father, April 8th and May 4th, 1808, ap. Lefèbvre, t. iii. p. 468.

[2] *Mém.* du Duc de Rovigo, t. iii. p. 278 sqq.

Napoleon arrived at Bayonne on the night of April 14th, and found Savary waiting for him. That general was again dispatched towards Ferdinand early in the morning of the 16th with a reply to his letter. Napoleon had now resolved to throw off all *finesse*, for which, indeed, there was no longer any occasion; the victim was already in his nets. His letter to the Prince is a strange mixture of brutality and duplicity. He plainly told him that he had no legitimate claim to the Spanish throne; that in fact he was not the son of Charles IV. but of Godoy.[1] Still, if the abdication of Charles was a voluntary act, he held out hopes that he would recognize Ferdinand's accession, and expressed a wish to converse with him on the subject. He continued also to talk of the marriage with one of his nieces.[2] Yet he had already offered the throne of Spain to his brother Loüis! Ferdinand hesitated to proceed on his journey, but his reluctance was again overcome by the representations of Savary, backed by the advice of the inexperienced and simple-minded Canon Escoïquiz. The people of Vittoria, more sagacious than their rulers, endeavoured to prevent Ferdinand's departure, cut the traces of his mules. But he rushed blindly on to his fate.

Napoleon could not suppress his astonishment on hearing that Ferdinand had actually arrived at Bayonne. He treated the royal guest at his château of Marac with great apparent distinction and cordiality. After a banquet on April 21st, he retained the Canon Escoïquiz when the other guests were departed; and had with him that celebrated conversation which has become one of the most important documents for these transactions.[3] Napoleon now entirely cast off the veil, told the Canon that the House of Bourbon must vacate the Spanish throne, directed him to propose to Ferdinand an abdication to be compensated by the Kingdom of Etruria and the hand of his niece, said that he would attain his end, even if it should cost him 200,000 men. It is computed to have cost him ultimately 300,000! Such were the holocausts ruthlessly sacrificed to the ambition of a single tyrant! The Canon fought stoutly for his master, but without avail. The same Savary, who only a few days before had filled Ferdinand with the

[1] "Comment d'ailleurs pourrait-on faire le procès au Prince de la Paix sans le faire à la reine et au roi votre père? Ce procès alimentera les haines et les passions factieuses. Ce résultat sera funeste pour votre couronne. Votre Altesse Royale n'y a de droits *que ceux que lui a transmis sa mère*. Si le procès la déshonore, V.A.R. déchire par là ses droits." Ap. Lefèbvre, t. iii. p. 392.

[2] This paragraph of the letter is suppressed as published in the *Moniteur*. Lefèbvre, t. iii. p. 480.

[3] See Escoïquiz, *Exposé, &c., Pièces Justif.* No. iii. The conversation will also be found in Garden, t. xi. p. 142-180.

hopes of his recognition, scrupled not to inform him that the Bourbons had ceased to reign in Spain. Of all Ferdinand's counsellors, Cevallos alone had courage enough to protest with dignity and vehemence against the perfidy that had been employed. He was overheard by Napoleon, who burst into the room and loaded him with abuse. Escoïquiz pressed his Sovereign to accept the offers made to him; but Ferdinand, with more spirit than might have been expected, refused to give up any of his rights. He now expressed a wish to depart, but soon discovered that he was no longer at liberty.

Meanwhile Napoleon had caused Murat to declare to the Supreme Junta, April 16th, that he recognized no other King than Charles IV., whose abdication had been extorted by force. A few days after Charles notified that he had again taken possession of the crown; and it was arranged that he and the Queen should proceed to Bayonne and settle their differences with their son under the mediation of the Emperor. Never was there so gross, so extensive, so successful a cozenage! To make the scene complete, the Prince of the Peace, who, at the threats of Murat, had been released from the castle of Villa-Viciosa, where he had been confined to await his trial, also arrived at Bayonne under an escort. We cannot detail the repulsive scenes, the mutual recriminations, which ensued among this degraded family. Napoleon himself could not refrain from expressing his contempt and disgust. While they were disputing one another's claims to govern, the Spanish people rose to do themselves justice. The attitude of the Grand Duke of Berg, and especially his liberation of Godoy, had excited an indescribable indignation at Madrid and other cities, which was increased by the news of Ferdinand's arrival at Bayonne. A summons from Charles IV. for his daughter, the ex-queen of Etruria, his youngest son Don Francisco de Paula, and his brother, the Infant Don Antonio, also to repair thither added fresh materials for dissatisfaction. Charles's second son, Don Carlos, had accompanied Ferdinand. The people rose to prevent the departure of the Princes. Murat dispersed them with musket-bullets and grape-shot, May 2nd. The populace of Madrid despatched all the French they could lay hands on, even the sick in the hospitals. Thus was inaugurated that deadly international struggle which was to last several years.

Napoleon made use of this insurrection to extort from the Spanish Sovereigns a renunciation of the crown. He charged

Ferdinand with being the author of it; the parents of that Prince shared, or affected to share, the convictions of the Emperor. With the bitterest reproaches and imprecations, Charles demanded from his son an unconditional abdication; his mother even raised her hand to strike him. Napoleon closed the scene by declaring that the bloodshed at Madrid had put an end to his irresolution, that he would never recognize as King of Spain a man who had ordered the massacre of his soldiers.[1] The insurrection at Madrid of May 2nd, appears to have been a spontaneous ebullition, caused by the departure of the Infants. Ferdinand had indeed given a written authority, May 5th, for a rising against the French, to two deputies of the Supreme Junta, who had contrived to make their way in disguise to Bayonne;[2] but this of course was totally unconnected with the insurrection in question. Napoleon offered, it is said, to reconduct Charles IV. to Madrid, but Charles refused again to assume the crown. Ferdinand, for whom there was no escape, who had lost all, even the kingdom of Etruria, delivered his written abdication, May 6th. Charles IV., without waiting for it, had concluded with Napoleon the evening before the famous Treaty of Bayonne. For the château of Chambord, of which he could not take possession, and a pension of seven and a half million francs, which was never paid, he exchanged the monarchy of Spain and the Indies. The ancient and renowned Spanish nation was bartered away like a flock of sheep. Charles stipulated only two conditions: that the territorial integrity of Spain should be preserved, and that the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion should be the only one tolerated in the kingdom. (Art. 2,)[3] A few days before signing this act, Charles had appointed the Grand Duke of Berg his Lieutenant-general for the government of Spain. Ferdinand having confirmed and adhered to the cession of his father by an act signed May 10th, the Emperor made over to him the domain and palace of Navarre, and engaged to pay him and his descendants out of the French revenues an annual pension of 400,000 francs.[4] By a treaty with Joseph Bonaparte, these and other pensions, as well as the value of the

[1] According to Cevallos, *Exposé, &c.* p. 52, Napoleon put an end to Ferdinand's hesitation by exclaiming, "Prince, you must choose between abdication or death." Escoïquiz adds that the same threat was made to Don Carlos and Don Antonio, through Duroc, if they would not renounce their right of succession. It cannot, therefore, be believed that Napoleon's offer to re-establish Charles IV., if ever made, was anything more than an empty compliment.

[2] Lefèbvre, t. iii. p. 499.

[3] See the treaty in Garden, t. xi. p. 181 sqq.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 184 sqq.

estates granted, were, however, to be drawn from the Spanish revenues.[1] The Infants Don Antonio and Don Carlos adhered to these renunciations. To render them complete on the part of the Spanish Bourbons two signatures were still wanting: that of Ferdinand IV. King of the Two Sicilies, and brother of Charles IV., and that of Don Pedro, son of Gabriel, younger brother of those two Sovereigns.[2] But a still more solemn sanction was also wanting—that of the Spanish nation; which, thus abandoned by its Sovereigns, was reinstated in its primitive right of election. A little after the signature of the Treaty, Charles IV., his Queen, the Queen of Etruria and the Prince of the Peace, were conducted to Compiègne, which had been assigned to them for a residence; but, the climate not agreeing with the old King, he subsequently took up his abode at Marseille. Here he was entirely neglected by the French Government, and compelled to sell his diamonds to procure the necessaries of life. Ferdinand and Don Carlos, instead of obtaining the castle of Navarre, were transferred to the château of Valençai as the place of their imprisonment; a domain which Napoleon appropriated to this purpose without the consent of Prince Talleyrand, the proprietor.

Murat was disappointed of the Crown of Spain, on which he had fixed his hopes. It had been refused with surprise and indignation by Napoleon's brother Louis, who wore reluctantly even that of Holland, but was unwilling to exchange it for a still deeper royal servitude. Joseph Bonaparte, however, consented to abandon his more tranquil throne of Naples for the dangers and discontents which surrounded that of Spain. Napoleon, who had nominated him to it, June 6th, was desirous of procuring at least the apparent consent of the Spanish nation. The Council of Castile, the chief political body of Spain, when informed of the Treaties of Bayonne, was at last induced to give a cold and reluctant assent to the accession of Joseph. Its example was followed by the Supreme Junta and the municipality of Madrid. There was, indeed, no alternative but war. Ferdinand displayed on the occasion all the baseness of his soul in its true colours. He not only wrote to Napoleon to express his satisfaction at the elevation of Joseph, he even addressed a letter of congratulation to the man who had usurped his crown! thus testifying under his own hand his unworthiness to wear it. A Junta of 150

[1] Garden, *Ibid.* p. 192.

[2] Don Pedro, who had married the eldest daughter of the Portuguese Regent, accompanied him to Brazil, where he died, June 4th, 1812.

Spanish notables, which had been summoned to Bayonne, accepted a constitution proposed by Napoleon, July 7th, and a day or two after Joseph left Bayonne for Madrid. He had signed on the 5th a treaty with his brother Napoleon, by which he renounced the Crown of Naples, made, as King of Spain, a perpetual offensive alliance with France, fixed the number of troops and ships to be provided by each nation, and agreed to the establishment of a commercial system.[1] By an Act called *Constitutional Statute*, July 15th, the vacant throne of Naples was bestowed upon Joachim Murat.[2]

Ferdinand had found means to despatch from Bayonne a proclamation addressed to the Asturians, dated May 8th, in which he called upon them to assert their independence and never to submit to the perfidious enemy who had deprived him of his rights. This letter naturally made a great impression on a proud and sensitive people; nor was its effect diminished by another proclamation which Ferdinand and his brothers were compelled to sign at Bordeaux, May 12th, calling upon the Spaniards not to oppose "the beneficent views" of Napoleon. At this last address, evidently extorted from a prisoner, a general cry of indignation arose in Spain; the people everywhere flew to arms, except where prevented by the presence of the French troops. The city of Valencia renounced its obedience to the Government of Madrid, May 23rd; Seville followed its example, and on the 27th, Joseph Palafox organized at Saragossa the insurrection of Aragon. As these insurrections were accompanied with frightful massacres, principally of persons who had held high civil or military posts under Charles IV., the better classes, to put an end to these horrible scenes, established central Juntas in the principal towns. That of Seville, rejecting the authority of the capital, as being in the hands of the enemy, assumed the exercise of an independent power in the name of Ferdinand VII. On the 29th of May it published a proclamation, calling on the people to defend their country, their King, their laws, and property; and on the 6th of June it declared war upon Napoleon in the name of Ferdinand VII.[3] Addresses of the same kind were published in various other places.

A popular historian has attributed both the proximate and the primary causes of the calamities which overwhelmed Spain entirely to the imbecility, the corruption, and the despotism of the

[1] Garden, t. xi. p. 190 sqq.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 199.
[3] These papers will be found in Garden, t. xi. p. 205 sqq.

Government, and the superstition and bigotry of the people, which "sapped the foundation of military and civil virtue, and prepared the way for invasion."[1] We hardly think that these can be the true causes. The Lutheranism and learning of the Germans, the Calvinism and Republican principles of the Dutch and Swiss, previously two of the freest nations of Europe, did not save them from being subjugated by the invader; nay, we think it may be more correctly asserted that the adoption of the French revolutionary doctrines by great numbers in those countries was much more favourable to an invasion than the disgust with which those doctrines were rejected by the Spaniards. The true causes of the calamities which overtook Spain were the boundless and unhallowed ambition, the unexampled and inconceivable perfidy of Napoleon. And how can it be true that the Spaniards were destitute of all civil and military virtue? Can there be a greater proof of those virtues than to rise in arms against the oppressor of one's country? And was it not the Spaniards alone who had the spirit to organize anything like a national resistance against Napoleon? Ancient prejudices may be deplorable; but even the worst things sometimes have their uses. The Spaniards had at least preserved a national character and a love for their country, which in many other nations had been nearly destroyed by the new French philosophy. The true mean lay no doubt between the civil and religious bigotry of the Spaniards, and the extravagance and atheism of the French Republicans. Yet if the results of these opposite principles be contrasted, the comparison will not be altogether disadvantageous to Spain. This has been done with a great deal of force by Palafox, in his famous letter to the French general, Lefèbvre Desnouettes.[2] The Dutch and Prussians, he observes, had no monks, yet they had fallen almost without resistance. Even the Inquisition in its worst times had never committed a tithe of the atrocities of the Marats, the Robespierres, and other leaders of the French Revolution; nor could the political subjection of the Spaniards be worse than that of the French, who followed a Corsican adventurer, like a flock of sheep, wherever he might choose to lead them to slaughter. The Spaniards, no doubt, committed many faults in the war of liberation. They were, perhaps, proud, boastful, cruel when provoked, inconstant, inamenable to discipline; but let it be remembered, to their honour, that they were the first Continental nation that rose

[1] Napier, *Hist. of the War in the Peninsula*, Preface.
[2] See Garden, t. xi. p. 238 sqq.

against the tyrant, and initiated a movement by which he was at last overthrown.

Spain, when she declared war, had scarcely an army.[1] It is true that, including the provincial militias, she had on foot about 100,000 men; but of these 15,000 were in Denmark, 35,000 in Portugal, and for the most part under the command of Junot; 30,000 were absorbed by the garrisons of the fortresses of Africa, the Balearic Isles, the Canaries, and the interior. Half of the remaining 20,000 were in Galicia, and became the nucleus of the insurrectionary army of the North; the other 10,000, destined for the siege of Gibraltar, were in the camp of St. Roque, and laid the foundation of the army of Andalusia. But the indignation and enthusiasm of the Spaniards permitted them not to count the disparity of numbers. On the other hand, they were aware that it was impossible for a French army, however numerous, to occupy all the fortresses and ports of their extensive country; whose surface, too, as well as climate, present formidable difficulties to an invader. Above all, they reckoned on the method of conducting the war. They proposed not to meet the enemy in pitched battles in the open field, but to harass, wear out, and overcome him by *guerilla*,[2] or the discursive and incessant attacks of separate small bands. The supreme Junta issued instructions for conducting this mode of warfare. Andalusia was better fitted for organizing the revolt, or rather the patriotic rising, than any other province of Spain. Its population formed one-fifth of the whole nation, it possessed the sole cannon-foundry in the Kingdom, it comprised half the disposable Spanish army, and it could receive assistance from the English both by means of Gibraltar, and of Collingwood's fleet, which was cruising on the coast.

One of the first feats of arms of the Spaniards was to compel the surrender of five French ships of the line and a frigate, which had remained in the port of Cadiz ever since the battle of Trafalgar (June 14th). Marshal Moncey was repulsed towards the end of June in an advance upon Valencia, and compelled to retreat upon Madrid with a loss of one-third of his men. In the north-west the Spaniards were less fortunate. Cuesta, with a

[1] Space will not allow us to enter into the details of the Peninsular War. We can only indicate the main results. The subject almost forms part of our own history, and most English readers are familiar with it from the works of Southey and Napier, the *Despatches of the Duke of Wellington*, and other works. Foy's *Hist. de la Guerre de la Péninsule* is also a standard book on the subject.

[2] Literally, *little warfare*.

corps of 25,000 men, was defeated by Marshal Bessières, July 14th, at Medina del Rio Seco. The consequence of this victory was the temporary submission of Leon, Palencia, Valladolid, Zamora, and Salamanca to the French. But this misfortune was more than counterbalanced by the victory of General Castaños over the French in Andalusia a few days after. Generals Dupont and Vedel had advanced into that province as far as Cordova, but they were defeated by Castaños with the army of Andalusia at BAYLEN, July 20th. On this occasion,—the commencement of the French reverses in Spain,—18,000 French soldiers laid down their arms. Joseph Bonaparte found it prudent to leave Madrid August 1st, which he had only entered on the day of the battle, and fly to Burgos. This important victory not only inspired the Spaniards with confidence, but also caused them to be regarded in Europe as a substantive Power. On the day after the battle Castaños issued a proclamation which does him great honour. He invoked the Spaniards to show humanity towards the French prisoners of war, and threatened to shoot those who should maltreat them.[1] Such, however, was the exasperation of the people against their invaders, that numbers of the French were massacred on their route to Cadiz for embarkation, and the remainder were treated with barbarous inhumanity. These cruelties had, however, been provoked by the atrocities of the French at the capture and sack of Cordova.[2]

The campaign in Aragon was still more glorious for the Spaniards. Palafox, whether or not he was the poltroon described by Napier, had at all events the merit of organizing, out of almost nothing, the means by which the French were repulsed in several desperate assaults upon Saragossa, and at length compelled to retreat after a siege of some weeks (August 14th). The patriot cause was soon after strengthened by the arrival at Corunna of General La Romana, with 7,000 of his men from Denmark (September 20th). Keats, the English Admiral in the Baltic, had informed him of the rising of his countrymen, and provided him the means to transport his troops from Nyborg. The English Government, soon after the breaking out of the insurrection, proclaimed a peace with the Spanish nation (July 4th, 1808), and prepared to assist them in their heroic struggle. The example of Spain had also encouraged the Portuguese to throw off the insufferable yoke of the French. A Junta was established at

[1] See the Proclamation in Garden, p. 237.

[2] Foy, *Guerre de la Péninsule*, t. iii. p. 230 sqq.

Oporto, June 6th, and an insurrection was organized in all parts of the Kingdom where the French forces were not predominant. Sir Arthur Wellesley, with about 10,000 British troops, landed at Mondego Bay, July 31st, and being joined by General Spencer from Cadiz, with 5,000 men, advanced upon Lisbon. Laborde, who attempted to oppose them at Roliça with a much smaller force but in a very strong position, was compelled to retreat after a warm action, and the march was resumed. Junot now advanced with his whole disposable force from Lisbon, about 14,000 men with 26 guns. The British were stronger by 2,000, without including the Portuguese regiments, but were far inferior in cavalry and artillery. Sir Harry Burrard, who had now arrived, took the chief command of the British, and thwarted all the plans of Sir A. Wellesley. The hostile armies met before the town of VIMEIRA, August 21st, when Junot was completely defeated, with the loss of 2,000 men, 400 prisoners, and 13 guns. But the fruits of the victory were in a great measure lost by the refusal of Sir Harry Burrard to pursue the enemy. A day or two after Sir Harry was in turn superseded by the arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple from Gibraltar. It was now determined to advance against Junot, who had occupied the strong position of Torres Vedras. But the French general proposed an armistice; and by the CONVENTION OF CINTRA,[1] August 30th, he was allowed to evacuate Portugal with all his forces, which were to be transported to France by the English, and allowed to serve wherever they might be required. Before their departure, the French, from the General-in-chief down to the private, were compelled to disgorge an enormous amount of plunder which they were preparing to carry off. The Convention of Cintra was followed by the surrender of Admiral Siniavin and the Russian squadron in the Tagus to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton. The Convention of Cintra was received with such disapprobation in England that the three generals were recalled and arraigned before a court of inquiry; by which, however, they were acquitted. During their absence in England, the command of the British forces in Portugal was bestowed on Sir John Moore, who had arrived from the Baltic with his division.

The commotions in Spain and Portugal required for their suppression large reinforcements to be drawn from Napoleon's veteran troops in Germany. But as this movement might expose him to a rising of the Germans, and especially of the Austrians, he resolved to guard against that danger by drawing closer his alliance

[1] Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. i. p. 94.

with the Emperor of Russia. Alexander accepted an invitation to meet the Emperor of the French at Erfurt, at which place the two Sovereigns arrived, September 27th. The Congress, which lasted nearly three weeks, was conducted with the greatest splendour, and at the same time with marks of the most entire friendship and confidence between the two Emperors. It was attended by the Kings of Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Westphalia, by Alexander's brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, Prince William of Prussia, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Duke of Saxe Weimar, and most of the principal Sovereigns of Germany. The palaces occupied by Alexander and Napoleon were furnished in the most splendid and luxurious manner at the expense of France. Napoleon entertained every day at dinner the principal Sovereigns, and in the evening French plays were performed by the most celebrated actors of the Parisian theatres. The entertainments were diversified by a visit to Weimar, where Napoleon made the acquaintance of Wieland, Göthe, and other celebrated German authors. The political objects of the Conference were arranged by a secret convention, signed October 12th.[1] The most important articles were, that Alexander consented to Joseph Bonaparte's elevation to the throne of Spain, as well as to the changes which had been made in Italy, and promised to make common cause with France in case of a declaration of war by Austria. In return for these concessions, Napoleon engaged not to oppose the annexation of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Finland to the Russian Empire. The two Monarchs are said to have agreed to constitute themselves, at some future time, the one, Emperor of the West, the other, Emperor of the East, and that the Elbe should form the limit of their respective dominions.[2] The partition of Turkey was discussed, but Napoleon represented this enterprise as at present inopportune. Alexander obtained for the King of Prussia a reduction of 20,000,000 francs from the sum payable by that Sovereign, and the evacuation by the French troops of the Prussian dominions.

Alexander and Napoleon, shortly before they quitted Erfurt, addressed a joint note to King George III., expressing a desire for peace (October 12th, 1808). This was followed up by notes from Count Roumantsof and M. de Champagny, the Russian and French Foreign Ministers, to Mr. Canning, proposing the *uti possidetis* as a base of negotiations, and offering to confer with the plenipo-

[1] This Convention has never been authentically published, but an analysis of it will be found in Garden, t. xi. p. 286 sqq.

[2] Garden, t. xi. p. 281; on the authority of a statesman well acquainted with the events of that period.

tentiaries of Great Britain in any Continental town. The English Government insisted that the Spanish nation, represented by its Junta, acting in the name of Ferdinand VII., should be a party to the negotiations; but Count Roumantsof rejected this admission of what he called the "Spanish insurgents," announced that his master had recognized Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain, and would not separate his interests from those of his ally, Napoleon. The French Minister also replied in an insolent note, in which he compared the admission of the Spaniards to a congress with that of the insurgent Catholics of Ireland, as if Spain had irrevocably become a subordinate part of the French Empire. A peace on the terms proposed was, of course, inadmissible. Mr. Canning, in his reply to M. de Champagny, abstained, by express command of the King, from noticing the insulting expressions in the French note, but expressed His Majesty's firm determination not to abandon the cause of the Spanish nation, nor to acquiesce in a usurpation unparalleled in the history of the world. The English Cabinet was supported in this resolution by the hope that Austria would before long declare against Napoleon.

Meanwhile in Spain, a Supreme Central Junta, under the presidency of Count Florida Blanca, had been organized at Aranjuez, towards the end of September. It was formed of two deputies from each provincial Junta, and it was hoped that by this means the insurrection would be conducted with more concert and vigour. Unfortunately, however, it had the contrary effect. The provincial Juntas intrusted to their deputies only a very limited and subordinate authority, who were thus prevented from acting with the vigour and decision required by the conjuncture. The armed force was now divided into three corps. The first of these, called the "Army of the North," was commanded by Blake, having under his orders the Marquis de la Romana. The Junta gave out that this corps consisted of 55,000 men, when it is probable that it did not count more than 17,000 regular troops. This method of exaggeration, which was systematically adopted by the Junta, had the effect of sometimes leading their English allies into great difficulties and dangers. In like manner, the Army of the Centre under Castaños was rated at 65,000 men, and that of Aragon, under Joseph Palafox, at 20,000. The French army, reduced to about 50,000 men, had now fixed its head-quarters at Vittoria. Its right was commanded by Gouvion St. Cyr, the centre by Marshal Moncey, the left by Marshals Ney, Bessières, and Lefèbvre. The French, however, were rapidly reinforced by the troops with-

drawn from Prussia, and by auxiliary corps forwarded by King Jerôme and other dependent German Sovereigns; so that before the end of the year they numbered 180,000 men. Napoleon placed himself at the head of his armies early in November. A succession of victories, achieved by his generals under his direction, opened to him the road to the Spanish capital. On the 7th of November, Lefèbvre defeated Blake and La Romana at Guenez. On the 10th, Soult gained a victory over the Count de Belvedere and a division of the army of Blake at Gamonal, while on the same and following day, Blake and La Romana were defeated by Victor at Espinosa. On the 15th, Napoleon's head-quarters were at Burgos. On the 23rd, Lannes and Victor defeated Castaños at Tudela, and on the 30th, Napoleon in person overthrew the reserve of the Spaniards, under Count San Juan, in the defiles of the Somo-Sierra. On the 2nd of December, the fourth anniversary of his coronation, the French Emperor appeared under the walls of Madrid, and took up his abode at Chamartin, belonging to the Duke de l'Infantado. The inhabitants of the capital seemed at first disposed to resist, but thought better of it, and Madrid was entered by the French troops on the morning of December 4th.

On the same day that he took possession of the Spanish capital Napoleon issued decrees abolishing the Inquisition, reducing by two-thirds the number of convents in Spain, enabling monks to become secular ecclesiastics, suppressing all feudal rights and personal service, abolishing the existing provincial barriers, and transferring all custom-houses to the frontiers of the kingdom.

Meanwhile the English were marching into the heart of Spain. Sir David Baird having arrived at Corunna, October 13th, with 15,000 men, Sir John Moore, at the head of the English troops in Portugal, advanced by Salamanca to form a junction with him, which was effected at Mayorga, December 20th. The total number of the British in the Peninsula was now 35,000; but some regiments had been left behind, others detached, and, deducting the sick, the total of effective men under Sir John Moore was only between 23,000 and 24,000, with 60 guns. Moore had been lured to advance by false accounts of the position of things, of the resources and enthusiasm of the Spaniards. It was still more calculated to deceive him that most of the accounts of this nature came from Mr. Frere, the British Minister at Madrid. Moore was advancing with his small army to certain destruction against Napoleon with eight times his force. At the news of his advance, the French Emperor left Madrid, and marched against him at the head of his

choicest troops. Moore had now no alternative but to commence his famous retreat. The manœuvres of Soult had cut him off from the road to Portugal, and the march was, therefore, directed into Galicia. Napoleon, having learnt on the road to Astorga of the events that were preparing in Germany, immediately set off for Paris, leaving the command of the pursuing army to Soult. That commander pressed upon and harassed the British, who are said to have committed great disorders in their retreat; but he ventured not to accept the battle which Moore offered him at Lugo. The British, after suffering great hardships, arrived at Corunna, January 14th, 1809. Here they were detained two or three days by the want of vessels, and meanwhile Soult came up. An action was fought before that town, January 16th, in which the French were entirely defeated; but this victory was dearly purchased with the life of the gallant Sir John Moore, who was mortally wounded with a cannon-ball. Sir David Baird had also been disabled. The transports had now arrived from Vigo, and the British army was safely embarked. Corunna, which was defended a few days by the Spaniards, surrendered January 19th. Soult then applied himself to the reduction of Galicia.

Moore's expedition was undertaken, without proper information, by order of the English Ministry; but so far as the general himself was concerned, it was conducted with the greatest skill and bravery. Nor, though it failed, was it altogether useless. The march of the French into the south of Spain was arrested, their army fatigued and ruined to such an extent that for several months they were unable to undertake anything of importance. In the very midst of this misfortune, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the Supreme Junta, January 14th, 1809, by which the former Power engaged to assist the Spanish nation with all its forces, and to recognize no other King of Spain than Ferdinand VII.[1]

Napoleon's departure from the Peninsula was occasioned by the military preparations of Austria. The Peace of Pressburg had been so humiliating to that Power as to render it certain that she would seize the first favourable opportunity to appeal again to arms. For this appeal she had long been silently preparing. She had endeavoured to place her finances on a better footing, and she had succeeded in reorganizing a formidable military force. The latter task had been intrusted to the Archduke Charles, who in the summer of 1808, succeeded in establishing the *Landwehr*, or militia, a novel description of force in the Austrian dominions.

[1] Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. i. p. 163.

The German provinces alone furnished 300,000 men to the Landwehr, besides a reserve of 60,000. At the same time the troops of the line were carried to 400,000 men, divided into nine corps, each under its general-in-chief. The Hungarians, animated by a friendly spirit, had voted in 1808 an increase of 80,000 troops, and offered besides, in case of need, a permanent insurrection of 80,000 more, of which 30,000 were to be cavalry. In case of reverses, Komorn in Hungary was selected as a *place d'armes*.

These preparations had not escaped the attention of Napoleon, who, in August, 1808, had angrily remonstrated with Count Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, against the preparations of his Sovereign. Austria was excluded from the conferences at Erfurt; but Napoleon's mind seems to have been in some degree tranquillized by a correspondence which ensued at this time between himself and the Emperor Francis. There were, however, several circumstances which obscurely indicated the intentions of the Cabinet of Vienna. Austrian agents were known to be in communication with the Spanish patriots; a party among the latter had even offered the Crown of Spain to the Archduke Charles.[1] The Court of Vienna had hesitated to recognize Joseph Bonaparte; had authorized the sale of the *Memoir* of Cevallos, which unmasked Napoleon's Spanish intrigues; had instructed its internuncio at Constantinople to assist in reconciling the Porte with Great Britain. A still more direct evidence of the intentions of Austria was a passage in the speech of the King of England on opening Parliament, December 15th, 1808.

As nothing could be more adverse to Napoleon's Spanish projects than a war with Austria, he attempted to avert it by proposing a triple agreement between France, Russia, and Austria, which should give to Austria the guarantee of Russia against the enterprises of France, and that of France against the attempts of Russia. But this proposition was not accepted. At Valladolid, on his way from Madrid, Napoleon wrote to the Sovereigns of the Rhenish League to complete and mobilize their contingents. Towards the end of February, 1809, the French troops were in motion. Austria at the same time was pressing on her armaments. On the 27th of March the Austrian Minister delivered to

[1] It was affirmed by the French Minister, M. de Champagny, that Admiral Collingwood, the British commander in the Mediterranean, actually offered to place a frigate at the disposal of the Archduke at Trieste, to convey him to Spain. But this is at variance with the acknowledgment of Ferdinand VII. by the English Government. See Garden, t. xii. p. 11.

the French Government a declaration, in which were enumerated all the insults and injuries Austria had suffered at the hands of France since the Peace of Pressburg. This was followed soon after by a formal manifesto, and by an admirable order of the day addressed to the army by the Archduke Charles, the Generalissimo (April 6th). Addresses were also published by the Emperor and the Archduke to the Austrians, and to the German nation in general, which were answered by counter-proclamations from the Kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg and Saxony, and other Sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The war which ensued has sometimes, but improperly, been called the Fifth Coalition. There were no regular treaties between Great Britain and Austria; but it is believed that the English Government agreed to furnish subsidies of more than four million sterling, and promised to make a diversion on the coasts of France or in the north of Germany. But the war did not last long enough for the execution of these schemes.[1]

Six of the nine divisions of the Austrian army, comprising upwards of 200,000 men, had been assembled in Bohemia under the Archduke Charles, with the intention of attacking the French in Germany, and driving them over the Rhine before they could receive assistance from France. But, with the usual Austrian slowness, the opportunity was lost. Two divisions only, under Bellegarde and Kolowrat, entered the Upper Palatinate and marched upon Ratisbon. The main force proceeded into Austria in order to enter Bavaria by the accustomed route along the Danube. The seventh Austrian division of 36,000 men, under the Archduke Ferdinand d'Este, was to enter Poland. The eighth and ninth, commanded in chief by the Archduke John, were destined for the invasion of Italy. The French had in Germany Davoust's corps at Ratisbon, that of Masséna at Ulm, that of Oudinot at Augsburg, three Bavarian divisions at Munich, Landshut and Straubing, under Marshal Lefèbvre, the Würtemberg division at Heidenheim commanded by Vandamme, and the Grand Army, whose headquarters were at Strasburg: the whole comprising 212,000 men, exclusive of the Saxons under Bernadotte, and 12,000 Poles under Prince Poniatowski. The French army in Italy consisted of Macdonald's, Grenier's, and Baraguay d'Hilliers' divisions, 70,000 men, under the command-in-chief of the Viceroy Eugène.

It was hoped that when hostilities commenced, the Germans

[1] Garden, t. xii. p. 79.

would rise against their French oppressors; but this expectation was realized only in Tyrol. Some Tyrolese went secretly to Vienna, to pledge themselves to that effect; and no sooner had the war begun, April 10th, than the insurrection broke out. Beacons were lighted on the mountain tops; meal, blood, or saw-dust cast upon the streams, carried into every valley the signal for arming. On the road between Brixen and Innsbruck the French columns were surprised; more than 8,000 of their men were either killed or made prisoners. A bloody fight took place in Innsbruck; the Bavarians who garrisoned it were driven out, their commander killed. At Wiltau, an entire French brigade was compelled to surrender. All this was the work of four days. The leaders of the Tyrolese were Andrew Hofer, an innkeeper in the Passeyerthal, Spechbacher, Haspinger, a Capuchin monk, Eisenstecken, and Ennemoser. When the Marquis von Chasteler entered Tyrol with a small Austrian corps, the country was already liberated; Kufstein alone remained in possession of the Bavarians.[1] The insurrection also spread to the Vorarlberg.

The main body of the Austrian army crossed the Inn and invaded Bavaria, April 10th, 1809. On the 16th they forced the passage of the Isar and entered Munich. The King of Bavaria fled at their approach. Napoleon, on the other hand, by April 18th, had carried his headquarters to Ingolstadt. On the following day a bloody but indecisive combat took place at Tann; the French, however, succeeded in forming a junction with the Bavarians. On the 20th, Napoleon defeated the Archduke Louis at Abensberg, and separated him from the army of the Generalissimo. But on the same day the Archduke Charles took Ratisbon, which made him master of the Danube, and put him in communication with the corps of Bellegarde, advancing from Bohemia. The Archduke then marched down the right bank of the river, and took up a position at Eckmühl. Napoleon, who had pursued the Archduke Louis, and again defeated him at Landshut, now turned against the Generalissimo and defeated him in a decisive battle at Eckmühl, April 22nd. The Austrians having retreated into Ratisbon, which was entered by the French the following day, a bloody battle ensued, during which a great part of the town was burnt. The Archduke Charles now retreated through the Upper Palatinate, while Napoleon, instead of pursuing him, directed his forces against Vienna. General Hiller with an Austrian corps was attacked and defeated at Ebelsberg near Linz, May 3rd, by the divisions of Bessières and

[1] Mailath, B. v. S. 288 f.

Oudinot. During the battle the town took fire, and many of the combatants perished in the flames. On May 10th, Marshal Lannes appeared before Vienna. The Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Empress, after a vain attempt to defend it, passed the Danube with 4,000 men on the night of the 11th, and next day Vienna capitulated. Napoleon now for the second time took up his residence at Schönbrunn. Hence he issued an order dissolving the Landwehr, and granting a pardon to all who should return to their homes within a fortnight. He also published a proclamation addressed to the Hungarians, May 15th, in which he called upon them to renounce their allegiance to the House of Austria, promised them freedom and independence, and exhorted them to choose a king of their own. But the Hungarians were at that time well affected towards the Imperial family, and this proclamation had no effect.

Before relating the final catastrophe of the campaign in the Marchfeld, we must briefly advert to the subsidiary operations of the war in other quarters. The sudden success of the Tyrolese was but of short duration. Marshal Lefèbvre compelled them to relinquish the siege of Kufstein, defeated the Austrians at Mörgel, May 13th, took Schwaz by assault, 15th, and on the 19th occupied Innsbruck. The Tyrolese, yielding to superior force, feigned submission, and sent deputies to Munich to solicit a pardon. But no sooner had the French and Austrians withdrawn, leaving behind only Deroy's division, than the Tyrolese again flew to arms, attacked Deroy, and compelled him to retreat to Kufstein. Chasteler also again entered Tyrol to reinforce an Austrian corps which had entrenched itself on the Brenner. But these successes were again interrupted by the armistice of Znaym, July 11th, which we shall have to record further on. On the side of Poland, the Archduke Ferdinand, marching from Galicia, occupied Warsaw, April 22nd, and penetrated as far as Thorn. The Austrians had brought 100 guns, in the hope of inducing the King of Prussia to join them; but without effect. Prince Schwarzenberg had been sent on a special mission to St. Petersburg to conciliate the Emperor, who, it was hoped, even if he did not actually assist them, would at all events remain neutral. But Alexander adhered, though somewhat lukewarmly, to his French alliance, and placed a division at Napoleon's disposal, which, with some Polish troops, were directed upon Galicia. The Russo-Polish army drove the Austrians from Leopol and Sandomierz, and took possession of Galicia, where the French eagles were planted by Prince Ponia-

towski. Ferdinand retired into Hungary, and at length the armistice of July 11th, between the main armies, put an end also to the war in this quarter. In Franconia, the efforts of the Austrians to excite a rising of the population proved only partially successful; and they were compelled to evacuate that district on the approach of Junot's division.

In Italy, hostilities had begun at the same time as in Germany. The Archduke John defeated the Viceroy Eugène at Sacile, April 16th, who then retired to Caldiero on the Adige. But the arrival of a French division from Tuscany, and the news received from Germany, decided the Archduke to commence his retreat by the end of April. It was hastened by a decisive battle on the Piave, May 8th, in which the Austrians were defeated by Eugène. The latter general passed the Isonzo, May 14th, and seized Görtz and Laybach. Here he was joined by Marmont, the commander of the French in Dalmatia; who, leaving only between 4,000 and 5,000 men behind, forced with the remainder the passage of the Fiume, and effected a junction with the army of Italy. The Archduke John retired into Hungary, where he joined the Archduke Palatine, commanding the Hungarian troops, June 13th. But Eugène, profiting by the discordant views of those commanders, gained a signal victory over them near Raab, June 14th. Raab capitulated on the 22nd, and Davoust bombarded Pressburg on the 26th. The Archduke Charles had retired to Komorn, and Eugène proceeded to form a junction with the army of Napoleon. We now return to the operations of the main armies.

The Archduke Charles after his defeat at Eckmühl had pursued his march down the left bank of the Danube towards Vienna, and had taken up a position to the north of that capital on the plain called the Marchfeld; a spot rendered famous in ancient times by the defeat and death of Ottocar, King of Bohemia (August, 1278), and the triumph of Rodolph of Habsburg, the founder of the House of Austria. On this plain the fate of Austria was again to be decided. The Archduke had been joined by Hiller with his corps, who had contrived to pass the Danube at Krems. The Austrian army after this junction numbered about 75,000 men. At the Marchfeld the Danube separates into three branches, of which the two northernmost form the large and well wooded island of Lobau. Of this isle the French had taken possession, in order to throw a bridge over the river between the villages of Aspern and Essling. This operation, which was not interrupted

by the Austrians, was completed on the night of May 20th, and on the 21st and 22nd Napoleon engaged the Austrians. These battles, which are called the battles of ASPERN and ESSLING, or when spoken of jointly the battle of the MARCHFELD, were fought with great obstinacy and fury, but without any very decided advantage on either side. On the whole, however, the Austrians were superior; as Napoleon was compelled to abandon the field, and withdraw his troops into the isle of Lobau. It was the first repulse which he had experienced in Germany. The loss on both sides was enormous. The Austrians acknowledge to have had 24,000 men killed and wounded.[1] The loss of the French was no doubt a great deal more; yet Napoleon stated it at only 1,100 killed and 3,000 wounded![2] Among the killed were Marshal Lannes, and three general officers. Napoleon is said to have abandoned his army in the moment of danger, and to have crossed over to the right bank of the Danube, leaving Masséna to secure the retreat.[3] The Austrians, aided by a swell in the river, succeeded in destroying the two bridges which connected the isle of Lobau with the right bank and Vienna, and the French were thus left more than two days without provisions. But on the 25th they re-established the bridges, and on the following day Eugène, with the army of Italy, passed over the Semmering, and formed a junction with them.

The Archduke Charles continued to maintain a position on the left bank of the Danube extending from Krems to Pressburg. The two armies lay for some weeks inactive. Besides Macdonald, with part of the army of Italy, Napoleon had also been joined by Bernadotte with the Saxons, and by Marmont's corps; which raised his forces to an equality with those of the Archduke. On July 1st he established his headquarters in the isle of Lobau, which had been strongly fortified. On the 4th he battered down the village of Enzersdorf, and established a bridge over the Danube at that point. On the 5th and 6th was fought the battle of WAGRAM. Never in any battle upon land had so formidable an artillery been employed. The Austrians had 500 guns, many of large calibre. The French were inferior in this arm, having only about 400. The first day was indecisive; on the second the Austrians were defeated. The Archduke Charles, mistaking the French plans, had too much weakened his centre;

[1] The Archduke Charles's report of these battles, from the Austrian Archives, will be found in Mailath, *Gesch. des Ostr. Kaiserstaats*, B. v. S. 295-310.
[2] Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 404. [3] *Ibid.* p. 405.

and his left wing was deprived of the support which he had expected from the Archduke John, who did not come up from Hungary till two hours after the battle. On both these points the Austrians were turned, but they commenced an orderly retreat by way of Guntersdorf towards Bohemia. The defeat of their left wing had cut them off from Hungary. Their rear guard was defeated at Hollabrunn by Masséna, July 10th. On the following day Napoleon in person appeared before Znaym, where the Archduke Charles had established his headquarters. A warm action ensued, in the course of which Prince Liechtenstein obtained from Napoleon an armistice. In the battles between the 5th and 11th, both armies had suffered terribly. The Austrians had lost 23,000 men killed and 7,000 prisoners; the loss of the French was probably about the same.[1]

By the armistice of Znaym,[2] more than a third part of the Austrian dominions remained in the occupation of the French, with a population of about eight and a half million souls. On these was levied a contribution of more than 196,000,000 francs; and as the Poles of Galicia, comprising a population of about four millions were exempted, this enormous sum was exacted from about four and a half million persons![3]

The conferences for a peace lasted three months. The Austrian Government purposely interposed delays, wishing to await the result of an English expedition against the coasts of Holland. Napoleon, on the other hand, alarmed at the state of the Peninsula, as anxiously pressed their termination, and threatened, if the negotiations remained without effect, to adopt the most rigorous measures against the House of Austria, and especially to separate the three crowns. The Peace of Schönbrunn was at length signed, October 14th, 1809.[4] By this treaty the Emperor Francis engaged to make various cessions to the Confederation of the Rhine, to Napoleon, to the King of Saxony, to the same Sovereign as Duke of Warsaw, and to the Emperor of Russia. The districts ceded to the Rhenish Confederation comprised Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, and part of Upper Austria, viz., the quarter of the Inn and half of the Hausrück.

The cessions made directly to Napoleon were the county of Görtz, or Goricia, and that of Montefalcone, forming the Austrian Friuli; the town and Government of Trieste, Carniola, the Circle of Villach in Carinthia, part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and the

[1] Mailath, B. v. S. 311.
[2] Martens, *N. R.* t. i. p. 309.
[3] Garden, t. xii. p. 91 sq.
[4] Martens, *Ibid.* p. 217.

lordship of Rhäzüns in the Grison territory. All these provinces, with the exception of Rhäzüns, were incorporated by a decree of Napoleon, with Dalmatia and its islands, into a single State with the name of the *Illyrian Provinces*. They were never united with France, but always governed by Napoleon as an independent State. A few districts before possessed by Napoleon were also incorporated with them; as Venetian Istria and Dalmatia with the Bocca di Cattaro, Ragusa, and part of Tyrol.

The cessions made to the King of Saxony, as such, consisted of only a few Bohemian villages; but, as Duke of Warsaw, there were transferred to him all Western or New Galicia, with the Circle of Zamosc in Eastern Galicia, including the town of Cracow.

The cessions in favour of Russia comprised a district of Eastern or Old Galicia, but exclusive of the town of Brody, the only place which gave it any importance.

The only other articles of the treaty of much importance are the recognition by Austria of any changes made, or to be made, in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; the adherence of the Emperor to the prohibitive system adopted by France and Russia, and his engaging to cease all correspondence and relationship with Great Britain. By a Decree made at Ratisbon, April 24th, 1809, Napoleon had suppressed the Teutonic Order in all the States belonging to the Rhenish Confederation, reannexed its possessions to the domains of the Prince in which they were situated, and incorporated Mergentheim, with the rights, domains, and revénues attached to the Grand Mastership of the Order, with the Kingdom of Würtemberg. These dispositions were confirmed by the Treaty of Schönbrunn.

The effect aimed at by the Treaty of Schönbruun was to surround Austria with powerful States, and thus to paralyze all her military efforts. On the south, by the cession in Carinthia, she lost the defiles which communicate with Italy and Tyrol, and the means of defence afforded by a natural frontier. On the west, by the loss of Salzburg and part of Austria, she was deprived of an excellent line of operation formed by the Inn in combination with the mountains of Bohemia, behind which she could manœuvre in perfect safety. It was only on the north and the east, in which quarters she was not so much exposed to attack, that she preserved her natural boundaries. These cessions involved a loss of three and a half million subjects. The Emperor of Russia, on the other hand, was very ill satisfied with the small portion of the spoils assigned to him, and the augmentation

awarded to the Duchy of Warsaw. Hence the first occasion of coldness between him and Napoleon, whom he suspected of a design to re-establish the Kingdom of Poland.

After the armistice of Znaym, Tyrol and the Vorarlberg were evacuated by the Austrian troops; but the Tyrolese, led by Hofer, still continued the struggle. The Bavarians marched against them; forced the important position of Scharnitz, October 25th, and on the 13th of November effected their junction with Eugène Beauharnais, who had entered Tyrol by Villach. Hofer now announced his submission, and directed the Tyrolese to separate. But the Bavarian General d'Erlm having proclaimed that every Tyrolese found with arms in his hand should be shot, and that every village where soldiers had been maltreated should be burnt, Hofer declared that he had been deceived, and again called his countrymen to arms. But resistance now proved useless. The executions ordered by the French generals spread terror among the Tyrolese, and King Maximilian Joseph having offered a pardon, they a second time submitted. Hofer now concealed himself in a log hut in the mountains; but being either betrayed or discovered,[1] was carried to Mantua, tried before a court-martial, and shot (February 20th, 1810).

Napoleon's life, during his residence at Schönbrunn, was threatened by an assassin. Frederick Staaps, a youth of eighteen, son of a Saxon Lutheran minister, lying in wait for the Emperor at the daily parade of the troops in the court of the Palace, endeavoured to approach him and to stab him with a long knife or dagger. When arrested and brought before Napoleon, Staaps avowed his purpose, and assigned as his motive for it a desire for peace. He was shot on the 16th of October.

[1] The story commonly runs that he was betrayed for the sake of a reward of 300 ducats offered for his apprehension. The account, however, appears to rest on anything but a certain foundation. See Mailath, B. v. S. 314 Ann. The King of Bavaria solicited for Hofer's life, but Napoleon was inexorable.

CHAPTER LXVI.

WE have alluded to a diversion which the Austrians expected in North Germany, as well as from an English expedition to the Scheldt. In both these quarters something was done, but not of a nature to be of any service to the Austrian cause.

A feeling of degradation, a desire to revenge their wrongs upon their French oppressors, had sprung up in Prussia and Northern Germany. In Prussia it was encouraged by the Baron von Stein, whom the King had placed at the head of the administration in 1807. Stein, however, was not, as asserted by several historians, the founder of the society called the *Tugendbund* or League of Virtue. On the contrary, he disapproved of it, considering it unpractical.[1] The League in question was founded by one Badebeben in 1808, and consisted originally of a society of some literary and scientific men, under the name of a Moral and Scientific Union, and ostensibly without any political object; but it soon became a rallying point for Prussian patriots. The society, however, hardly fulfilled the intentions of its founders. It occupied itself with silly and pedantic objects of reform, and by adopting an inquisitorial system of *espionnage* towards those whom it chose to consider as unpatriotic, became more intolerable than the old Prussian *régime*.[2]

At the same time William, Duke of Brunswick Oels, third son of Duke Ferdinand, but, his elder brothers having renounced their rights, his destined successor, had conceived the project of bringing together a number of bold spirits who should undertake to re-establish him, as well as the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, in their dominions, to overthrow the Confederation of the Rhine, and expel the French from Germany. This society, formed by the Duke at Oels, his residence in Silesia, was joined by many Prussian officers, several of whom also belonged to the *Tugendbund*. When the Cabinet of Vienna was preparing for war it concluded a convention with Duke William, who engaged to raise at his

[1] See Pertz, *Leben Steins*, B. ii. S. 193 sqq.
[2] Menzel, Kap. xliv.

own expense a corps of 2,000 horse. Such was the origin of the famous *Black Brunswickers* or *Death's-head Corps*, so called from their black uniform and the silver image of a skull worn in the cap of the troopers. The Duke, whose bravery and affability rendered him very popular, inspired his men with much of the courage and spirit of vengeance which animated himself.

Before the Duke took the field, several attempts had been made by German partisans, some even before the Austrian war broke out, against the King of Westphalia. The most remarkable of these was the expedition of Major Schill, who had distinguished himself as a partisan in the previous war. Leaving Berlin with his regiment, Schill entered Halle, Halberstadt, and Dömitz, carrying off the military chests belonging to King Jerôme. Being pursued by a Dutch and Danish corps, as well as by the King of Westphalia's troops, Schill threw himself into Stralsund, and was mortally wounded in a battle in that town, May 31st, 1809. Napoleon caused many of Schill's officers captured at Stralsund to be shot; the private soldiers were sent to the galleys at Toulon and Brest. The Duke of Brunswick took the field with his Black Brunswickers about the middle of May. He entered Dresden June 11th, where he was soon after joined by 10,000 Austrians commanded by General Am-Ende. The Duke penetrated to Leipsic, but was unable to maintain himself against the superior forces of King Jerôme. After the armistice of Znaym he cut his way through to the coast, and embarked with his legion of 1800 men on vessels furnished by an English squadron at Cuxhaven. The British Parliament assigned him a pension of 7,000*l.*

Austria and the German patriots reckoned, as we have said, on a formidable expedition that was preparing in England, which, had it been despatched to the Elbe or Weser, would no doubt have produced an electrical effect in Germany. But the views of the English Ministry were directed towards Antwerp and Flushing, which Napoleon was endeavouring to convert into great naval depôts. A fleet under Sir Richard Strachan, consisting of thirty-nine ships of the line, twenty-two frigates, a number of smaller vessels, and about two hundred transports, conveying an army of near 40,000 men, commanded by the Earl of Chatham, Pitt's elder brother, sailed from Portsmouth towards the end of July. Instead of striking the first blow at Antwerp, then comparatively disarmed, Earl Chatham spent a fortnight in besieging Flushing. This part of the enterprise succeeded. Flush-

ing capitulated August 15th, and the Isles of Walcheren, South Beveland, and Schouwen were occupied. But meanwhile, a large French army, under Bernadotte, had entered Antwerp, and the town was made so strong as to render any enterprise against it impracticable. The occupation of Walcheren, the only place retained, was deemed of no use after the Treaty of Schönbrunn, and as the English army suffered terribly from the fevers and agues which prevail in that island, it was re-embarked early in December. The partial destruction of the fortifications, arsenal, and magazines of Flushing was the only result of an expedition said to have cost twenty millions.

The epoch of the Austrian war and humiliation of the Emperor was also marked by the deposition of the Pope. We have already described how Pius VII., early in 1808, was made a prisoner in his own capital, and deprived of his provinces of Urbino, Ancona, and Macerata. Negotiations were then entered into for his entire abdication, in return for which he was offered a considerable pension, and a residence at Avignon. To these offers Pius refused to listen, and on May 17th, 1809, appeared an Imperial Decree from the camp at Vienna, uniting the Roman States to the French Empire, and declaring Rome a free and Imperial city. In justification of this violence, Napoleon claimed the right, as the successor of Charlemagne, to recall the donation of that Emperor to the Holy See.[1] It might be idle to criticize the pretexts alleged for an arbitrary act of power; but it is obvious that Napoleon violated both history and law in confounding the Empire of the Franks, a German people, with that of the French, and in questioning a title consecrated by a possession of ten centuries. The change of government was announced to the Roman citizens on June 10th, when the Papal flag was struck on the Castle of St. Angelo, and the French colours hoisted in its place, amidst a salute from the guns of the fortress. The new Government, or *Consulta*, issued a proclamation, promising that Rome should remain the seat of the visible head of the Church, that the Vatican, richly endowed, and elevated above all worldly interests, should present to the universe the spectacle of a purer and more splendid religion. But Pius VII. was by no means tempted with this prospect of his altered position. After having in vain protested against the sacrilege committed on his rights, he published, on June 11th, 1809, the Bull *Quum memoranda*, excommunicating Napoleon and all his coadjutors engaged in the

[1] Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 400; Garden, t. xii. p. 160.

violences committed at Rome and in the States of the Church, since February 2nd, 1808. After this misplaced act of vigour, Pius shut himself up in the Quirinal, surrounded by his Swiss guards. But he was soon to learn the real value of his obsolete spiritual weapons. On the night of July 4th the walls of his palace were escaladed by the *gendarmerie*, his apartments broken open, he himself seized, and conducted first to Grenoble, then to Savona. Here an order was issued, reducing his allowance to five *Pauls* (about two shillings) a day; but as the inhabitants of Savona vied with one another in sending him provisions, the order was revoked. An insolent letter was also addressed to him by the Prefect of the Department, July 11th, 1811, in which he was told that, "as nothing could make him wise, he would see that the Emperor was powerful enough, like his predecessors, to depose a Pope." As he still remained intractable, and as it was feared that he might be carried off by the English cruisers from Savona, he was brought, in the month of June, 1812, to Fontainebleau, and retained there in captivity. Napoleon's decree from Vienna was confirmed by a *Senatus-consulte* of February 17th, 1810, providing for the government of the States of the Church. Rome was declared the second city of the Empire; it was to give the title of King to the Prince Imperial, and the future Emperors of the French, after their coronation in Notre Dame, were also to be crowned in St. Peter's at Rome, before the tenth year of their reign.

By a decree of March 3rd, 1809, Napoleon bestowed the Grand Duchy of Tuscany on his sister, Eliza Bacciocchi, already the Sovereign of Lucca and Piombino. Endued with a superior mind, the mild and beneficent government of this Princess, and her patronage of art and literature, made her beloved by her subjects. In southern Italy, King Joachim of Naples (Murat), soon after his accession, succeeded in driving Sir Hudson Lowe and the English from the Isle of Capri, which they had occupied (October, 1808). In 1809 Sir John Stuart got possession of Ischia and Procida, and an English squadron appeared before Naples; but the citizens, mindful of what they had suffered in 1799, rallied round King Joachim, and rendered the success of a descent too hopeless to be attempted. In the same year, Murat made great preparations for the conquest of Sicily, and assembled a large force in the neighbourhood of Reggio. General Cavaignac's division actually landed between Messina and La Scaletta; but not being supported by the rest of the army, was exterminated

(September 18th). In order to bring the affairs of this part of the world under one point of view, we shall here mention the revolution effected in Sicily by Lord William Bentinck in 1811. Queen Caroline opposed the British influence in this island; and after the death of Acton, who had conciliated matters between her and the English, the Queen became more violent. The Sicilian barons having declared for the English, four of them were arrested by order of King Ferdinand; and the Court required that the British troops should evacuate the island. But Lord Bentinck caused fifteen individuals to be arrested, accused of plotting to betray Sicily and the English army. This act of vigour disabled the Court party. Ferdinand resigned the Government in favour of his son; Lord Bentinck was proclaimed Generalissimo of the Sicilian troops, and a Parliament assembled in July, 1812, decreed a constitution modelled on that of Great Britain. Queen Caroline, who was accused of having entered into correspondence with Napoleon, was compelled to fly the island. But to return to the narrative.

After the Peace of Schönbrunn, which seemed to have consolidated his power, Napoleon resolved to strengthen and perpetuate his dynasty by a marriage with the daughter of some Royal house. He no longer entertained the hope of having any issue by Josephine, and on this ground he ordained the dissolution of his marriage with her. His proposals for the hand of a Russian Grand Duchess were coldly received; and his choice then wavered between a daughter of the King of Saxony and an Austrian Archduchess. He at length decided for the latter, and his overtures being accepted by the Emperor Francis, Napoleon was affianced to his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, February 7, 1810. The marriage was celebrated at Vienna March 9th, by procuration, on which occasion the Archduke Charles, the uncle of the bride, represented the French Emperor. Maria Louisa arrived at Compiègne on the 28th. The nuptials, though brilliant, yet somewhat sad, were celebrated at St. Cloud, April 1st. Not a single member of the Austrian family had accompanied Maria Louisa to Paris! She seemed a victim of political necessity, rather than a bride.

At this period the affairs of Spain and Holland became the chief objects of Napoleon's attention.

Holland, like Spain, groaned under the weight of the French alliance. She had been obliged to support a numerous French army, to provide a large fleet for the service of France, and to enter into a war with England by which she had gradually lost

all her colonies and all her trade. Since the entry of the French into Holland in 1795, the public debt, already large, had been increased by nearly half. Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, were almost destroyed, and universal distress prevailed. After thus ruining Holland, Napoleon imposed upon it a King, hoping to find in his brother Louis an instrument that would blindly execute all his orders. But in this he was deceived. Compelled to wear a crown which he had not sought, Louis identified his interests with those of the nation which he was called to govern. To put an end to this state of things, and reduce Louis to subjection, Napoleon, after the peace of Schönbrunn, invited him to Paris, where he arrived December 1st, 1809. Some stormy interviews took place between the brothers, and as Louis maintained with firmness the interests of his subjects, Napoleon announced a project of annexing to France a considerable part of Holland, which was described as a mere alluvion of French rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, and consequently by right a portion of France. Louis, seeing what turn affairs were taking, now made some attempts to return to Holland, but found himself closely watched and guarded. On the 20th January, 1810, appeared a Decree for the military occupation of all the country between the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the ocean, and placing the towns in it in a state of siege. The threatened annexation of Holland was made an occasion to attempt a negotiation with England, as it was thought that the apprehension of so great an addition to the strength of France would induce the English Ministry to conclude a peace. M. Labouchère, of the house of Hope and Co., was despatched to London; but the Cabinet of St. James's despairing probably of the independence of Holland so long as Napoleon should remain master of France, declined to enter into any conferences. Louis was compelled to sign a treaty, or rather capitulation, at Paris, March 16th, 1810, by the sixth article of which, that "according to the constitutional principle in France, the valley of the Rhine is the limit of the French Empire," the King of Holland ceded to the Emperor of the French Dutch Brabant, all Zealand, with the Isle of Schouwen, and the part of Gelderland on the left bank of the Waal.[1] Louis ratified the treaty as it was dictated to him, after some vain attempts to obtain juster terms, adding, however, the salvo, "So far as shall be possible." So much did Napoleon consider himself master of Holland, that he arrogated the right of granting to the

[1] Garden, t. xii. p. 246.

Dutch licenses to trade with England. The manufactures of that country were strictly prohibited, and French troops, mixed with Dutch and accompanied by French Custom-house officers, were to be stationed at the mouths of all the rivers to watch over the maintenance of these commercial regulations.

King Louis returned into Holland at the beginning of April; but it was evident that he could no longer preserve even the shadow of independence. The English expedition to Zealand, and the so-called treaty of March 16th, served as pretences for introducing a large body of French troops into the kingdom. On the 20th of May, 1810, Napoleon addressed from Ostend a threatening letter to his brother, in which he harshly explained to him the situation which he occupied, "All the world," he says, "knows that without me you are nothing. If your knowledge of my character, which is, to march straight to my object, without suffering any consideration to arrest me, has not opened your eyes, how can I help it? Having the navigation of the Meuse and the Rhine down to their mouths I can do without Holland, but Holland cannot do without my protection." He then goes on to tell Louis that if he had behaved as he ought, the throne of Holland would have been but a pedestal, to have been subsequently extended to Hamburg, Osnabrück and part of the North of Germany.

It was evident after this letter that all hope of conciliation was at an end. The Dutch laws, the national uniform, cockade, and flag were set at nought and insulted by the French military authorities; and towards the end of June the French insisted on occupying Amsterdam, though a solemn assurance to the contrary had been given only a little before. Louis at first thought of defending his capital, but as he was not supported in this project by the chief civil and military authorities, there was no alternative but to resign his crown. On the 1st of July, 1810, he signed at Haarlem his Act of abdication, in favour of his eldest son Napoleon Louis, and in his default, of his second son Charles Louis Napoleon.[1] King Louis immediately set off for the baths of Töplitz in Bohemia. His sons were brought to Paris and lodged in a pavilion in the park of St. Cloud. Addressing the eldest of these Princes who was only six years of age, Napoleon is said to have exhorted him never to forget, in whatever situation he might be placed, that his first duties were towards him, the Emperor, the second towards France; all his other duties, even

[1] Afterwards Emperor of the French, then two years of age.

those of the people who were confided to him, came after.[1] Napoleon, however, had no intention of leaving to his nephew the crown of Holland. That country was annexed to France by a decree of July 10th. Amsterdam was declared the third city of the Empire. All naval and military officers were retained in their posts. Colonial merchandise actually in Holland might be retained by the proprietors on paying an *ad valorem* duty of fifty per cent. The Duke of Piacenza, as Napoleon's lieutenant-general, was to assume at Amsterdam the administration of affairs till January 1st, 1811, when a French Government was to be formed.

The ex-King Louis insisted on residing, as a private individual, in the Austrian dominions, although Napoleon made several attempts to induce him to settle in France, or in some State governed by a member of the Bonaparte family. He fixed his residence first at Marburg, on the borders of Carinthia and Styria, and finally at Gratz, the capital of the latter province, carrying into his retirement the love of his people and the esteem of Europe.[2]

It was not till December 10th, 1810, that Holland was united to France by a formal *Senatus-consulte*. By the first article of the same law, the Hanse Towns, the Duchy of Lauenburg, and the countries situated between the North Sea and a line drawn from the confluence of the Lippe with the Rhine to Haltern, from Haltern to the Ems above Telgte, from the Ems to the confluence of the Werra with the Weser, and from Stolzenau, on that river, to the Elbe, above the confluence of the Stecknitz, were at the same time incorporated with the French Empire.[3] The Duke of Oldenburg having appealed to the Emperor of Russia, the head of his house, against this spoliation, Napoleon offered to compensate him with the town and territory of Erfurt and the Lordship of Blankenheim, which had remained under French administration since the Peace of Tilsit. But this offer was at once rejected, and Alexander reserved, by a formal protest, the rights of his kinsman. This annexation was only the complement of other incorporations with the French Empire during the year 1810. Early in that year, the Electorate of Hanover had been annexed to the Kingdom of Westphalia. On February 16th Napoleon had erected a Grand Duchy of Frankfort, and presented it to the Prince Primate of the Confederation of the Rhine, with

[1] Garden, t. xii. p. 273.

[2] The affairs of Holland at this period have been described by King Louis himself, in his *Documents Hist. sur le Gouvernement de la Hollande.*

[3] Garden, t. xiii. p. 159 sq. The line described would include the northern part of Westphalia and Hanover, and the duchy of Oldenburg.

reversion in favour of Eugène Beauharnais. On November 12th the Valais in Switzerland was also annexed to France, with the view of securing the road over the Simplon. Of all these annexations, that of the Hanse Towns and the districts on the North Sea was the most important, and one of the principal causes of the war that ensued between France and Russia. These annexations were made without the slightest negotiation with any European cabinet, and it would be superfluous to add, without even a pretext of right, though the necessity of them from the war with England was alleged as the motive. By means of a canal from Lübeck to Hamburg, thence to the Weser, and from the Weser to the Ems, Napoleon proposed ultimately to connect the Baltic with the Seine.

The Peace of Schönbrunn enabled Napoleon to devote all his efforts to the subjugation of Spain. The affairs of the Peninsula have been brought down to the retreat of Sir John Moore and the departure of Napoleon early in 1809 (*supra*, p. 276). The French were then in the following positions: Gouvion St. Cyr was established in Catalonia; Lannes had been engaged, since the end of December, in the second siege of Saragossa, and was afterwards to reduce Aragon; Marshal Bessières occupied Old Castile, securing the communications with France; Marshal Lefèbvre was to operate in La Mancha; Marshal Victor, after manœuvring on the frontiers of Estremadura, with the view of supporting Marshal Soult in the reduction of Portugal, was to march upon Andalusia, while Marshal Ney was to undertake the conquest of Galicia. Each Marshal acted independently, obeying only the commands of Napoleon, who was afraid to trust any of his lieutenants with the supreme direction of affairs, and deemed his brother Joseph not competent to that office. Joseph had, however, returned to Madrid, January 22nd, 1809. Saragossa surrendered February 20th, after an heroic defence, which might recall the sieges of Numantia or Saguntum. Every street, almost every house, had been warmly contested; the monks, and even the women, had taken a conspicuous share in the defence; more than 40,000 bodies of each sex and every age testified the obstinate courage of the besieged.

Soult, after the battle of Corunna, had entered Portugal, towards the end of March, and was preparing to march upon Lisbon. Victor had defeated the Spanish general Cuesta at Medellin, March 28th. In spite of this defeat, however, Cuesta again raised his army, by reinforcements, to near 40,000 men, and

proceeded to form a junction with the English and Portuguese under Sir Arthur Wellesley. That commander landed at Oporto, April 22nd, with considerable reinforcements, which, with the Portuguese under Lord Beresford, brought up the army to more than 25,000 men. A decree of the Prince Regent, December 11th, 1808, had ordered all the men of Portugal, from the age of fifteen to sixty, to take arms, on pain of being shot. Twenty-four Portuguese regiments were taken into English pay, and Lord Beresford was appointed by the Regent field-marshal of all the Portuguese troops. In 1809 Portugal obtained from England a subsidy of 600,000*l.*

Sir Arthur Wellesley immediately advanced against Soult, whom he speedily compelled to evacuate Portugal, and to seek repose under the walls of Lugo. Wellesley then entered Spain, and formed a junction with Cuesta at Oropesa. The British general's army now numbered about 60,000 men, and it was determined to march upon Madrid. King Joseph advanced to meet him, accompanied by Marshals Victor and Jourdan, who in reality commanded the French army. The hostile forces met at Talavera de la Reyna, seventy or eighty miles south-west of Madrid, July 27th. Here an obstinate battle took place on that and the following day, in which the French were defeated and compelled to retreat over the Alberche with the loss of 10,000 men and twenty guns. Jourdan, indeed, with the usual French *fanfaronade,* claimed the victory in his official despatch, which, however, was dated from Toledo, showing a retrograde march of sixty miles! For this victory Sir Arthur was rewarded with the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera. But he was not in a condition to pursue his success. Provisions began to fail; Soult, Ney, and Mortier were advancing from the north; he did not repose much confidence in his Spanish allies; and he therefore deemed it prudent to fall back upon Badajoz.

During this period the Spanish general, Blake, who commanded the armies of Aragon and Valencia, made an attempt to recover Saragossa. But he was completely defeated by Suchet at Belchite, June 18th, and compelled to evacuate Aragon. During Wellington's advance upon Madrid, the army of La Mancha, under Venegas, was also marching upon that capital, which it had reached within a few miles. But the retrograde movement of the British compelled Venegas also to retreat. He was overtaken and defeated by Sebastiani at Almonacid, August 11th, and driven in disorder into the defiles of the Sierra Morena. The news of the armistice

of Znaym induced Wellington to cast his eyes on the celebrated position of Torres Vedras, near Lisbon. As he neither approved the plans of the Central Junta, nor received from it the aid which he required, he determined henceforth to undertake no enterprise in conjunction with the Spanish armies. The Spaniards, not discouraged by this determination, continued their operations. The Duke del Parque, obtained possession of Salamanca, October 25th. The Junta had succeeded in assembling in La Mancha an army of more than 50,000 men, with 55 guns, which was directed on the capital by way of Toledo. But its commander, Areizaga, who had neither talents nor experience, was completely beaten by Soult at Ocaña, November 19th, with a loss of 5,000 men, and compelled to abandon all his artillery, colours, baggage, and 30,000 prisoners. This was the last pitched battle fought by the Spaniards. The year was concluded by the capture of Gerona by the French, December 10th. The defence of this place, the rampart of Catalonia, by Alvarez, may be paralleled with that of Saragossa by Palafox. After enduring a siege of half a year, and repulsing numerous assaults, it yielded at length only to famine, after a vain attempt to relieve it by Blake.

In 1810, Napoleon, released from every other continental war, employed all his efforts for the reduction of Spain. All the nations subjected to his influence were obliged to furnish contingents for this purpose; and besides the flower of the French troops, many Swiss, Italian, Neapolitan, Polish, and German regiments contributed to enrich with their blood the soil of the Peninsula. The number of troops thus united amounted to near 370,000 men, of which about 280,000 were able to take the field. An expedition into Portugal was to form the main object of the campaign. But before this could be prepared, King Joseph resolved to attempt the conquest of the southern provinces of Spain. Here lay the chief power of the Spanish insurrection. From Andalusia were drawn the principal resources for the war; the central Junta sat at Seville, and the Cortes had been convoked in that city early in March. Joseph started on this expedition, with 50,000 men; Mortier, Victor, Dessoles, and Sebastian served as his lieutenants. To oppose this force, the Spaniards had only 25,000 men under Areizaga, and 12,000 under the Duke of Albuquerque. The army of Areizaga was soon dispersed. Joseph entered Cordova, January 27th, 1810; Seville, February 1st. Sebastiani occupied Granada, January 29th; early in February he had penetrated to Malaga. Soult also crossed the Sierra Morena, and laid siege to Cadiz,

which town was defended by a garrison of 22,000 English, Spanish, and Portuguese, under the command of General Graham. Albuquerque had thrown himself into it with his little army, and after the capture of Seville, Cadiz became the seat of the Spanish Government. Soult ultimately relinquished the conduct of the siege to Victor. The French lines extended from Rota to Chiclana, thus including the two bays of Cadiz, the Isle of Leon, and an adjacent isle on which the city stands.

Wellington having prepared the lines of Torres Vedras, obtained the consent of the English Government to defend them to the last; but at the same time he made arrangements with Admiral Berkeley for evacuating the Peninsula in case of need. The outermost of these celebrated lines, which were three in number, ran from the sea by Torres Vedras to Alhandra on the Tagus, where the river is no longer fordable. Thus the peninsula on which Lisbon stands was completely enclosed, while to the north the whole country was laid waste as far as the river Mondego; the roads, bridges, mills, crops were destroyed, so as to deprive an invading army of the means of subsistence. Each of the three lines was protected by numerous forts and redouts, and they bristled altogether with near 400 pieces of artillery. Wellington's retreat to these lines from a position which he had taken up on the Coa, in the province of Beira, had been secured by fortifying all the positions both on the road along the Tagus by Abrantes, and that on the sea-coast by Coimbra; both of which unite at the defile of Santarem.

Masséna took the command of the French army at Salamanca, towards the end of May, to make a third attempt at the conquest of Portugal. His army consisted of 70,000 veteran troops, and a reserve of about 18,000 at Valladolid under Drouet. Wellington had about 24,000 British troops and 50,000 Portuguese, but part of this force had been detached beyond the Tagus to observe Soult. Masséna began the campaign by the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, June 25th, which capitulated July 12th. It formed part of Wellington's plans not to quit his position in order to relieve this city. Almeida was next attacked, when the explosion of the principal powder-magazine, August 27th, having destroyed great part of the city and ramparts and many of the garrison, compelled the commandant to surrender. Wellington now retreated by the valley of the Mondego, defending one position after another, and destroying at each attack a great many of the French. In October Wellington entered the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras. After

seeking in vain for a vulnerable point Masséna, took up a position between Santarem and Alcanede towards the middle of November. Here he remained with little alteration several months, till at last the absolute want of provisions compelled him to retreat, March 1st, 1811. He was pursued by Wellington, who, on the 7th of April, invested Almeida. To relieve this place, Masséna delivered two battles at Fuentes de Onoro, May 3rd and 5th, in which he was defeated. The French then evacuated Almeida.

General Graham having made an attempt to raise the blockade of Cadiz, Soult quitted Estremadura to march to Victor's assistance. But Beresford and Castaños having taken advantage of this movement to cross the Guadiana, invest Badajoz, and march upon Seville, Soult retraced his steps, and gave them battle at Albuera, May 16th. Victory, though not very decisive, remained on the whole in favour of Beresford. Soult abandoned the field of battle, and retreated southwards. Wellington, leaving Sir B. Spencer and Crawford to watch the French army under Marmont, by whom Masséna had been superseded, came to superintend in person the siege of Badajoz. But Soult, with reinforcements, having again advanced from the Sierra Morena and formed a junction with Marmont at Merida, Wellington raised the siege, and retired to Portalegre in the Alemteijo. Hence he subsequently crossed the Tagus, and during the remainder of the year remained on the defensive. Suchet, commander of the French division on the Ebro, made several important conquests in the course of 1811. Tortosa surrendered to him January 2nd, Tarragona on the 28th of June, after a seven weeks' siege, which, for the obstinacy of the defence, might almost vie with those of Saragossa and Gerona. This victory procured for Suchet the *bâton* of marshal. Suchet, after taking Montserrat by assault, July 25th, applied himself to the reduction of the province of Valencia. The central Junta, now sitting at Cadiz, intrusted the defence of this province to General Blake. Such was the rabid hatred which that general entertained for the English that he refused to receive any assistance from them, except arms and ammunition. This conduct was, no doubt, absurd enough; at the same time, we should reflect that this bigoted patriotism and detestation of foreigners were the real causes of the Spanish insurrection. Suchet entered Valencia in the middle of September, and laid siege to Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum. Blake, who made an attempt to relieve the place, was defeated by Suchet, October 25th, and compelled to retire into the town of Valencia. Murviedro surrendered two days after.

Suchet then besieged Blake in Valencia, who was reduced to capitulate, January 9th, 1812.[1]

Wellington began the campaign of 1812 by suddenly passing the Agueda, surprising in the night of January 9th some of the outworks of Ciudad Rodrigo, and taking that town on the 19th. Then, after leaving a Spanish garrison in the town, he retreated into Portugal. In March, he resumed the offensive; Badajoz was taken by assault, after a siege of three weeks, April 6th. Wellington then advanced to the Tormes. He appeared before Salamanca on the 16th of June, which place surrendered on the 28th. The French now retired awhile behind the Douro, but recrossed that river about the middle of July, and gave Wellington battle in the environs of SALAMANCA on the 22nd. In this engagement, Marmont was wounded and completely defeated. The consequences of Wellington's victory were highly important. The French were compelled to evacuate New Castile and Andalusia, thus raising the lengthened blockade of Cadiz, and leaving behind them their artillery. Soult, with the army of Andalusia, was ordered to form a junction with King Joseph, who was preparing to retire to Valencia. The absurd and obstinate pride of the General Ballasteros, who refused to co-operate with the British, is said to have prevented Wellington from intercepting Soult's northward march. After its defeat at Salamanca, Marmont's army, now commanded by Clauset, fled precipitately to Valladolid. Wellington now marched upon Madrid, which he entered, August 12th. The French garrison in the Retiro surrendered on the 14th, when 180 guns and a large quantity of arms and ammunition were captured; Wellington was named by the Cortes Generalissimo of all the Spanish armies, September 25th. But as it was impossible to hold a large and open town like Madrid, in face of the French armies, which surrounded it on all sides, Wellington retired to Salamanca, and thence took up his winter quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo. The French re-entered Madrid in November.

Thus, on the whole, the "Spanish ulçer" was fast eating into Napoleon's power. And now was to be added to it a war with Russia, which gave the first impulse to his downfall. At this period of the fullest development of his Empire, the countries over which he ruled, either immediately or by his Viceroys and tributary Princes, were France with the annexations of Holland,

[1] Suchet, who, in reward for his victories, was created Duke of Albufera, has written an account of the French campaigns in Spain: *Mém. du Maréchal Suchet sur les Campagnes en Espagne depuis* 1808 *jusqu'en* 1814.

the Hanse Towns, the Duchy of Oldenburg, the Valais, &c., containing a population computed at 42,000,000 souls; Italy, including Naples, &c., 10,600,000; the Illyrian Provinces, 1,000,000; the Confederation of the Rhine, 11,000,000; the Kingdom of Westphalia, 2,100,000; the Duchy of Warsaw, 3,600,000; Switzerland, 1,600,000; forming a total of near 72,000,000 souls. Truly we know not whether most to admire that a simple lieutenant of artillery should have made himself Emperor of France, or that an Emperor of France should in so brief a period have more than doubled the number of his subjects.

But these successes, so far from satisfying, had only whetted Napoleon's ambition. He aspired to be the master of the world. On his return from Holland in 1810, he had been heard to exclaim that in five years he should attain that object. Russia was the only obstacle, but Russia should be crushed. Paris should extend to St. Cloud. He would build fifteen ships every year, but launch none till he had 150. Then he should be master of the sea as well as the land; he would monopolize all commerce, and would receive only so much as he exported—million for million—a splendid dream! but forcibly recalling the reverie of the glass-dealer in the Eastern tale. Russia, the only Power which could impede these projects, became by that circumstance alone his principal enemy; while the refusal of the hand of the Grand Duchess Anne piqued his pride, and stimulated to revenge. His marriage with Maria Louisa entitled him to reckon on Austria, and from that event must be dated his schemes against Russia.

It did not long escape the penetration of the Emperor Alexander, that Napoleon had begun to regard the alliance of Tilsit as a dead letter. The Czar had several well-grounded causes of complaint. The establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw, especially after its aggrandizement by the Treaty of Schönbrunn, was a standing menace. The privation of English commerce had inflicted a severe blow upon the prosperity of Russia. The annexation of Oldenburg to the French Empire was felt by Alexander as an insult and injury to his family. But all these minor grievances sunk into insignificance in comparison with the great question whether Napoleon was to be the absolute Dictator of Europe. Napoleon, on his side, complained that the Emperor of Russia, contrary to the faith of treaties, had been of no service to him whatever in his war with Austria; that, instead of marching 150,000 men, as it was in his power, to second the French army, he had only sent 15,000, and even these so late that the war had been decided before they crossed the

frontier.[1] The French Emperor's intentions could not be doubtful, and were, indeed, hardly concealed. What could be the object of the continued occupation of the Prussian fortresses, the concentration of French troops between the Oder and the Vistula, the accumulation of military stores at Dantzic? Nay, in establishing himself at Lübeck, Napoleon had openly proclaimed his intention of converting it into a great maritime arsenal; from which it could only be inferred that it was designed to command the Baltic. Regarding, therefore, a rupture with France as inevitable, and perhaps not far distant, Alexander began silently to prepare the means of resistance.

Alarmed at the additions made to the Duchy of Warsaw by the Treaty of Schönbrunn, Alexander had procured, January 5th, 1810, the signature of the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg to a Convention, stipulating that the Kingdom of Poland should never be re-established, that the names of Poland and the Poles should be used in no public act, and that no part of the ancient Kingdom of Poland should be annexed to the Duchy of Warsaw.[2] This act Napoleon refused to ratify on the pretext that it was incompatible with his dignity; though he offered to sign a different and much less explicit engagement. Alexander considered this refusal as the first positive indication of Napoleon's altered views. Before the end of the year (December 31st, 1810) appeared a ukase for a new tariff of customs, by which French goods were either prohibited or charged with higher duties, while colonial merchandise was permitted to enter under a neutral flag.[3] In other words, Russia renounced the Continental System, and consequently the intimate alliance with Napoleon of which it was the pledge. The ukase was also made a political measure by organizing, for the enforcement of these measures, an army of 90,000 men, under the name of *frontier guards*, commanded by officers of the regular army. Napoleon complained bitterly of this proceeding, and made it the pretext for a new conscription. Besides this measure, the arming of the Poles of the Duchy of Warsaw, and the gradual reinforcement of the French army in Germany, whose headquarters were transferred from Ratisbon to Hamburg, gave unequivocal proof the French Emperor's hostile disposition. Alexander, to obviate the consequences, directed the greater part of his military force towards the western frontier of his Empire. Napoleon, however, em-

[1] *Report* of the Duke of Bassano to the French Emperor June 20th, 1812, ap. Garden, t. xiii. p. 242.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 176.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 178 sqq.

barrassed by the affairs of Spain, was not yet prepared to strike the meditated blow. He found it prudent to dissemble for the present, and the year 1811 was spent in negotiations.

In connection with a war between France and Russia, the disposition of Turkey and Sweden was of the highest importance. Russia was at this time engaged in a war with the Porte. It will be recollected that in the conferences at Erfurt in the autumn of 1808, Napoleon had conceded to Alexander the annexation of Moldavia and Wallachia. Immediately on his return to St. Petersburg, the Czar directed that the Porte should be informed of this arrangement, and a congress was assembled at Jassy to carry it into execution. But when the Russian plenipotentiaries required, as preliminary bases, the cession of the two provinces and the expulsion of the English Ambassador from Constantinople, the Porte at once broke off the conferences, and hostilities immediately ensued. We cannot enter into the details of this war, which began in February, 1809, and lasted three or four years. The chief operation of the campaign of 1809 was the capture of Ismail by the Russians, September 26th, who were at first commanded by Posoroffski and then by Prince Bagration. A bloody battle at Tartaritza, November 3rd, remained undecided. In 1810, Kamenskoï II., who had succeeded Bagration, captured Silistria, June 23rd. He then assaulted the entrenched camp of the Vizier, Yusuf Pasha, on the heights of Shumla, July 5th and 6th, without success. The Russians were also repulsed with great loss in an attack upon Rustchuk, defended by Ali Pasha and Boznak Aga, August 16th. But on September 19th, the Turks under Achmet Pasha were signally defeated at Batyne; a victory which put the Russians in possession of Sistova and the Turkish flotilla at that place. Gladova, Rustchuk, Ghiurgevo, Widdin, Nikopolis, Turna, now surrendered in quick succession. At the end of the year the Russians found themselves masters of the right bank of the Danube; but the Grand Vizier still held out in his formidable camp at Shumla. A great many places in Servia were also wrested from the Turks by the insurgents of that province, assisted by a Russian force. The Turks were discouraged; a Congress assembled at Bucharest, and everything seemed to promise a speedy peace, when, by a sudden revolution, Yussuf Pasha was superseded, and the command given to Achmet Aga, an active and enterprising general. Under his auspices, the Turkish cause revived. At this time the Russian army, apparently in the confident anticipation of a peace with the Porte through the mediation of England, had been weakened by

the removal of five divisions to the frontiers of the Duchy of Warsaw in anticipation of the French war; from the same cause the Turkish artillery was now directed by French officers, and did formidable execution. Kutusoff, who had succeeded Kamenskoï in command of the Russians, was compelled to abandon all his posts on the left bank of the Danube, and Achmet Aga crossed that river and carried the war into Wallachia. But this advance proved his destruction. General Markoff, crossing the Danube above Rustchuk, surprised the Turkish reserve before that place and compelled it to enter the town. The army of Achmet was thus cut off, and, as a Russian flotilla had gained the command of the river, it was compelled to capitulate to Kutusoff December 20th. The Porte now sued for peace; a Congress was opened at Bucharest, and a treaty was signed at that place, May 28th, 1812, in spite of all Napoleon's attempts to dissuade the Sultan from entering into it. The Pruth was now to form the boundary between the two empires; an arrangement by which the Porte abandoned all Bessarabia with Ismail and Kilia, the fortresses of Chotzin and Bender, and about a third part of Moldavia.[1] But the impending hostilities between France and Russia had probably saved Turkey from dismemberment, or, at all events, from the loss of all Moldavia and Wallachia. An armistice was granted to the Servians.

Both Emperors had courted the aid of Sweden in the approaching struggle; Napoleon by compulsion and threats, Alexander by representations and promises. A sort of revolution had taken place in that country. Charles XIII. having no issue, nor hopes of any, the Swedes had, in August, 1809, elected as their Crown Prince Christian Augustus of Schleswick-Holstein-Augustenburg, the nearest kinsman of the King of Denmark. The choice was popular with the greater part of the nation. Christian Augustus was received with enthusiasm on his arrival in Sweden in January, 1810, except by the higher aristocracy, and especially the families of Piper and Fersen. But he enjoyed his new dignity only a few months. At a review held in Schonen, May 23rd, he fell from his horse and suddenly expired. He had been unwell a little previously, after partaking of a pasty. Popular suspicion was directed against Count Fersen[2] and his sister the Countess Piper, of having poisoned him, and on the funeral day of the Crown Prince, the

[1] Koch et Schöll, *Traités*, t. xiv. p. 539 sqq.

[2] The same who had been so active in aiding Louis XVI.'s flight to Varennes. The causes of the Crown Prince's death were not accurately investigated, and the subject still remains a mystery.

Count was maltreated and murdered by the mob, the Palace of his sister stormed and sacked. It now became necessary to elect another successor to the crown. Frederick VI., King of Denmark, who had succeeded to that throne on the death of Christian VII. in March, 1808, became a candidate for that of Sweden. But the Swedes had turned their views on Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, who had acquired the esteem of the Swedes during his administration of Hanover and the Hanse Towns, as well as the affection of Count Mörner and other Swedish officers, by his conduct after capturing them at Travemünde in 1806. Mörner, who had great influence among the elective nobility, took up the cause of Bernadotte, whose name had been already mentioned at the time of the first vacancy. Bernadotte had also acquired other partisans among the Swedish nobles at the time when he commanded in North Germany and Jutland. Mörner sent his nephew to Paris, with an offer to Bernadotte to support his election, on condition that he should abandon his French citizenship and openly adopt the Lutheran Confession. The offer was accepted, subject to the approbation of Napoleon, which was accorded; and on the 25th of August, 1810, Charles John Bernadotte was unanimously elected Crown Prince of Sweden by the four orders of the States assembled at Orebro. Whatever were Napoleon's private feelings on this occasion, he behaved towards his former Marshal in the handsomest manner. He absolved Bernadotte from his allegiance, presented him with 2,000,000 francs in ready money, appointed a splendid suite to accompany him into Sweden, defrayed the expenses of his inauguration, and allowed him to retain the possessions which he had purchased in France. The new Crown Prince arrived in Sweden in October, 1810. He was immediately adopted by Charles XIII. as his son, appointed Generalissimo of the forces, and initiated in all the affairs of State, in which he henceforth took a leading part.[1]

We have already related that Sweden, as the price of peace with France had been compelled to accede to the Continental System by the Treaty of Paris, January 6th, 1810. But this engagement was eluded by an active contraband trade, which was extremely faciliated by the conformation of the Swedish coasts. Hence violent remonstrances on the part of Napoleon, who accused the Swedish Government of conniving at this evasion of the treaty,

[1] Respecting Bernadotte as Crown Prince and King of Sweden, see Mörner, *Wahl des Prinzen von Ponte Corvo;* Meredith, *Memorials of Charles John, King of Sweden and Norway;* Coupé de St. Donat et B. de Roquefort, *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de Charles XIV. Jean, Roi de Suède et de Norvège.*

and becoming a useful ally of England. In November, 1810, the French Minister at Stockholm demanded that Sweden should declare war against England, should cause all English vessels in her ports to be seized, all English and colonial goods to be confiscated, under whatever flag imported. If these demands were not accorded in five days, the French Ambassador was immediately to take his departure. Charles XIII. had no alternative, and declared war against Great Britain November 17th, 1810; a step, however, which that country seemed to ignore. Napoleon, having thus, as he imagined, compromised Sweden, began to develop his further plans. Though he had implicated that country in a maritime war with the English, he demanded 6,000 Swedish sailors to complete the crews of his fleet at Brest; a requisition which Charles XIII. refused by pleading the constitutional laws of his kingdom. The French Government then required the adoption of the tariff of Trianon in Sweden, and the establishment at Gothenburg of a French custom-house staff. Presently Napoleon began to develop his project against Russia by demanding the formation of a Northern Confederation, on the plan of that of the Rhine, to be composed of Denmark, Sweden, and the Duchy of Warsaw, under himself as Protector. As this proposal was not accepted, it was altered for an intimate and particular alliance with France. But Napoleon, perceiving that he could not rely on the friendship of a Power which he had placed in a position contrary to its interests, began to change his tone and conduct. French privateers were allowed to capture Swedish vessels, on pretence that they were not provided with licences. Presently they began to attack Swedish coasters in the Sound, laden with the produce or manufactures of Sweden, on the allegation that their cargoes were destined for Great Britain. Napoleon also caused all Swedish ships in German harbours to be seized, treated their crews as prisoners of war, placed them in irons, and despatched them to serve in the French fleets at Antwerp and Toulon.

These hostile measures were rendered still more insupportable by the haughty and overbearing tone adopted by M. Alquier, the French Ambassador. At length the seal was put to them by the seizure of Pomerania. Marshal Davoust, Prince d'Eckmühl, who ruled in North Germany with a rod of iron, and whose zeal, perhaps, was further stimulated by the personal enmity which he felt for Bernadotte, despatched, in January, 1812, General Friant, with 15,000 or 20,000 men, into Pomerania. The General,

who was accompanied by a whole legion of custom-house officers, announced himself as a friend, and the Swedish Governor of the Province, who had only a few thousand men at his disposal, could make no resistance. No sooner had the French troops entered, than all the Swedish officers employed in the public service were carried off and imprisoned at Hamburg, and their posts filled up with Frenchmen. Enormous contributions were imposed upon the inhabitants, all Swedish vessels were seized and armed as privateers. At the beginning of March, the Swedish troops, which till then had acted with the French, were disarmed, and sent into France as prisoners of war.

Bernadotte, as Crown Prince, had sincerely embraced the interests of his adoptive country. There is reason to believe that before the end of 1810, and consequently only a few months after his arrival in Sweden, he had come to an understanding with the Russian Emperor with regard to an alliance against France. At that period, as we have seen, Alexander had virtually annulled the Treaty of Tilsit, by rejecting the Continental System. At the beginning of 1811, Russia and England were already preparing the events of the following year;[1] and Alexander reckoned so securely on Sweden that he could venture to withdraw a great part of his troops from Finland, in order to send them to Poland. The Crown Prince had the sole conduct of Swedish affairs during the greater part of the year 1811, Charles XIII. having withdrawn from business on account of ill-health. The acquisition of Norway formed at this time a main object of Swedish policy. As France was in strict alliance with Denmark, it could hardly be expected that she would assist Sweden in wresting Norway from the Danes; while such a service might be anticipated from Russia and England, the enemies of Denmark. Here, then, was another motive with the Crown Prince, besides the insults and oppressions of Napoleon, for preferring the alliance with Russia. The French invasion of Pomerania drove the Swedes completely into the arms of Russia. In March, 1812, Napoleon, who had now matured his projects against Russia, made an attempt to conciliate Sweden by offering to restore Pomerania, on condition that she should make a fresh declaration of war against England, should fire on all English vessels passing the Sound, should put on foot an army of 30,000 or 40,000 men to attack Russia when Napoleon should

[1] Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten Jahrhunderts*, B. ii. S. 747. For the negotiations of this period, see also Bignon, *Hist. de France sous Napoléon, depuis la paix de Tilsit*, t. x. ch. viii.

commence hostilities with that Power; in return for which services Napoleon also engaged to procure for Sweden the restitution of Finland.[1] The Crown Prince, who was, in fact, now negotiating a treaty with Russia, replied in general terms, attributing the alienation of the Swedes to the conduct of the French Government, and especially of their Ambassador, M. Alquier; he invoked, in the name of humanity, and of Napoleon's own glory, that an end should be put to a slaughter that had desolated the earth during twenty years, and offered the services of Sweden for a reconciliation between Napoleon and Alexander. But of this communication no notice appears to have been taken.

On April 5th, 1812, a secret treaty was concluded at St. Petersburg between Russia and Sweden, which is important as having founded the actual system of the north of Europe. Alexander engaged to unite Norway with Sweden, either by means of negotiations with Denmark, or by furnishing an army of 35,000 men. After the annexation of Norway, Sweden was to assist Russia in her war with France by throwing some 30,000 men on any point of the German coast that might be selected. On July 18th, when hostilities had already broken out between France and Russia, a treaty of peace between Great Britain and Sweden was signed at Orebro;[2] which was immediately followed by an ordinance of Charles XIII., opening the Swedish ports to vessels of all nations. On the same day a treaty of peace was also signed at the same place between Great Britain and Russia; and by an Imperial *ukase* of August 16th, the ports of the Russian Empire were opened to British commerce before the treaty had been ratified. Such was the need which the Russians felt for peace.[3] No hostilities, however, actually ensued between France and Sweden till the beginning of 1813.

Both Turkey and Sweden might be valuable auxiliaries either to France or Russia in the grand "world's debate" which was about to open; yet there was nothing in their geographical position to prevent them from remaining neutral. Such was not the case with Austria and Prussia. These Powers were too near the scene of action to remain mere passive spectators of it; a remark, however, which applies with more force to Prussia than to Austria. The Prussian territories could hardly fail to become the actual field of battle; large bodies of French troops were already cantoned in Prussia, and occupied some of her principal

[1] Garden, t. xiii. p. 20 sq. [2] Martens, *N. R.* t. i. p. 431.
[3] Garden, t. xiii. p. 408.

fortresses. Both Austria and Prussia adopted the policy of an alliance with France. The Cabinet of Vienna excused this step on the ground that Napoleon would recognize no other neutrality than a complete disarming, which would have reduced Austria to a political nullity. The Emperor Francis, therefore, resolved to take part in the war, but only with a determinate portion of his troops; an arrangement which would permit him to strike a decisive blow when the proper moment should arrive. In pursuance of this policy, a treaty was concluded between the Emperors Francis and Napoleon at Paris, March 14th, 1812;[1] in a separate article of which it was expressly stipulated that Austria should assist France in her war with Russia.

At this period Hardenberg was again at the head of the Prussian Government, having accepted, in June, 1810, the office of State-Chancellor. Under the appearance of inclining to France, Hardenberg concealed his prosecution of German interests. Neutrality and an alliance with Russia being equally out of the question, a treaty with Napoleon remained the only alternative. Already in the spring of 1811, at the first indications of a war, Frederick William III. made overtures to Napoleon for an alliance in a tone which showed Prussia no longer one of the great European Powers, but almost as much a satellite of France as the Confederates of the Rhine.[2] The proposal was rejected by Napoleon on the ground of its being premature; but on February 24th, 1812, an alliance, offensive and defensive, was contracted between France and Prussia, which by a secret article was expressly directed against Russia. Frederick William III., in the event of a war between that country and France, agreed to furnish 20,000 men, with sixty guns, for active service, with the necessary baggage trains, besides large garrisons to be placed in different towns of the kingdom. He also engaged to make no levy of troops, nor any military movement, except in concert with France and for the benefit of the alliance, so long as the French army should be on Prussian territory, or on that of the enemy. In case of a prosperous termination of the war, Prussia was to be indemnified for her expenses by an addition of territory. But in spite of this alliance, Prussia was treated by the French like the country of an enemy. Up to September, 1812, 77,920 horses and 13,349 carriages were taken by force

[1] Martens, *N. R.* t. i. p. 427.

[2] See his letter to General Krusemarck, the Prussian ambassador at Paris, May 14th, 1811, ap. Garden, t. xiii. p. 221 sqq.

from the province of Prussia, and from the eight circles alone of Eastern Prussia 22,722 oxen.[1]

Before embarking in the Russian war, Napoleon made, or pretended to make, some conciliatory overtures to England. On April 17th, 1812, the Duke of Bassano, the French Foreign Minister, addressed a communication to Lord Castlereagh, in which he proposed the following bases of negotiation: The guarantee of the integrity of Spain; the renunciation by France of all extension of territory on the side of the Pyrenees; the declaration of the independence of the *actual dynasty*, and the government of Spain by the national constitution of the Cortès. Also, the guarantee of the independence and integrity of Portugal, where the House of Braganza was to reign; the Kingdom of Naples to remain in possession of the present King of Naples; the Kingdom of Sicily to be guaranteed to the actual House of Sicily; Spain, Portugal, and Sicily to be evacuated both by the French and English forces. The French Minister, with that peculiar tact which belongs to his countrymen of fathering on others the results of their own acts, concluded his letter by declaring, that if this, as he called it, fourth attempt at peace, dictated solely by a regard for the interests of humanity and the repose of nations, should be unsuccessful, France would at least have the consolation to reflect that the blood which might still flow would lie wholly at the door of England.[2]

The whole tenour of the French communication evidently shows that Napoleon's intention only was to attempt to set himself right with European opinion; for he could not have seriously thought that England would consent to evacuate the Peninsula and Sicily, leaving his brother and his brother-in-law masters of Spain and Naples, and himself in possession of Holland and the coasts of Northern Germany. Lord Castlereagh, in reply, observed that if by the *actual dynasty* of Spain was meant the brother of the head of the French Government, and not the legitimate Sovereign Ferdinand VII. and his heirs, the Prince Regent had directed him frankly to declare that no proposition founded on such a base could be accepted. He was also instructed not to enter into recriminations on the accessory subjects of the French Minister's letter. The correspondence which had taken place at the previous epochs alluded to, and the judgment which the world had long since pronounced upon it, sufficed for the justification of Great Britain. Thus the peace of Europe, it has

[1] Garden, t. xiii. p. 239 note. [2] *Ibid.* p. 254-257.

been remarked, remained compromised because Napoleon was resolved to maintain his brother on the Spanish throne. It must, however, be admitted that, as he had by his conduct towards Ferdinand made a personal enemy of that Prince, it was hazardous to consent to his restoration. So difficult is it to regain the right path when once injustice has caused us to deviate from it.

Some threatening correspondence had taken place between the Courts of the Tuileries and St. Petersburg in the course of 1811, and, on August 15th, one of those violent scenes had taken place between Napoleon and Prince Kurakin, the Russian ambassador, before the whole diplomatic circle at the Tuileries, which the French Emperor was accustomed to get up when he contemplated a war, and which served by way of manifest to the different European Courts. Napoleon terminated it by demanding that Russia should withdraw the troops which she had placed on the frontiers of Poland, and should disavow her protest against the incorporation of Oldenburg; though he had acknowledged in the course of the conversation that he had been ignorant of the nature of the relations between that Duchy and Russia, and that, had he been acquainted with them, he should not have annexed it. Alexander refused to give up Oldenburg; but he offered to place his forces on the footing of peace, if Napoleon would do the same. He had no intention, however, to make the affair of Oldenburg a cause of war;[1] and all the military preparations which he had made were purely defensive. Prince Kurakin delivered to the French Government, April 30th, 1812, a note which may be regarded as the Russian ultimatum. It demanded the conservation of Prussia, and its independence of any political alliance directed against Russia, a formal engagement for the entire evacuation of the Prussian States and fortresses, a diminution of the garrison of Dantzic, the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania, and an arrangement with the King of Sweden. Alexander, on his side, promised to make no change in the prohibitive measures he had adopted against direct commerce with England, and to come to an understanding with France about a system of licences. He also engaged to negotiate with France a commercial treaty, and to persuade the Duke of Oldenburg to accept a suitable equivalent for his Duchy.[2] This note remained unanswered, and after a little mere formal correspondence the rupture was complete.

The marriage of Napoleon with an Austrian Princess, the appa-

[1] See M. Knesebeck's Report to the King of Prussia, from St. Petersburg, March 23rd, 1812, Garden, t. xiii. p. 302.

[2] Garden, t. xiii. p. 314.

rent consolidation of his dynasty the following year by the birth of a son (March 20th, 1811), who received the title of King of Rome, had lulled the French nation with false hopes of peace; nor was it till the last moment that they were undeceived. The real object of the Emperor's vast preparations was disguised under the most various and sometimes the most absurd pretences. Napoleon himself seems to have entertained till the very last a hope that Alexander would not suffer matters to come to extremities, but that, dismayed by the mighty force arrayed against him, he would conjure the storm by yielding the demands of France. Napoleon had made all his arrangements by the end of February, 1812. Germany bore the appearance of a vast camp. The official state of Napoleon's army gave a total of 678,080 men, of whom considerably more than half were French. The remainder was composed of Germans, Austrians, Poles, Italians, and other foreigners. Making the usual deductions, the effective force may be estimated at considerably more than half a million men; having with them 1,372 guns, and followed by more than 20,000 waggons and other carriages.

On the 9th of May, after providing for the conduct of affairs during his absence, Napoleon, accompanied by the Empress, left St. Cloud for Dresden. The principal Sovereigns of Germany had been invited to meet him in that city; a Congress designed, not merely for the gratification of Napoleon's pride, but to draw more closely his alliance with its members, as well as to dazzle the eyes of Russia, and to inspire it, perhaps, even at the eleventh hour, with a desire for peace. He arrived in Dresden, May 16th, and took up his residence in the royal palace. On the following day appeared the Emperor and Empress of Austria, with the Archdukes, the Queen of Westphalia, the Duke of Saxe Weimar, the Duke of Saxe Coburg, and, successively, most of the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, with their principal Ministers. The King of Prussia arrived a few days later, having, according to a previous arrangement, at first expected to receive Napoleon in Berlin.[1]

In the midst of all the fêtes and splendour of his residence at Dresden, Napoleon employed himself in making the last arrangements for the campaign. The arrival of Count de Narbonne at Dresden, May 28th, who had been despatched to St. Petersburg to make a last attempt to conciliate the Emperor of Russia, put an end to all hopes of that description. Alexander was inflexible.

[1] See for these affairs De Pradt, *Hist. de l'Ambassade de Varsovie.*

His last words to the French ambassador were, that Napoleon might cross the Niemen, but that he would never sign a peace dictated on Russian territory. The very next day Napoleon left Dresden to join his army. After arranging at Thorn the affairs of the Duchy of Warsaw, he appeared at Dantzic, June 6th, and declared that town united to the French Empire. Thence he arrived at the head-quarters at Königsberg, June 12th. At Gumbinnen, the frontier town of East Prussia, the rupture was finally declared, June 21st. The declaration of war of the Emperor of Russia was published, July 6th, at Vilna, where he had fixed his headquarters; since the French operations having for their bases the fortresses of the Lower Vistula and the Pregel, the attack would necessarily be made in this quarter.[1]

The Russian line of defence was formed by three armies. The first of these, occupying the Niemen, and consisting of 140,000 men under Barclay de Tolly, was supported by Riga and Dünaburg, and a vast entrenched camp at Drissa. The advanced guard occupied Kovno; the centre, under the Grand Duke Constantine, was posted at Vilna and the environs; the right wing, commanded by Wittgenstein, secured, at Rossieny and Keydany, the roads to St. Petersburg; the left, under Doctorof, was stationed between Grodno and Lida, covering the by-roads towards Moscow. The second army of about 50,000 men, under Prince Bagration, was concentrated more to the south, between Bialystok and Wolkowisk, threatening the flank of the invaders. The third army, still further south, was assembled at Lutzk, on the road between Vienna and Kief; it consisted of about 45,000 men, under Tormassof, and was destined, like the army of Bagration, to act on the offensive. The Russians had besides about 40,000 men in different garrisons; to which must be added the army of Moldavia of 60,000 men, ultimately released by the Peace of Bucharest, as well as some regiments withdrawn from Finland, and the militia and volunteers of Moscow and St. Petersburg, 120,000 men.

Such was the line of defence, against which Napoleon divided his army into five columns of attack. Macdonald, with the extreme left, was to advance from Tilsit, and hold Wittgenstein in check. The Emperor himself, with Davoust, Oudinot, Ney, Murat, and

[1] The principal works on the Russian campaign are Chambray, *Hist. de l'Expéd. de Russie;* Labeaume, *Relation de la Campagne de Russie;* Ségur, *Hist. de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée pendant l'Année* 1812; Boutourlin (adjutant to the Emperor Alexander), *Hist. Milit. de la Campagne de Russie;* Ducasse, *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de la Campagne de* 1812 *en Russie, suivis des Lettres de Napoléon au Roi de Westphalie pendant la Campagne de* 1813 (Paris, 1852). This last work throws new light on different points from authentic documents.

the Imperial Guard, marched to attack the Russian advanced guard and centre at Kovno and Vilna. Prince Eugène, with the third column, was to throw himself between Barclay de Tolly and Doctorof. The King of Westphalia, with the fourth, was to debouch by Grodno, and advance upon Bagration. Finally, Prince Schwarzenberg, with the fifth column, on the extreme right, was directed to hold Tormassof in check and to cover the Duchy of Warsaw.

Napoleon, with 250,000 men, crossed the Niemen on the night of June 23rd. His object was to gain the elevated plateau forming the watershed which separates the sources of the Dwina and the Dnieper; the first of which, running northwards, falls into the Baltic, while the other, taking a southerly course, discharges itself into the Black Sea. On the northern side of this plateau, on the banks of the Dwina, stands the town of Vitebsk; on the southern, upon the Dnieper, Smolensk; thus forming a position which, by a decisive battle, would open to Napoleon the road either to St. Petersburg or to Moscow. At his approach the Russians abandoned Kovno and Vilna, which latter place he entered, June 28th. Eugène and Jerôme had delayed their advance not to alarm Bagration prematurely. It was not till the 30th that they passed the Niemen; Eugène at Pilony, Jerôme at Grodno. The evening before, a terrible storm had burst over Lithuania, succeeded by a hurricane, inundations, and excessive cold. In that and the two following days, 10,000 horses are said to have perished; the roads having become impracticable, the march of the troops was suspended, 100 guns were abandoned, and an immense quantity of provisions and ammunition was sacrificed for want of transport. Jerôme was detained at Grodno till July 4th, and hence Napoleon also was compelled to suspend his operations. But this delay is not to be imputed, as it has hitherto been by most historians, to the King of Westphalia.

The Bishop of Mechlin (De Pradt), who had been sent as ambassador to Warsaw, convoked in that city an extraordinary Diet, which having assembled, June 26th, immediately constituted itself a General Confederation for Poland, and declared the re-establishment of the Polish Kingdom and nation. The King of Saxony signed his adherence to the Confederation, July 12th. But Napoleon, though such a re-establishment entered ultimately into his views, hesitated at present to alienate his Austrian and Prussian allies by sanctioning such a step, and gave only an evasive answer to the deputation which had been despatched to solicit his consent.

Napoleon established at Vilna a section of the Imperial Cabinet, with the Duke of Bassano at the head; so that foreign envoys, who at present followed his movements, might transact their business there with his Foreign Minister. He also instituted a provincial government of Lithuania, and caused proclamations to be published, exhorting the inhabitants to throw off the Russian yoke. But these appeals met with little or no response. The Lithuanians, assimilated to the Russians by a common language and religion, had experienced at the hands of the Imperial Government a far more considerate treatment than Prussia had adopted towards her Polish subjects.

Barclay de Tolly had retired to the entrenched camp at Drissa, on the Dwina, whither he was followed by Ney and Oudinot. On their approach, the Russian General retreated upon Vitebsk and Smolensk, and at the latter place he formed a junction with Bagration.[1] That General had also retreated before Davoust, who had now superseded the King of Westphalia in the command of the French right wing. Davoust had endeavoured to intercept Bagration's march, but, by a battle which the Russians offered him at Mohilev, July 23rd, was frustrated in that design. On July 25th, and two following days, Murat and Eugène fought some bloody battles at Ostrowno with the rear-guard of Barclay de Tolly's army, in which they lost a great many men. At the approach of the French, Vitebsk was burnt and abandoned by the Russians, who concentrated their forces at Smolensk. During these events, Tormassof, with the Russian left, had succeeded in holding in check the extreme right of the French, composed of Austrians and Saxons under Prince Schwarzenberg.

The extreme heat of the weather and the privations endured by the French army—for the Russians as they retreated had destroyed their magazines at Vilna and other places—induced Napoleon to rest his men for the space of a fortnight at Vitebsk (July 28th—August 10th). Napoleon had previously lost seventeen days at Vilna: a delay considered by military critics as the greatest error he ever committed. On August 10th, the French army began to move upon Smolensk. On the 14th, a serious engagement took place at

[1] The constant retreat of the Russians has sometimes been ascribed to a concerted plan to draw the French into the interior. This is a mistake. The Russians retreated from necessity before superior forces; first to Smolensk, to unite their two armies, and then to Moscow, to gain their reserves. To show the fallacy of the other view, it is only necessary to mention the enormous magazines which the Russians had collected at Vilna, which they were compelled to destroy; and to advert to the consideration that if Napoleon had decided on terminating the first campaign at Smolensk, the Russian retreat would have been worse than useless. Boutourlin's account shows that the Russians retreated only from necessity.

Krasnoï, in which Murat and Ney were victorious. On the 16th the French army appeared before Smolensk. This place was regarded as the key of Moscow, and Napoleon resolved to take it by assault. The attack lasted the whole of the 17th, and in the evening he was master of the town. But the victory had cost him 12,000 men, and he found only a heap of smoking ruins. The Russians, as usual, had fired the town before abandoning it. Ney crossed the Dnieper in pursuit of the Russians, who had taken up a strong position at Valutina, from which they were only dislodged after destroying 6,000 or 7,000 of their assailants (August 19th). Gouvion St. Cyr, who had succeeded Oudinot, disabled by a wound, gained a decisive victory over Wittgenstein at Polotsk, August 18th, which procured for him the bâton of Marshal.

Many of Napoleon's generals were of opinion that the campaign should now be terminated, that winter quarters should be established on the Dnieper, and operations resumed on the return of spring. But on the 24th, the order was given to march on Moscow. The Russians made a stand at Dorogobush, but abandoned it as soon as they had set fire to the town and the magazines. Viazma and Gjatsk shared the same fate. This continued incendiarism filled the French with astonishment and horror. Never before had they experienced a warfare of the kind; no conception of such sacrifices for the sake of national independence had ever crossed their minds. A constant rain, a desolate country, and sometimes an entire want of water, added to their embarrassment and distress. The loss both of men and horses was enormous; nevertheless, Napoleon was determined to proceed. Gjatsk was left September 4th, and Mojaïsk was now the only town before arriving at Moscow. At this time the command-in-chief of the Russian armies was transferred from Barclay de Tolly to Count Kutusoff; for though the military talents of the former general were undisputed, Alexander, in appointing Kutusoff, complied with the general wish of the nation that the forces should be commanded by a Russian.

Between Gjatsk and Mojaïsk, the main road is crossed by the little river Kologa, which at a short distance falls into the Moskva. On the further side of the stream, encircling the village of Borodino, rises an amphitheatre of well-wooded hills, cleft by ravines, forming an admirable defensive position. In this place, strong by nature, and rendered still stronger by forts and redans, Kutusoff had entrenched his army. Napoleon recognized at a glance the strength of the position, but at the same time discovered a weak point, and resolved on the attack. The assault began on the morn-

ing of September 7th, and lasted all day. The Russians were ultimately driven from their position, but the morning of the 8th discovered at what expense. The field of battle was strewn with 80,000 killed or wounded men, considerably more than half of whom were Russians. Among the wounded was Prince Bagration, who died a few days after. The French loss amounted to 28,000 men, including 12 general officers killed and 39 wounded.

Although the French had gained no very decisive victory, Kutusoff, in consideration of his terrible loss, resolved to retire upon Moscow, and he took up a position in front of that city. But as his army consisted of only 90,000 men, of whom a great part were new levies and badly armed, there was no chance of successfully opposing Napoleon. On the approach of the French, the Russians defiling through Moscow, soon vanished in the vast plains to the east, and on the 18th of September, Murat and Eugène presented themselves at the gates of the ancient capital of the Czars. At the sight of its towers, its palaces, and gilded domes, the French soldiery were filled with hope and joy, imagining that they had at length reached the term of all their labours and privations. But these anticipations were soon dissipated. On entering the city, it was discovered that all that remained of its vast population were some 12,000 or 15,000 persons, either foreigners or the dregs of the people. The rest of the inhabitants had taken flight; the houses were all shut up, silence reigned in the deserted streets, striking a deeper terror into the heart than the tumult of battle. Napoleon entered the city on the 15th, and took up his residence in the Kremlin. He could not conceal the sinister presages which crowded on his mind. Never before had he fought with a people who thus defended themselves. All around was desolation, and famine stared him in the face.

While he was giving vent to his lamentations, a new horror suddenly presented itself. The night was well advanced, when from the windows of the Kremlin the whole horizon seemed to glow with innumerable fires. Some had been observed the day before, which had been attributed to accident; but now there could be no doubt that the destruction of Moscow had been systematically organized. It had, indeed, been planned and executed by Count Rostoptchin, the governor of the city. Combustible materials had been placed in many houses, which were fired by a troop of paid incendiaries, under the directions of the police. The flames baffled all the exertions of the French to extinguish them. On the third day a strong north-west wind spread the fire over

the whole city. During five days nothing was to be seen but an ocean of flame, which at length began to encompass the Kremlin, and compelled Napoleon to fly to the château of Petrofskoïe, about three miles from the town. But in a few days he returned to the Kremlin. That palace, the churches, and about a tenth part of the houses, had escaped destruction. All Napoleon's plans, however, were completely overthrown. In occupying Moscow, he had fancied that he should conquer the Russian Empire; but he found to his dismay that the Russians regarded that capital only as a heap of stones.

Many plans of operation were now suggested by Napoleon's generals. He himself had from the first decided for a retreat, but this could not be effected all at once. He had to collect provisions and ammunition, to take care of the sick and wounded, to provide and organize the means of transport. He employed this interval in attempting to open negotiations with the Russian Emperor; but without effect. Alexander had resolved not to treat while a Frenchman remained in his dominions; and all Napoleon's overtures were left unanswered. The defeat of Murat, October 18th, hastened Napoleon's departure. The Russians had assaulted the cantonments of the King of Naples, and captured 2,000 men and 12 guns. Moscow would not much longer be safe, and the order of departure was given for the following day.

We can only record some of the more prominent incidents of the memorable retreat from Moscow, perhaps the most disastrous on record since the days of Xerxes. Before leaving, Napoleon directed the Kremlin to be blown up—an act of barbarous malice which might have disgraced a Genseric or Attila. Fortunately, the explosion caused only partial damage. Napoleon's plan of retreat does not show his usual decision. Kutusoff had got into his front, intercepting the road to Smolensk. Napoleon had first determined to march on Kaluga, form a junction with Murat, and take a more southern route than that by which he had advanced, through the valley of the Ugra, which had not been exhausted of provisions. But at Malo-Jaroslavetz the Russians delivered an obstinate battle, October 24th; and though the French remained victorious, Napoleon decided on regaining the former road, by Gjatsk and Viazma. Thus, after ten days' march, the army found itself again only thirty or forty miles from Moscow,—a circumstance which began to fill the soldiery with anxiety. The temperature, moreover, began to fall, the Cossacks to appear. Kutusoff hovered round the French, but avoided an engagement, unwilling to

risk his men in securing a prey which he knew must fall by cold, hunger, and fatigue. The French, however, arrived in tolerable safety at Dorogobush, November 5th; but after this point all the horrors of the retreat began. On the night of November 6th the temperature suddenly fell to that of the most rigorous winter. In that dreadful night thousands of men perished, and nearly all the horses, which compelled the abandonment of the greater part of the convoys. From this point the road began to be strewn with corpses, presenting the aspect of a continuous battle-field. Some were observed who, delirious with hunger, devoured the bodies of their dead comrades! All was now confusion and disorder; discipline was no longer observed except by the Guard, in the centre of which proceeded the carriage containing the Emperor and the King of Naples. The French van entered Smolensk November 9th. Kutusoff had fallen upon Baraguay d'Hilliers at Liakhovo, and destroyed the whole brigade Augereau. Eugène, who had struck to the right to reach Vitebsk, hearing that that place was occupied by Wittgenstein, had been forced to retrace his steps towards Smolensk, crossing the Vop on the ice, penetrating through almost impracticable marshes, and exposed at the same time to the attacks of the Cossacks. He at length rejoined the main army, but with the loss of all his artillery, convoys, wounded, and stragglers.

At Smolensk there were still 40,000 men under arms, but ill provided with ammunition and provisions. The cold was at 20 degrees of Réaumur. Here Napoleon divided his army into four corps. He himself with the Imperial Guard left Smolensk November 14th, directing Eugène to follow him in a few hours. Davoust was to march on the 15th, while Ney, who commanded the rear-guard, was not to leave the town till the 17th, after blowing up the walls. In this order they were to march upon Krasnoï, the defile at which place presents a sort of natural ambuscade. These arrangements have been censured by military critics as inconceivable mistakes. The Russians, who were marching parallel to, and at a short distance from, the French, arrived at Krasnoï before them, and had thus the opportunity to attack each division separately. Napoleon, it is said, should have advanced with all his columns abreast by the roads which run parallel with the high road—a disposition by which they would not only have arrived simultaneously at Krasnoï, but which would also have better enabled them to find subsistence. The Russians suffered Napoleon to pass; but Eugène with the second column

was attacked, and in order to reach Krasnoï was compelled to make a long *détour* in the night. Davoust was also attacked, but was released from his dangerous situation by a diversion caused by Napoleon attacking the Russian corps nearest Krasnoï. Ney, with the rear-guard of 6,000 men, suffered most severely. Napoleon could not wait for him without delivering a general engagement, and he had therefore to cut his way through the Russian army. This he effected with consummate gallantry, and reached the general quarters of Orsha; but with only 800 or 900 men![1]

The arrival at Orsha on the Dnieper terminates the first act of this bloody drama. Napoleon had left Moscow with upwards of 100,000 combatants and more than 550 guns. He had now about 30,000 men and 25 pieces of artillery; his cavalry was almost annihilated. The remainder of the march seemed to promise fewer hardships and dangers. The Russians had been outmarched; a new park of artillery had been obtained, and it was hoped that the army would soon be strengthened by a junction with the divisions of Dombrowski and Oudinot. But on the other hand, Wittgenstein, advancing from the north, had defeated St. Cyr, October 18th and 20th, at Polotsk, occupied Vitebsk, November 7th, and was marching to join Tchitchagof, who, with the Russian troops from Moldavia, had seized Borissov, November 21st, destroyed the bridge, and thus intercepted the passage of the Beresina. The Emperor arrived at Borissov on the 25th, and finding the bridge destroyed, resolved to cross at Studianka, twelve miles higher up the stream, where Oudinot was directed to construct bridges. Here the Emperor and a considerable part of the army effected their passage, November 27th. But in the night the most frightful disorder ensued. Both ends of the bridge had become choked with carriages in inextricable confusion, when Wittgenstein, coming up early in the morning, directed a terrible cannonade upon the bridge. Many endeavoured to save themselves by fording or swimming the river, but for the most part perished in the attempt. Among the victims were many women and children who had accompanied the army. An obstinate battle was also delivered here between Victor and Wittgenstein. At length, on the 29th, Victor, by order of Napoleon, after burning all the carriages which encumbered the bridges and their avenues, and finally the bridges

[1] De Fezenac, *Journal de la Campagne de Russie en* 1812. The author, who commanded a regiment of 3,000 men in Ney's division, brought back 200 to the Vistula! Ap. Garden, xiii. 463.

themselves, hastened to join the main army, which had preceded him, still leaving on the left bank a small rear-guard and upwards of 12,000 non-combatants.

The march was now pursued towards Vilna, the frosts of each night carrying off numerous victims. At Smorgoni, Napoleon, appointing the King of Naples to the command-in-chief, took leave of his principal officers, and set off in all haste for Paris (December 5th). His departure was prepared by a little concerted scene. Murat, Prince Eugène, the Duke of Istria, urged him to depart; when Napoleon, in a well-simulated fit of rage, made at the Duke of Istria with his drawn sword, exclaiming that "None but his mortal enemy could advise him to quit the army." In the evening, however, he sent for the Duke, and told him that, as they all desired it, he should leave.[1] His departure has perhaps been too severely censured. He could no longer be of much service to the army, while his presence in Paris was absolutely necessary. An event which had occurred in Paris showed how precarious was his hold of power, and that while he was dreaming of conquering the world, even the sceptre of France might be wrested from his grasp. On October 23rd, General Malet, a man of republican principles, and a few coadjutors, by spreading a report of Napoleon's death, and forging some pretended orders, obtained the command of a considerable military force, and remained for a few hours master of Paris. The imposture was, however, soon discovered, and was expiated not only by the death of Malet and his confederates, but also of the military officers whom he had deceived.

Napoleon, travelling rapidly by way of Vilna, Warsaw, and Dresden, arrived unexpectedly in Paris on the night of December 18th. His departure caused great dissatisfaction among the troops, and increased their disorganization. Curses rose on all sides against the betrayer, who, as in Egypt, had first sacrificed his men, and then abandoned them. The march was resumed under the most gloomy auspices, the cold increasing in intensity. General Gratien, with a corps of 12,000 men, principally Germans, had left Vilna to meet the retreating army, and formed a junction with them at Ochmiana; but only half Gratien's men had survived the march; the rest perished in the night of December 6th! Vilna was reached on the 8th, but the French could make no stay there—the Russians were at their heels. On leaving the town they had to surmount a hill, the road over which

[1] Chateaubriand, ap. Garden, t. xiv. p. 20, note.

had become a sheet of ice, rendering it entirely impracticable for horses. All the carriages and waggons were left at the bottom, and it became necessary to burn them, to prevent them from becoming the prey of Platoff and his Cossacks. Among them was the military chest, which was abandoned to pillage. At length the small remains of that brilliant and numerous army, which six months before had entered Kovno, regained that town, and crossed the Niemen. Three hundred thousand corpses, French, Italian, and German, had been burnt on the road between Moscow and Vilna![1] At Gumbinnen, a man in a brown great coat, with a long beard, inflamed eyes, and a face all scorched and blackened, presented himself before General Dumas. "Here I am at last," he exclaimed. "What! don't you know me, Dumas?" "No; who are you?" "I am Marshal Ney, the rear-guard of the grand army. I fired the last shot on the bridge of Kovno, I threw the last of our arms into the Niemen, and found my way hither through the woods!"

Ney, "the bravest of the brave," is the hero of the retreat from Moscow.

[1] Official account, ap. Garden, t. xiii. p. 484. The fourth *corps d'armée* of 48,000 men, to which Capt. Labeaume belonged, at last took up its quarters in one room! See his *Relation Circonstanciée*.

CHAPTER LXVII.

NAPOLEON'S twenty-ninth bulletin from Molodetschno, which arrived in Paris only two days before himself, had at length communicated the real state of the grand army, and filled the Parisians with consternation. It concluded with the assurance that "His Majesty's health had never been better;" a phrase which, from any other man in such circumstances, might have been received as mockery and insult. But Napoleon knew his public, and reckoned with well-placed confidence on the dominion which he exercised over their minds. He was welcomed by the Legislative Body with its usual servile adulation; and in a few days the misfortunes of the Russian campaign seemed to be forgotten. Napoleon immediately began to prepare for the great struggle which awaited him. The conspiracy of Malet had shown that his dynasty depended only on his own life. To obviate this danger, he determined on the establishment of a Regency. A law was passed for that purpose, and the Emperor, by letters patent of March 30th, appointed the Empress Maria Louisa Regent. The Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès was named First Counsellor of the Regency, the Duke of Cadore (Champagny) Secretary. In order to strengthen his Government by conciliating the clergy, who, since his misfortunes, had displayed strong symptoms of opposition, Napoleon reconciled himself with Pope Pius VII. who was still residing at Fontainebleau, and concluded with him a new Concordat. But his principal cares were directed to the raising of an army. As the conscription of 1812 was far from sufficing for that purpose, a Decree was issued requiring 100,000 men from the National Guard, another 100,000 from the conscriptions of the last four years, and the same number from the conscription of 1814. The latter was raised to 150,000, and thus the army was reinforced by a total of 350,000 men. But this was not all. Appeals were made to the patriotism and to the fears of the nation. The cry of 1793 against the Coalition was again raised, the country was proclaimed to be in danger, and under the influence of the excitement thus produced, the Senate voted, April 3rd

—Prussia having then declared herself—another 18,000 men. Among these was to be a guard of honour of 10,000 young men selected from the foremost families of France.[1] Thus the French army was again put upon a most formidable footing; but it was very deficient in cavalry, especially light horse—a circumstance which deprived Napoleon's victories in 1813 of all adequate results.

One of the first consequences of the Russian campaign was the abandonment of Napoleon by his German allies, for which the Prussian general York had given the signal. Instead of joining Marshal Macdonald, the commander of his division, at Tilsit, York had concluded with the Russian General Diebitsch a capitulation at Tauroggen, December 20th, 1812, by which the Prussian corps was to separate itself from the French army and remain neutral. York, in concluding this convention, believed himself to be acting in conformity with the secret wishes of Frederick William III., and though that Sovereign and his Minister Hardenberg deemed it proper, or politic, to censure the act, and even to supersede York by General Kleist, yet his act ultimately obtained a formal approval (March 11th). The general feeling of the Prussians, and especially of some of their leading men, inclined for an alliance with Russia. Many distinguished Prussians had actually entered Alexander's service. The Baron von Stein had been in constant attendance upon him since May, 1812; while Clausewitz and several other Prussian staff-officers had taken service in the Russian army. When, by the progress of the Russian arms, Stein was enabled to visit Königsberg, he assembled the States of Prussia, and with the help of Dohna and Clausewitz organized a militia of 30,000 men.

Hardenberg, however, at first deemed it prudent to deceive Napoleon by renewed professions of friendship. In order to obviate the impression which York's defection was likely to produce in France, Prince Hatzfeldt was despatched to Paris in January, 1813, with assurances of steadfast alliance on the part of Prussia. Yet, at the same time, Frederick William was negotiating with Russia, and, for the purpose of better concealment, at Stockholm. Soon after, General Krusemark was sent ambassador to Paris, to prepare matters gradually for a rupture. He was instructed to demand 93,000,000 francs as an excess of supplies furnished to the French armies under the Convention of February, 1812. Towards the end of January the King of Prussia suddenly

[1] Bignon, t. xii. p. 4.

left Potsdam, where he was in danger of a *coup de main* on the part of the French, and proceeded to Breslau; taking with him, however, the French ambassador. But after this step his intentions could not much longer be concealed, especially as he now began to be surrounded by such men as Blücher, Gneisenau, and Scharnhorst. On February 3rd he issued a proclamation calling to arms all Prussians from the age of seventeen to forty-four, and he soon after authorized the formation of volunteer corps. By engagements with France, the regular army, as we have seen, could not be carried beyond 42,000 men; but so large a portion of the Prussian youth had been quietly exercised in the use of arms, that the King could at any time dispose of 150,000 men. A treaty of alliance with Russia was signed by Hardenberg at Breslau, February 27th, and on the following day by Kutusoff at Kalisz.[1] By this treaty Russia engaged to provide 150,000 men for the ensuing war, and Prussia at least 80,000, exclusive of garrisons. By a separate and secret article, the Emperor of Russia undertook that Frederick William should be reinstated in all the dominions which he had possessed before the war of 1806, with the exception of the Electorate of Hanover. Alexander himself arrived at Breslau March 15th, and on the following day the Russian alliance was notified to the French ambassador, who immediately took his departure. On March 27th, Krusemark delivered to the French Foreign Minister the Prussian declaration of war. The reply of the Duke of Bassano is, perhaps, one of the most cutting diplomatic letters ever written.[2] All that was worthy of consideration, he observes, in the Prussian note, reduces itself to this. In 1812, Prussia solicited an alliance with France because the French armies were nearer than the Russian to the Prussian States. In 1813, Prussia violates these treaties because the Russian armies are nearer than the French armies. He then goes on to expose the shifts and perfidy of the Prussian Government ever since the French Revolution. In 1792, when France seemed to be on the verge of destruction, Prussia made war upon her. Three years later, when France began to triumph, Prussia abandoned her allies, passed, with Fortune, to the side of the Convention, and was the first of the allied Powers to acknowledge the French Republic. In 1796, after the French reverses in Italy, Prussia again began to veer, but returned to the old point after the defeat of the Russians at Zürich and of the English in Holland. In 1805,

[1] The text of the treaty is in Garden, t. xiv. p. 167 sqq.

[2] It will be found in Garden, t. xiv. p. 270 sqq.

when France was menaced by Austria and Russia, Prussia concluded with Alexander the Treaty of Berlin, and vowed eternal enmity to France on the ashes of Frederick the Great. Yet six weeks had scarcely elapsed when, after the battle of Austerlitz, Prussia tore up this treaty, abjured the celebrated oath of Potsdam, and betrayed Russia, as she had before betrayed France!

As a complement to the alliance of February 27th, an agreement was concluded between Russia and Prussia, March 19th, as to the method of conducting the war. All German Princes who did not aid in the war of liberation were to be declared deposed from their thrones. The dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine had been proclaimed by Field-Marshal Kutusoff at Kalisz, March 25th. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin had renounced it before the appearance of this proclamation (March 14th), and the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz followed soon after (March 30th).

Austria, like Prussia, was preparing to throw off the French alliance covertly and by degrees, although it seems certain that the Cabinet of Vienna had already determined, in the middle of December, on joining Russia.[1] Prince Schwarzenberg had conducted the war on the part of Austria without any vigour. At the invitation of Alexander, he had concluded at Warsaw an armistice with the Russians, December 21st, and towards the end of January, 1813, he retired towards Cracow and the frontiers of Galicia, taking with him Poniatowski and the Polish army, and abandoning Warsaw to the Russians by capitulation. Lebzeltern, the Austrian plenipotentiary, concluded with the Russian Minister, Count Nesselrode, at Kalisz, March 29th, a secret arrangement, by which the Russians were to denounce the armistice, and to feign an attack with superior forces, when the Austrians would retire to the right bank of the Vistula, thus abandoning the Duchy of Warsaw. It is said that Count Bubna, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, was instructed to try whether Napoleon would bid a higher price than the allies for Austria's friendship. Napoleon offered Silesia, but would relinquish nothing that he had annexed to France. He declared, "If the enemy was already at Montmartre, I would not give up a single village." A year after, Montmartre was actually occupied by the allies.[2] Austria assumed for the present the attitude of an armed neutrality, and offered her mediation; in which policy she was joined by Saxony. The allies had hoped to draw the King of Saxony to their cause, and that his

[1] See a conversation of Metternich, quoted by Garden, t. xiv. p. 160.
[2] Mailath, B. v. S. 322.

example would decide the other Confederates of the Rhine. But Frederick Augustus III. turned a deaf ear to their overtures; retired to Plauen, then to Ratisbon, in the dominions of his brother-in-law, King Maximilian Joseph; and finally, towards the end of April, at the invitation of the Emperor Francis, to Prague; whither he was accompanied by his family and troops. By the Convention of Vienna, he agreed to cede the Duchy of Warsaw, if that point should be made an indispensable condition of peace; Austria undertaking that he should receive a suitable indemnification so far as circumstances should permit.[1]

Great Britain, besides the part she was taking in the Peninsular war, was also engaged at this time in a war with the United States of North America, arising out of maritime questions connected with the Continental System. Into this war, however, which lasted from June, 1812, to the Peace of Ghent, December 24th, 1814,[2] it is not our intention to enter. It had little or no effect on the general affairs of Europe; it belongs properly to the domestic history of England, and will be found related in all the works on that subject. But, although the two wars alluded to were enough to occupy the attention, and employ the resources, of Great Britain, she, nevertheless, took an active part in the affairs of the Continent.

We have seen that, by the treaty between Sweden and Russia, of April 5th, 1812, the former Power had engaged to take part in the war against Napoleon, *after* she should have been put in possession of Norway. The English Government, when their accession to this Convention was requested, appeared disposed to support it with subsidies; but, probably from a suspicion that Bernadotte was the secret friend of Napoleon, they required that Sweden should first take an active part in the war, by sending an army into Germany. So long as Prussia remained the ally of France, this step was impracticable; but, after the catastrophe of the French army, the objection vanished. In the spring of 1813, negotiations were renewed with Sweden, and on the 3rd of March, a treaty was concluded at Stockholm, between that Power and Great Britain. The English Government was desirous that Denmark should be made a party to the arrangements, which included the cession of Norway to Sweden, and negotiations were opened, through Russia, with the Danish Government. Sweden declared that she should be content with the Norwegian Duchy of Drontheim, as the possession of that province would release her armies

[1] Garden, t. xiv. p. 292 sqq.

[2] *Supra*, p. 307.

from the danger of being turned by the Danes, and she offered in exchange her possessions in Pomerania. These proposals were, however, rejected, and Sweden then reverted to her demand of all Norway. By the treaty mentioned, Great Britain agreed to co-operate in that purpose. Sweden engaged to employ on the Continent an army of at least 30,000 men, under the command of the Crown Prince, and Great Britain undertook to furnish a million sterling for their equipment and maintenance. She also ceded to Sweden the French island of Guadaloupe, which she had conquered. Sweden opened the ports of Gothenburg, Karlshamn, and Stralsund, as *entrepôts* for British and colonial goods; which were to pay an *ad valorem* duty of one per cent. on entering and leaving.[1] Prussia also concluded a treaty with Sweden, April 22nd, 1813, by which she engaged to add a corps of 27,000 men to the army commanded by the Crown Prince, and Charles XIII. also entered into an alliance with the provisional Spanish Government, March 19th. But, in spite of these treaties, it was not till the following August that Sweden declared war against France.

Napoleon no sooner ascertained the intention of Charles XIII. to enter the Coalition, than he threatened to send 40,000 men to the aid of Denmark. The Crown Prince answered this threat by his celebrated letter of March 23rd, 1813, in the composition of which Madame de Staël is supposed to have been concerned. Bernadotte formed a counter-scheme to overthrow Napoleon, by means of the French themselves, by recalling General Moreau from banishment, who was then residing at Morrisville, in New Jersey. It was thought that many of the French would join the hero of Hohenlinden, including the prisoners set at liberty by Russia and England. Moreau was sent for, and arrived at Helsingborg, August 6th, but, unfortunately, only to meet his death shortly after.

The Emperor of Russia had also succeeded in conciliating the Poles to his cause, chiefly by means of his friend and confidant, the Polish Prince, George Adam Czartorinsky. A Russian party had been organized by Czartorinsky in Warsaw, which looked forward to the re-erection of the Kingdom of Poland, not by means of Napoleon, but through the powerful and beneficent Emperor of Russia. The Polish nobles doubted not the feasibility of the project, as it was given out that a Russian Prince was to rule the re-established kingdom. Alexander appears not to have given any

[1] Garden, t. xiv. p. 356.

direct sanction to this scheme; but he assured the Poles of his friendship, and promised that his troops should treat them as friends and brothers.

Napoleon started from St. Cloud, to take the command of his armies in Germany, April 15th, 1813. But before we describe the commencement of the campaign, it will be necessary to advert to the movements of the Grand Army of Russia after its abandonment by Napoleon, and the assumption of the command by his brother-in-law, the King of Naples. Murat had conducted the retreat by Königsberg and Dantzic as far as Posen, when he told his officers that it was no longer possible to serve a madman; that there was not a Sovereign in Europe who any longer trusted Napoleon's word or his treaties; that for his own part he could have made peace with England; that he was as much the King of Naples as Francis was Emperor of Austria. It was in vain that Davoust, the Prince of Neufchâtel and the Viceroy Eugène remonstrated; Murat set off by post, January 16th, for his Neapolitan dominions in the disguise of a German traveller, thus abandoning the trust which Napoleon had confided to him. After his departure, Eugène had the courage to place himself at the head of the remnant of the grand army, about 12,000 men. The retreat from Posen to Leipsic reflects on Eugène the greatest honour. He arrived at Leipsic, by way of Berlin and Wittenberg, March 9th, and having been joined on his march by many scattered bands, he then counted 50,000 men under his standards. Thus when all seemed lost he was mainly instrumental in restoring the balance of fortune, and gained time for Napoleon to reappear upon the scene. Besides the force under Eugène, there were also upwards of 60,000 French distributed in Prussian and Polish fortresses.

Meanwhile the Russians had entered Prussia, and were everywhere received by the inhabitants as deliverers. Some of their light troops having pushed on as far as Hamburg, the inhabitants rose against the French garrison, which had been much reduced by the departure of General Lauriston, and constrained General Carra St. Cyr to cross the Elbe; when the Russian troops were admitted into the town, March 18th, and the port was thrown open to the English. Wittgenstein, leaving Berlin with the Russian van, March 29th, met and defeated Eugène at Möckern, April 5th, who thereupon retreated to Magdeburg, and ultimately took up a position on the Saale, while Wittgenstein fixed his quarters at Dessau. The main body of the Russians, under Alexander in person and Kutusoff, was at this time at Kalisz. The Prussian

army had also been placed under the command-in-chief of Kutusoff. The allied army began to move, April 7th. Winzingerode and Blücher traversing Lusatia, arrived before Dresden, when Davoust retired with his forces, after blowing up a great part of the bridge. The allies entered the old town of Dresden, April 26th. Kutusoff having died on the 28th, the command-in-chief was conferred on Wittgenstein.

Napoleon arrived at Erfurt, April 25th, and assumed the command of his forces.[1] A campaign was now to open on a scale never before seen in Europe. The line of operations embraced the whole Continent, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, besides the incidental war in the Spanish Peninsula. The French left rested on Lübeck and Hamburg; their right on Verona and Venice. This line may be divided into three portions: the first being comprised between Hamburg and the Erz-gebirge, at the southern extremity of Saxony; the second between the Erz-gebirge and Tyrol, and the third between Tyrol and the Adriatic. The first, or northernmost of these divisions, was to be the main scene of action, and was occupied by the grand French army, estimated at 250,000 men. A Bavarian corps on the Inn, and the French reserves at Würtzburg, held the second portion of the line; making a total force in Germany of about 350,000 men. In Italy, an army of 40,000 men was posted on the Tagliamento. Napoleon formed a junction with the army of Eugène on the 29th, between Naumburg and Merseburg on the Saale. Some Prussian corps were driven back at Weissenfels, and the French army took the road to Dresden. In order to intercept this march, the Russians and Prussians, under the Emperor Alexander and King Frederick William III. in person, had concentrated themselves at Leipsic, whence they marched out to meet the French on the plains of Lützen, famous for the last battle and death of Gustavus Adolphus. Napoleon was ignorant of their position, and came upon them almost by surprise. His forces were far superior in number, consisting of 115,000 men, while those of the allies were under 70,000. The allies were defeated after an obstinate and bloody battle at GROSS GÖRSCHEN,[2] May 2nd, which, however, was anything but decisive; in fact, both sides claimed the victory. The allies retreated, as they asserted, only on account of their numerical inferiority; they lost no guns nor prisoners, and retired in good

[1] For the campaign of 1813, see Clausewitz, B. vii.; K. von Plotho, *Der Krieg in Deutschland und Frankreich in den Jahren* 1813 *und* 1814; Odeleben, *Napoleons Feldzug in Sachsen im Jahre*, 1813; Norvins, *Portefeuille de* 1813; Fain, MS. de MDCCCXIII.

[2] The French call it the battle of Lützen.

order, unpursued by the enemy. This result was chiefly owing to Napoleon's deficiency in cavalry, while the allies were very strong in that arm. In this battle, General Scharnhorst was mortally wounded.

The allies retreating in two columns, crossed the Elbe, May 7th, the Russians at Dresden, the Prussians at Meissen, and again formed a junction at Bautzen. Here they took up a strong position, and having received large reinforcements, determined to await another battle. The French entered Dresden, May 8th, where Napoleon halted awhile to refresh his army, and to conduct some negotiations. He caused an imperious letter to be written to the King of Saxony, by which that Sovereign was required to direct General Thielmann, the Saxon commandant at Torgau, to deliver that fortress to the French, and to join the corps of General Regnier; also, to send all the Saxon cavalry to Dresden, and to declare in a letter to the Emperor that he still remained a member of the Confederation of the Rhine. Frederick Augustus was allowed only six hours to consider of these demands, when, if he did not comply, *he would be declared a traitor* (*félon*), *and would cease to reign*.[1] Such was the style in which Napoleon treated his tributary Princes! Frederick Augustus obeyed the despot's mandate, and returned to his capital, May 12th. Napoleon declared that he would spare Saxony; but it became, in fact, the chief theatre of the war, and during six months had to support near half a million soldiers. Thielmann, who had refused to surrender Torgau at the summons of Napoleon, having received an order to that effect from his Sovereign, abandoned the Saxon service for that of Russia.

Napoleon, during his sojourn at Dresden, also attempted a negotiation with the Emperor Alexander. Alarmed at the attitude of Austria, as an armed mediator, he was prepared to make important sacrifices to Russia in order to come to an understanding with that Power; in which case his father-in-law would be at his mercy. His chief motive for this step was the want of cavalry, which hampered all his operations; otherwise, he observed, he should not have proposed an armistice. He sent to the allied outposts to inquire whether the Duke of Vicenza would be received as a negotiator; but the application was refused, and it therefore became necessary to fight.

The allies had profited by Napoleon's delay of ten days at Dresden to strengthen their position at BAUTZEN with field-works. Their left, under Wittgenstein, rested on the mountains of Bohe-

[1] Garden, t. xiv. p. 393 sqq.

mia; their right, commanded by Blücher, was covered by the Spree and the little town of Bautzen. Their whole army, which Alexander commanded in person, numbered 96,000 men, of which 68,000 were Russians. The French army consisted of about 148,000 men. Napoleon attacked the allies, May 20th and 21st. On the first day the French carried the town of Bautzen; on the next day Napoleon broke the allied centre, and compelled them to retreat. A movement of Ney's contributed much to the victory. He had been detached with a strong corps, apparently against Berlin, but suddenly retraced his steps, and fell upon the right of the allies. Covered by their numerous cavalry, the allies retired in good order towards Lauban and Görlitz, leaving to Napoleon the field of battle, strewn with 50;000 bodies. The French attacked the Russian rear-guard at Reichenbach, May 22nd, but were terribly maltreated and lost several guns. A few days after, Wittgenstein was superseded in the chief command by Barclay de Tolly. The allies, instead of proceeding to Breslau, struck to the right towards Schweidnitz, and formed an entrenched camp at Pulzen, May 29th. Napoleon, on the other hand, pushed on to Breslau, which he entered June 1st; an advance which somewhat endangered his base of operations. In the north of Germany, the French and Danes under Davoust recovered Hamburg, May 30th, and took a terrible vengeance for their expulsion, by driving out 48,000 of the inhabitants, and razing 8,000 houses. In conformity with the orders of Napoleon, a regular reign of terror was now inaugurated, combined with systematic pillage, including that of the bank. Lübeck, which was entered by the French June 3rd, was treated in the same manner.

After the battle of Bautzen, Napoleon renewed the attempt at negotiation, and an armistice was concluded at the village of Poischwitz, near Jauer, June 4th. The armistice was to last till July 20th, with six days' notice of its termination. Napoleon now returned to Dresden and employed the interval in preparing the plan of the ensuing campaign, which was calculated on the no longer doubtful accession of Austria to the allies. England took an active part in organizing the *Fifth Coalition*. Lord Cathcart, the English Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg, and Sir Charles Stuart, brother of Lord Castlereagh, accredited to the Court of Berlin, both which Ministers followed the movements of the allied armies, concluded treaties with Russia and Prussia at Reichenbach. By that with Prussia, signed June 14th, Great Britain agreed to pay a subsidy of 666,666*l.* sterling for the

maintenance of 80,000 men during the remaining six months of the year. If the allied arms should prove successful, the King of Prussia was to be reinstated in the dominions which he had possessed before the war of 1806. Frederick William III. on his side engaged to cede the bishopric of Hildesheim and some other territories to Hanover. By the Treaty with Russia, June 15th, the Emperor Alexander agreed to keep in the field an army of 160,000 men, for which he was to receive from the British Government the sum of 1,333,334*l.* to January 1st, 1814. It was also agreed to issue five millions sterling in notes, called *federate money*, guaranteed by Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, of which Russia was to dispose of two-thirds, and Prussia of the remainder.[1] At this time, while Austria was offering her mediation for the restoration of a continental peace, she was negotiating with the allies; and the Austrian plenipotentiaries were consulted about the plan of the future campaign.

These negotiations were to be kept secret; but Napoleon learned them all, and in a violent scene with Count Metternich, whom the Cabinet of Vienna had sent to Dresden to propose a peace Congress, he accused that Minister of receiving bribes from England. It was, however, agreed that a Congress should assemble at Prague, July 5th, under Austrian mediation, and the armistice was prolonged to August 10th. None of the parties, however, were in earnest in this matter; they were only seeking to gain time. The Congress did not assemble till July 26th, when only a fortnight remained unexpired of the term agreed upon for the armistice. Meanwhile Russia, Austria, and Prussia had concluded an eventual treaty of alliance at Trachenberg, afterwards converted into a definitive one by the Treaty of Töplitz, September 9th,[2] had arranged a plan of campaign, and appointed Prince Schwarzenberg commander-in-chief. During this period Napoleon, on his side, concluded a treaty of alliance with Denmark, July 10th.[3]

Many symptoms seemed to betoken Napoleon's approaching fall. Discontent prevailed in France, where the Legitimists were again active; Jourdan had been completely defeated by Wellington at Vittoria; the King of Naples was treacherously negotiating with Austria and England. Nevertheless, though Napoleon was aware of Murat's conduct, he was again summoned to take the command of the French cavalry. That force had now been increased to

[1] Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 254 sq. [2] Martens. *N. Rec.* pp. 596, 600.
[3] Garden, t. xiv. p. 412.

40,000 men, and Napoleon relied only on Murat for the command of large bodies of horse. The allied armies, since the junction of Austria, were much superior in number to the French. The main body, under Prince Schwarzenberg, stationed on the Eger in Bohemia, and composed of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, comprised about 237,000 men, with 698 guns. The army in the March of Brandenburg, composed of Swedes, Russians, and Prussians, and commanded by Bernadotte, numbered upwards of 150,000 men with 387 guns. Blücher's army in Silesia consisted of about 95,000 Prussians and Russians, with 356 guns. It must be remembered, however, that a considerable part of these forces was engaged in blockades and sieges. The Austrians had besides upwards of 24,000 men, and 42 guns on the frontiers of Bavaria; 50,000 men and 120 guns in Italy; and a reserve of about 50,000 men between Vienna and Pressburg. The Russian army of reserve in Poland numbered more than 57,000 men. The estimates of Napoleon's armies vary, but there can be no doubt that they were considerably inferior in number to those of the allies. He himself, however, had been reckoned as equivalent to 100,000 men.

Napoleon opened the campaign by despatching Oudinot with 80,000 men against Bernadotte in Brandenburg. On August 23rd, Oudinot, who had been rather too slow in his movements, engaged Bulow's Prussian corps at GROSS BEEREN; when, towards the end of the action, the Swedes came up, and the French were entirely defeated with the loss of 26 guns, 1,500 prisoners, and a great deal of baggage. Napoleon himself marched against Blücher in Silesia, imagining that he could dispose of that General before attacking the main body of the allies. As the French had violated the armistice by levying contributions in neutral districts, Blücher had also advanced before the term agreed upon had expired, had occupied Breslau August 14th, and driven the French over the Bober. According to a preconcerted plan, Blücher retreated on the approach of Napoleon with his guards; and as the main body of the allies had begun to debouch from Bohemia into Saxony by the left bank of the Elbe, Napoleon was compelled to hasten back to the defence of Dresden. No sooner was he gone than Blücher attacked the French under Macdonald on the KATZBACH, August 26th, and gained a decisive victory, capturing 18,000 prisoners, 103 guns, 2 eagles, and a great quantity of baggage wagons.

The advance of the allied army upon Dresden is said to have been counselled by Moreau, who had arrived at the headquarters

at Prague, August 16th. The van of the allies arrived before that city on the 25th. Had an assault been immediately delivered it might probably have succeeded, as Napoleon was still absent with his best troops. But it was deemed advisable to wait till more troops had come up, and meanwhile Napoleon re-entered Dresden on the morning of the 26th, having, it is said, marched more than eighty miles in three days. The attack of the allies was repulsed, and next day they were defeated with great loss, including 18,000 prisoners. In this battle Moreau was killed by a cannon-ball, on the heights, about two miles from the town. Murat and Vandamme followed the allies in their retreat to Bohemia, which was effected in good order, being covered by the Russian General Ostermann. Vandamme, relying on being supported by Napoleon, prolonged his pursuit too far. Ostermann, who had been reinforced by an Austrian corps, defeated him at Kulm, August 30th, when, instead of the expected aid, he found a Prussian corps in his rear. At Nollendorf, his division, which consisted of about 30,000 men, was entirely surrounded and routed, and two thirds of it either killed or captured. Among the prisoners was Vandamme himself.

In the north, Ney, who had assumed the command of Oudinot's division, began from Wittemberg a march upon Berlin, September 5th, but was defeated at Dennewitz the following day by Bernadotte. The French lost on the 6th and 7th 15,000 men killed, wounded, and captured, 80 guns, and 400 baggage waggons. In spite of these reverses Napoleon continued to maintain his position at Dresden till October, making occasional attacks in the direction either of Bohemia or Silesia. But his situation began to be highly critical. His German troops were deserting his standards by whole regiments. Maximilian I. of Bavaria joined the allies October 1st, by the Treaty of Reid:[1] a secession caused not by Maximilian's own feelings, but by the demonstrations of his subjects. By this treaty he agreed to give up Tyrol; but he was to be indemnified at the future pacification for what cessions he might be called upon to make. He was to keep 36,000 men in the field. The Bavarian general Wrede, reinforced with an Austrian corps of 20,000 men, now marched towards the Rhine. In the north, the allies had got into Napoleon's rear. Tschernitscheff, Tettenborn, Platoff and other generals made incursions as far as Cassel and Bremen, fell upon isolated French corps, and compelled the King of Westphalia to

[1] Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 294 sqq.

fly to Wetzlar. Towards the end of September, the three main armies of the allies began to concentrate themselves towards Leipsic, and it became necessary for Napoleon to evacuate Dresden.

On the 15th of October Napoleon had assembled the greater part of his army at Leipsic, fixing his headquarters at Reudnitz, a mile or two from the city. He had now determined to risk all on a grand battle. His army consisted of about 170,000 men; that of the allies, upwards of 300,000 strong, formed a sort of half-circle round him. From these enormous masses, the Germans have called the battle of Leipsic the *Völkerschlacht*, or battle of the nations. The Emperors Alexander and Francis, and the King of Prussia, were present with their armies; of which Prince Schwartzenberg had the command in chief. Two or three distinct battles which took place October 16th, formed a prelude to the grand battle of the 18th. The French had, on the whole, the superiority in these affairs; but Blücher inflicted a severe defeat at Möckern on the corps of Marmont and Dombrowsky. On the evening of the 16th Napoleon despatched General Meerfeld to the Emperor of Austria, with proposals for a truce and separate negotiations, which however were not accepted. On the 17th both sides rested on their arms, but the combat was renewed on the following day. At an early period of the action Napoleon was deserted by the Saxon troops, as well as by those of Würtemberg. Nevertheless, the French succeeded in maintaining themselves through the whole of the 18th against far superior numbers; but their losses had been so great that they were compelled to commence a retreat in the night. Napoleon, after giving the necessary commands for that purpose, set off for Erfurt. The confusion of the retreat was augmented by the carelessness of Berthier, who had neglected to throw bridges over the little river Elster. Of the two which existed one broke down; and the whole army had, consequently, but a single route. On the morning of the 19th, Macdonald, Regnier, Poniatowski, and Lauriston kept the enemy at bay till the greater part of the French army had passed the bridge, when the French themselves destroyed it, thus sacrificing a few corps still left behind. Of these troops many perished in endeavouring to cross the Elster; Macdonald swam that river, Poniatowski was drowned in the attempt, Regnier and Lauriston were taken prisoners. The allies also suffered severely. They lost upwards of 45,000 men killed or wounded, including twenty-one general officers. The French

loss is not accurately known; but 23,000 sick and wounded were found in the town of Leipsic alone; 15,000 were taken prisoners, 300 guns and 900 baggage waggons were captured. When the allies entered Leipsic the King of Saxony, who was in that town, expressed a wish to join them; but he was sent a prisoner to Berlin.

The French army was saved from total destruction through Napoleon having taken the precaution to send forward Bertrand to occupy Weissenfels. It still counted 100,000 men, but in a state of disorganization. Napoleon remained two days at Erfurt, endeavouring in vain to rally his troops. The retreat was then resumed towards the Rhine, almost as disastrously as the retreat from Moscow, with the exception of the frost. Wrede, unmindful of the well-known maxim, attempted, with inferior forces, to arrest the French at Hanau, but was defeated with great loss, October 30th and 31st. The French reached and crossed the Rhine without further molestation. Schwarzenberg wished to pursue them over that river; but the allied Sovereigns adopted a policy of moderation. By their celebrated Declaration of Frankfort,[1] December 1st, they announced their wish to see France great, powerful, and happy, because she was one of the corner stones of the European system; and they expressed their willingness that she should enjoy an extent of territory unknown under her kings. Proposals for a peace had been previously made to Napoleon through St. Aignan, who had been captured at Gotha, on the basis of the independence of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Holland: on the other hand, France was to retain possession of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. Napoleon had at first given an evasive answer to these proposals; and when at last, on the 2nd of December, by the advice of Caulaincourt (Duke of Vicenza), who had superseded Maret (Duke of Bassano), as Minister for Foreign Affairs, he announced his acceptance of them, and agreed to the opening of a Congress at Mannheim, the Allies had already adopted the resolution of prosecuting the war.

More than 100,000 French troops still remained in the fortresses of Germany and Poland. All these gradually surrendered, but mostly after a vigorous resistance. Gouvion St. Cyr, whom Napoleon had left in Dresden with 35,000 men, capitulated November 11th, on condition of a free and unmolested retreat. The Allied Sovereigns, however, refused to ratify the capitulation,

[1] In Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 370 sqq.

on the ground that the besieging general was not authorized to make it, and St. Cyr was allowed the option either to surrender as prisoner of war, or to return to Dresden and attempt the defence of that city. The latter alternative being impossible, St. Cyr was obliged to surrender. Stettin, Dantzic, Zamosc, Modlin, and Torgau surrendered before the end of the year. Some places held out till the spring of the following year, especially the citadels of Erfurt and Würtzburg; whilst Davoust maintained himself in Hamburg till after the Peace of Paris (May 30th).

The fall of Napoleon's empire in Germany was the immediate consequence of his defeat. Holland, with the exception of a few places, was occupied by the divisions of Bülow and Winzingerode, assisted by English troops who had landed on the coast. The Dutch were anxious to throw off the yoke of their oppressors; the cry of *Orange-boven* (up with Orange) was everywhere raised, and on December 1st the son of the former Stadholder was proclaimed *Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands*, with the title of William I.[1] Towards the end of October, Jerome Bonaparte abandoned his kingdom of Westphalia, and in November the Elector of Hesse returned to his capital. Hanover, Oldenburg, and Brunswick were occupied by their respective Sovereigns before the end of 1813. The Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, with the exception of the captive King of Saxony, and one or two minor princes, deserted Napoleon, and entered into treaties with the Allies. The Danes, having been driven out of Holstein by Bernadotte, concluded an armistice December 18th, and, finally, the Peace of Kiel,[2] January 14th, 1814, by which Frederick VI. ceded Norway to Sweden; reserving, however, Greenland, the Ferroe Isles, and Iceland, which were regarded as dependencies of Norway. Norway, which was anciently governed by its own kings, had remained united with Denmark ever since the death of Olaf V. in 1387. Charles XIII., on his side, ceded to Denmark Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rügen. This treaty founded the present system of the North. Sweden withdrew entirely from her connection with Germany, and became a purely Scandinavian Power. The Norwegians, who detested the Swedes, made an attempt to assert their independence under the conduct of Prince Christian Frederick, cousin-german and heir of Frederick VI. of Denmark. Christian Frederick was

[1] Schöll, *Recueil de Pièces officielles*, t. iv. p. 272.
[2] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 666.

proclaimed King of Norway; but the movement was opposed by Great Britain and the Allied Powers, from considerations of policy rather than justice; and the Norwegians found themselves compelled to decree the union of Norway and Sweden in a *Storting*, or Diet, assembled at Christiania, November 4th, 1814.[1] Frederick VI. also signed a peace with Great Britain at Kiel, January 14, 1814.[2] All the Danish colonies, except Heligoland, which had been taken by the English, were restored. As by the treaty with Sweden, Denmark had consented to enter into the Coalition against Napoleon, Great Britain by this treaty agreed to pay a subsidy of 33,000*l.* per month for a body of 10,000 troops which she was to furnish. Frederick VI. subsequently concluded a peace with Russia and Prussia.

In Italy the war had also proved unfavourable to the French. Prince Eugène Beauharnais had returned into Italy in August, 1813, when some battles occurred in the Illyrian provinces between him and the Austrian general Hiller. Eugène was driven back over the Isonzo to the Adige; the Illyrian and Dalmatian provinces were recovered by the Austrians; and as, by the defection of Bavaria from Napoleon, Tyrol was opened to the Austrian troops, Eugène was finally compelled to retire behind the Mincio. After the battle of Leipsic, the Allies entered into negotiations both with Eugène and the King of Naples. Murat, deeming Napoleon irretrievably ruined, had finally separated from his brother-in-law at Erfurt, October 24th, and returned to Naples. The Allies held out to him the prospect of extending his dominions to the Po, while Eugène was promised the Crown of Lombardy. The Viceroy, however, remained faithful to his stepfather, perhaps from mistrust that the Austrians would perform their promises, or the Italians endure his rule. Murat, on the other hand, swallowed the bait, and concluded a treaty with Austria, January 11th, 1814,[3] by which he agreed to take part in the war against Napoleon. He also entered into a treaty with England, or rather with Lord Bentinck, who ruled absolutely in Sicily, but who had no powers to conclude this negotiation. Murat had proceeded to take possession of Rome and Florence, under pretence that he was still the ally of France; and it was not until February 15th, 1814, that he formally declared war against Napoleon.

In order to complete the picture of Napoleon's situation at the commencement of 1814, we must bring up to that date the affairs

[1] Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. ii. p. 65. Also, *Act of the Diet of Norway and Sweden*, Aug. 6th, 1815, *Ibid.* p. 608.

[2] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 678.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 660.

of the Spanish Peninsula. After his disastrous retreat from Moscow, Napoleon found himself compelled to withdraw some of his best troops from Spain; Marshal Soult was also recalled, and his place supplied by Jourdan. Wellington had employed himself in his winter-quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo,[1] in putting his forces on a good footing, and preparing for a grand campaign. In the spring of 1813 he counted under his standards 80,000 men, more than half of whom were English. In May he assumed the offensive by marching on Salamanca, when the French retired on VITTORIA. The decisive victory gained by Lord Wellington over Jourdan in the neighbourhood of that city, June 21st, may be said to have decided the fate of the Peninsula. The French loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners has been variously estimated, but was certainly very great; they lost 151 guns, forming all their artillery, more than 400 waggons, and their military chest. As the direct road to France was held by the Spaniards, the routed army was compelled to retreat on Pamplona. Joseph Bonaparte, who was present at the battle, saved himself with difficulty, and retired into France, abandoning all further hope of the Spanish crown, of which, indeed, he was totally unworthy. Of low manners, without genius or talent, he had lived at Madrid in those habits of apathetic idleness and luxury which he had contracted at Naples. In the imperials of his carriages which were captured, were found some of the finest pictures taken from the royal palaces of Spain.[2] The failure of an expedition to Catalonia under the command of Sir John Murray, undertaken with the view of diverting Marshal Suchet from joining the French Army of the Centre, prevented Wellington from deriving all the benefit which he might have expected from his victory. Before he could enter France it was necessary to reduce the important places of Pamplona and St. Sebastian. The former was blockaded by General Hill, the latter by General Graham, after the failure of an assault, July 26th, which cost 2,000 men. Towards the end of July, Soult, who had entered Spain with a reinforcement of 20,000 men, and superseded Jourdan in the command of the French army, was compelled, after some bloody engagements, to re-enter France before the end of August. St. Sebastian surrendered September 9th, Pamplona, October 29th. The left wing of Wellington's army crossed the Bidasoa on the 7th. Soult had taken up a strong position on the Nivelle, which was attacked by Wellington, November 7th; on the 10th, St. Jean de Luz, the key

[1] Above, p. 299.

[2] Montgaillard, t. vii. p. 212.

of the position, was taken by storm, and Soult compelled to retire behind the Nive and the Adour. From this position, also, the French were driven after several days of hard fighting (December 8th-13th), and Soult then established a fortified camp at Bayonne. This town was invested by the Anglo-Portuguese army, and for some time hostilities seemed suspended. Thus, while the enemy threatened the Northern frontier of France, the South was actually invaded, and the despot, who a year or two before seemed to behold all Europe at his feet, began to tremble for his own dominions.

Napoleon perceived soon after his return to Paris that it would be impossible for him to hold Spain, and that he must think of abandoning the phantom King whom he had set up. On November 12th, 1813, he addressed a letter from St. Cloud to Ferdinand VII., at Valençay, who had been between five and six years his prisoner, offering to bring the affairs of Spain to a conclusion; and charged the bearer of it, Count Laforêt, to negotiate a peace. Ferdinand having refused to treat without the sanction of the *de facto* Spanish Government,[1] it was agreed that a treaty should be drawn up and submitted to the Regency at Madrid, to be ratified by Ferdinand when approved. By this act, signed December 8th, 1813,[2] Ferdinand was acknowledged by Napoleon as King of Spain and the Indies, and the integrity of Spain was recognized as it existed before the war. By the sixth article, evidently framed with the view of embroiling Spain with England, Ferdinand was to engage that the English should evacuate the Spanish possessions, and especially Mahon and Ceuta. The Regency, however, refused to ratify the treaty, because the Cortès had decreed that there should be no negotiations with France so long as the King remained a prisoner; and because, by the treaty with England, of January 14th, 1809, Spain was to sign no peace with France without the consent of that country. But before this answer could arrive, Napoleon, whose situation was becoming every day more critical, informed the Spanish Princes that they could return to their country without any conditions whatever. Ferdinand VII. arrived at Madrid before the end of March, 1814. Pope Pius VII. had also been dismissed from his captivity, January 23rd, and, on the 10th of March following, the States of the Church were restored. We now return to the operations of the Allied Army, and Napoleon's measures of defence.

[1] See for these letters, Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 324 sqq.
[2] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 654.

The Emperor of the French had employed himself after his return to Paris in organizing the means of resistance. By an Imperial Decree of November 11th, he augmented several of the taxes in open violation of the fundamental laws of the Constitution. A *Senatus-consulte* of the 15th placed at his disposal 300,000 conscripts of 1803 and following years to 1814 inclusive. Of these, half were to be immediately called into activity, while the remainder were to form an army of reserve. The Legislative Body had, however, like the Allies, taken courage from the misfortunes of Napoleon. The Report of a commission appointed to examine the documents relative to the negotiations with the Allies (December 28th, 1813) ventured to breathe a hope that liberty, safety, property, and the exercise of political rights would be henceforth invariably maintained. The printing of this Report was voted by a large majority; but Napoleon regarding it as a crime against his authority, and a personal insult, forbade it to be published, and immediately adjourned the Legislature.

An Extraordinary Diet, assembled at Zürich, had proclaimed the neutrality of Switzerland, November 18th, 1813; a cordon of troops was ordered to the frontiers, and deputies were sent both to the Allied Sovereigns and to Napoleon to engage them to respect Swiss neutrality. The French Emperor readily consented, and ordered his troops to evacuate Switzerland. But the Allies resolved not to recognize a neutrality which would essentially interfere with their operations, and which would be respected by Napoleon only so long as it suited his convenience. The grand army of Bohemia under Prince Schwarzenberg was directed to penetrate through Switzerland into Alsace and Franche Comté, and to march upon Paris, having first secured the important position of Langres. Another portion of it was to occupy the roads from Italy. The army of Silesia under Blücher was to pass the Rhine, above and below Mentz, and also to direct its march upon the capital, masking the fortresses on the road. Part of the army of the North under the Prince Royal of Sweden (Bernadotte) was also to act on the offensive in France; but a large part of it was employed to occupy Holland and Belgium. The Swedish army and the Duke of Brunswick's corps did not arrive in France till after the fall of Paris. Schwarzenberg established his headquarters at Langres, January 18th, where the three allied Monarchs arrived a few days later. The army of Silesia having, after some fighting, crossed the Rhine and Saar, advanced by the 25th of January to Metz and Nancy, and was in

communication with the grand army of Prince Schwarzenberg. Napoleon, who was assembling his forces at Châlons sur Marne, seems not to have expected that the Allies would so speedily pass the Rhine. He left Paris to join his army, January 25th, 1814, after appointing his brother Joseph to the command of the National Guard.

The campaign which Napoleon now entered on is reckoned one of the ablest he ever conducted. He manœuvred with wonderful skill between Schwarzenberg and Blücher, arresting first the one then the other. But the transient successes which he achieved were perhaps of more detriment than service to him, as they hindered him from entering sincerely into the negotiations which had been opened at Châtillon, February 5th, for a peace on the basis proposed at Frankfort. To this Congress Great Britain had sent Lords Castlereagh, Cathcart, and Aberdeen. As the Allies had not yet determined on the restoration of the Bourbons, they consented to treat with Napoleon as the Sovereign of France, but of France reduced within her natural limits, and no longer menacing the peace and independence of the rest of Europe. It soon, however, became apparent that Napoleon's good faith could not be relied on. His demands always rose with his success; and at last, on the 15th of March, his Minister Coulaincourt handed in such an extravagant counter-project as determined the allies to break up the conference. He demanded the kingdom of Italy, including Venice, for Eugène Beauharnais and his successors; Nimeguen and the line of the Waal for a French frontier, thus including North Brabant and the Scheldt; also the left bank of the Rhine, and establishments for his brothers Joseph and Jerôme, and his nephew Louis, who were to renounce the thrones of Spain and Westphalia, and the Grand Duchy of Berg. While the Allies were treating with Napoleon, they had drawn closer their bond of union by the Treaty of Chaumont, concluded March 1st, 1814.[1] Each of the Allies engaged to keep 150,000 men constantly in the field; and Great Britain engaged, moreover, to furnish a subsidy of five millions sterling for the service of the current year, to be divided equally among the other three Powers. The alliance was to last for twenty years. But to return to the campaign; of which, however, we can give but the bare outline.

Napoleon attacked Blücher in his position at Brienne January 29th, but was totally defeated February 1st. This engagement is sometimes also called the battle of La Rothière. It was now

[1] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 683.

resolved that the two armies of the allies should advance separately on Paris; that of Blücher along the Marne, that of Schwarzenberg along the Seine. But Napoleon, again turning upon Blücher, inflicted on him several defeats at Champaubert, Montmiral, Eloges, &c. (Feb. 10th—14th), and compelled him to fall back in order to join the advancing army of the North under Bülow. Napoleon then marched against the army of Schwarzenberg, which had advanced to Fontainebleau, and which he defeated at Montereau, February 18th. Schwarzenberg then retreated to Troyes and Bar-sur-Aube. The fate of Europe seemed again to hang on a mere thread; the Austrians even made proposals for an armistice, which, however, had no result. Blücher having been joined by the Army of the North, advanced and defeated Napoleon in an obstinate battle at Laon, which lasted March 9th and 10th. In consequence of this victory, the two allied armies again advanced. Napoleon, leaving Marmont and Mortier to observe Blücher, marched with about 40,000 men against the grand army, which he attacked at Arcis-sur-Aube, March 20th, 21st, but with doubtful success. He shortly after formed the resolution of marching on St. Dizier, in the rear of the Allies, threatening the line of communication of the grand army, collecting the garrisons, making a levy *en masse* in Alsace and Lorraine, and saving Paris by carrying the war into Germany. The Allies, having discovered his plan from an intercepted letter, determined not to follow him, but to advance on Paris by forced marches; at the same time despatching Winzingerode with 8,000 men after Napoleon, to induce him to believe that he was followed by the whole army. Blücher now formed a junction with Schwarzenberg, after defeating Marmont and Mortier at La Fère Champenoise, March 25th. On the 29th the Allies had reached Clichy and Villepinte; while Marmont and Mortier had retired on Paris after their defeat, and occupied the heights of Montmartre and Belleville. The Regent, Maria Louisa and her son, the King of Rome, now left Paris for Blois, agreeably to the directions of Napoleon two months before; while Joseph Bonaparte called out the National Guard, and prepared to defend the capital. On the 30th an obstinate conflict took place on the heights of Montmartre, Belleville, and Romainville, which was terminated by Marmont proposing an armistice; not, however, before Montmartre had been carried by Blücher. On the following day, March 31st, at two o'clock in the morning was signed the Capitulation of Paris. Marmont and Mortier, with their troops,

were to leave the city; the arsenals, magazines, &c. were to be left in the state in which they were; the National Guard was to be retained or dismissed, according to the decision of the Allies, to whose magnanimity Paris was recommended.[1]

At eleven o'clock the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia entered Paris at the head of 36,000 men, amidst the acclamations of the people. Many cries arose for the Bourbons, and the proscribed white cockade was everywhere displayed. In the afternoon a proclamation was published, signed by the Emperor Alexander, in which the Allied Sovereigns announced that they would no longer treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, or any of his family; that they would respect the integrity of France as it had existed under its ancient Kings; that they would recognize and guarantee any constitution that the French nation might establish; and, consequently, they invited the Senate to appoint a Provisional Government to prepare such a constitution, and to conduct the administration. On the following day, April 1st, the Senate, which during ten years had worshipped Napoleon as their idol, pronounced his deposition and that of his family. But it went no further. The Council General of the Department of the Seine took the initiative in proclaiming the restoration of the Bourbons in the person of Louis XVIII.

Meanwhile, Napoleon, who, imagining himself pursued by the allied army, had retired as far as Doulevant in the Haute Marne, returned suddenly upon St. Dizier, and defeated Winzingerode's advanced guard. On the following day, the 27th, he invested Vitry. Here he learned the march of the Allies on Paris; a piece of intelligence which seems to have deprived him of his usual presence of mind. Instead of advancing on the capital, he retired through St. Dizier and Vassy, and again reached Doulevant March 28th, where he had been five days before. When he heard that the Allies were approaching Paris, he despatched an order not to sacrifice that capital by an obstinate defence; and he sent an Austrian captive of distinction to the Emperor Francis at Dijon, to implore his commiseration in favour of the usurper's dynasty; but without effect. On the 29th of March Napoleon was informed that Lyon had surrendered to the Allies, who had penetrated through Switzerland. He now advanced upon Troyes; whence, in contradiction to his former orders, he sent directions that Paris should be defended to the last extremity. He then proceeded by way of Sens to Fontainebleau, and endeavoured to

[1] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 693.

open negotiations with Prince Schwarzenberg, by whom they were rejected. He had still a considerable army at Fontainebleau; but on the 4th of April he was deserted by Marmont and his corps, who submitted to the authority of the Provisional Government. Napoleon hereupon published an order of the day in which, while he vented his rage against Marmont and the soldiers and Government that had deserted him, he announced his readiness to remove, by his abdication, all obstacles to a peace; a resolution which was the result of a conference with his marshals, who had declared his abdication necessary. He now charged Ney, Macdonald, and Coulaincourt to carry to Paris an Act of Resignation in favour of his son, as well as a letter to the Emperor Alexander, in which he reminded that Sovereign that he had been his friend. His marshals and generals hastened to give in their adherence to the Provisional Government, and all hostilities ceased. It was not, however, till the 10th of April that Napoleon signed an unconditional resignation of the Crowns of France and Italy, both for himself and his heirs, after the Emperor Alexander and the French Provisional Government had assured to him a pension of 2,000,000 francs and an asylum in the Isle of Elba; of which he was to have the sovereignty, and to retain the title of Emperor. A formal Convention to this effect was signed April 11th.[1]

Further resistance would indeed have been insane. Not only were Paris and the northern and eastern provinces of France in possession of the Allies, but Wellington also was advancing in the south, and was everywhere received by the people as a deliverer. Wellington during the winter season had remained inactive before Bayonne till the middle of February, when he resumed the offensive, and after a few days' fighting drove the French from their position at that place. Soult retired to Orthez, where he was defeated, February 27th. Bayonne, St. Jean Pied de Port, Navarreins, were successively invested by the English. Soult, retreating by way of Tarbes, had concentrated his army at Toulouse. An English division, under Beresford, advanced to the Garonne, and entered Bordeaux March 12th, accompanied by the Duke d'Angoulême, nephew of Louis XVI., who had joined the English army some weeks before. Bordeaux now declared for the Bourbons and proclaimed Louis XVIII., although the Congress at Châtillon was still treating with Napoleon as Sovereign of France. Soult was attacked at Toulouse by Wellington, April

[1] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 696.

10th, and after an obstinate defence, which caused the assailants great loss, was compelled on the 12th to abandon his position. Neither the French nor the English general appears to have been aware that Napoleon had abdicated. After the defeat of Soult, the inhabitants of Toulouse immediately hoisted the Bourbon colours. So late as the night of April 14th, the garrison of Bayonne made a sortie which cost many lives on both sides; and it was not till the 18th that an armistice was signed between Wellington and Soult.

Napoleon lingered more than a week at Fontainebleau, as if loth to quit the scene of his former glory.[1] At last, on the 20th of April, after taking an affecting, though somewhat theatrical, leave of his Guard, so long the companions of his varying fortunes, he set off for Fréjus, and embarking on board a British frigate, landed at Porto Ferrajo, in Elba, May 4th. At his own request, a commissary of each of the five great Powers accompanied him on his journey. The populations of the French towns through which he passed displayed the greatest hatred towards him, and even threatened his life; whilst he, on his part, showed the most abject fear, sometimes bursting into tears, and, to conceal himself, frequently changing his garments for those of his conductors.[2] His brother Joseph had fled into Switzerland. His Empress, Maria Louisa, after a short stay at Rambouillet, proceeded to Vienna, and again became an Austrian Princess. The Count d'Artois, brother of Louis XVIII., who had returned to Paris with the title and authority of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, signed with the Allies a Convention, April 23rd,[3] with the view of affording France the benefits of peace before a regular treaty could be prepared. The Allies agreed to evacuate the French territory, according to the ancient limits of it on January 1st, 1792. Thus vanished with the stroke of a pen the fruits of twenty years of bloodshed and conquest! France also surrendered by this treaty about fifty fortresses which she continued to occupy in Germany, Holland, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, &c.

Louis XVIII., who had resided several years at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, entered Paris May 3rd.[4] In this ceremony the chief object of attraction was the Duchess of Angoulême, daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, who sat in the same car-

[1] He is said to have taken a dose of poison, which, however, failed of its intended effect.

[2] Michelet, *Jusqu'à Waterloo*, p. 425 sqq.

[3] Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 439.

[4] The best work on the Restoration is Vaulabelle, *Hist. des deux Restaurations*. See also Lamartine, *Hist. de la Restauration*.

riage with her uncle. Louis XVIII. had published the day before at St. Ouen a declaration announcing his resolution to adopt a liberal constitution, though he rejected one proposed by the Senate, April 6th. The principal features of the new constitution were to be: a representative government, divided into two chambers; taxation by consent of the deputies; public and individual liberty; freedom of the press and of worship; inviolability of property; sales of national property not to be questioned; responsible ministers; irremovable judges; guarantee of the public debt; maintenance of the Legion of Honour; admissibility of every Frenchman to all employments; no individual to be molested regarding his opinions and his votes.[1] This proclamation is said to have been exacted from Louis by the Emperor of Russia. Louis wished to reseat himself unpledged and as an absolute Sovereign on the throne of his ancestors, as if all that had happened since 1789 had been a mere dream; but Alexander, who is said to have corrected the proclamation with his own hand, threatened that Louis should not be admitted into his capital till he had signed it. Thus, the French were indebted for their charter to the absolute autocrat of the North! Talleyrand, who was chiefly instrumental in bridging over the chasm between the abdication of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons, and who with the versatility which characterized him became again Minister for Foreign Affairs under the new Government, is said purposely to have delayed the conclusion of a treaty of peace till the project of the new constitution should have been arranged. Fearing that Louis, after the departure of the Emperor Alexander, might be inclined to neglect his engagements, a commission for drawing up a constitution was appointed May 18th, and on the 30th of the same month was signed the Peace of Paris. A separate treaty was concluded with each of the four Allied Powers, but all of the same tenour, except an additional article reserved by each Power.[2] The Allies must be allowed to have displayed in this treaty great forbearance and moderation, when it is considered what terrible losses and humiliations Napoleon had inflicted on three of their number. France was not only suffered to retain the limits of 1792, but some additions were even made to them by annexing certain districts of the Ardennes, the Moselle, the Lower Rhine, the Ain, as well as part of Savoy, and by confirming her possession of Avignon, the Venaissin and other places, comprising in the whole 150 square miles, with

[1] Montgaillard, t. viii. p. 13.

[2] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. ii. p. 1.

a population of near half a million souls. Holland was to be placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, and to receive an accession of territory. The States of Germany were to be independent, and united by a confederation; the revival of the German Empire being thus tacitly negatived. The independence of Switzerland was recognized. Italy, except the portion to be restored to Austria, was to be composed of Sovereign States. Great Britain was to possess Malta and its dependencies; while, on the other hand, she engaged to restore to France all the colonies possessed by that country on the 1st of January, 1792, except Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France; also that part of St. Domingo which had originally belonged to Spain, and which was now to be restored to that country. Sweden also was to cede back Guadalupe to France, and Portugal, French Guiana. The 32nd Article of the treaty provided for the assembly of a General Congress at Vienna within two months, to regulate the arrangements which were to complete the present treaty.

The Peace of Paris was followed by some subsidiary treaties. Ferdinand VII. acceded to the peace July 20th. By a Convention of June 3rd, between Austria and Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph restored to Austria Tyrol with the Vorarlberg, the Principality of Salzburg, the district of the Inn and the Hausrück. During the visit of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia to London in June, it was agreed that the Article of the Peace of Paris, stipulating the aggrandizement of Holland, should be carried out by the annexation of Belgium to that country, an arrangement which was accepted by the Sovereign of the Netherlands, July 21st, 1814.[1] Great Britain, by a treaty concluded at London, August 13th, 1814,[2] restored to that Sovereign all the colonies of which Holland had been in possession on January 1st, 1803, except the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. Part of these were intended to compensate Sweden for relinquishing Guadalupe; but the Swedish Government preferring a payment in money, Great Britain purchased their claims for a million sterling. Great Britain also paid to the Sovereign of the Netherlands, in consideration of his colonies, a further sum of two millions sterling, to be employed in restoring the Belgian fortresses. These had been dismantled by the Emperor Joseph II., and the country consequently left without defence.

It remains to mention the affairs of Italy. Napoleon, on the news of Murat's defection, had directed Eugène Beauharnais to

[1] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. ii. p. 38. [2] *Ibid.* p. 57.

evacuate that country; an order with which the Viceroy neglected to comply, partly because he could not obtain honourable terms for the different garrisons, partly because he hoped that the Lombards would elect him for their King. On February 8th he delivered battle to Bellegarde at Valleggio, on the Mincio, which, though he gained the advantage, led to no results. Murat soon discovered how vain were his hopes of obtaining Italy as the reward of his defection. The Emperor Francis postponed the ratification of the treaty; Lord Bentinck received no power to conclude. General Nugent, who, with an Austrian corps, had been placed under Murat's command, took possession of Modena, not in the name of the King of Naples, but of the House of Este. Murat received, indeed, the ratified treaty from Vienna, March 8th, but considerably altered to his disadvantage, the only addition to his dominions being a small portion of the States of the Church; while Lord Bentinck, after the landing of a body of Anglo-Sicilian troops at Leghorn, openly gave out that they were designed to support the rights of the Bourbons to Naples. But as the Emperor of Russia seemed disposed to offer Murat his alliance, it was agreed that Lord Bentinck should evacuate Tuscany and march upon Genoa. With the aid of an English fleet, under Admiral Pellew, that city was reduced to capitulate, April 18th, and two days after the French garrison marched out with its arms and baggage, and took the road to Savona. On the 26th Lord Bentinck, without the sanction of his Government, published a proclamation re-establishing the Genoese Constitution such as it existed in 1797, with such modifications as public opinion might require. Pope Pius VII., who, as we have said, had been disarmed by Napoleon, entered Rome in a sort of triumph, May 24th, and Murat found himself compelled to acquiesce in the restoration of the Papal authority in the Roman States. Soon afterwards he was obliged to relinquish Tuscany to Ferdinand III.

After the abdication of Napoleon, Eugène Beauharnais was also compelled to lay down his arms. On April 16th he signed an armistice with Bellegarde at Schiarino-Rizzino, near Mantua, and the French troops in Lombardy marched homewards. Eugène, supported by a majority of the Senate, still hoped to be elected King of Italy, and to persuade the allied Powers to recognize him in that capacity. But a strong Austrian party existed in Milan, which, taking advantage of the popular hatred of the French, excited an insurrection against the senators of Eugène's party, who were driven from the city, April 20th. By the Con-

vention of Mantua, April 23rd,[1] Eugène agreed to evacuate all the fortresses of the Kingdom of Italy. General Bellegarde entered Milan April 28th, occupied the other Lombard cities, and proclaimed, May 23rd, that he took possession of the Kingdom of Italy in the name of his Sovereign Francis. Eugène now betook himself to his father-in-law, the King of Bavaria. The fate of Piedmont was determined at the same time. A proclamation of Prince Schwarzenberg, dated at Paris, April 25th, announced to the Piedmontese that Austrian troops would take possession of the country in the name of the King of Sardinia; and on the 27th the plenipotentiaries of Prince Camille Borghese, governor-general of the departments beyond the Alps, signed at Turin a Convention[2] for an armistice, and for the evacuation of those departments by the French troops.

After a quarter of a century disturbed by revolution and war, France and Europe seemed to be returning to peace and order. On June 4th, 1814, Louis XVIII. gave a Charter to the French nation, as an emanation of his own absolute authority. To receive this boon the same Legislature was assembled which Napoleon had dismissed in December, 1813, in preference to calling upon the people to sanction it by newly-elected representatives. The Chancellor, Dombray, even ventured to remark in his speech that the King, "in full possession of his hereditary rights, wishes only to exercise the authority which he holds from God and his forefathers in fixing himself the limits of his power."[3] The Charter was signed by Louis as given "in the 19th year of his reign," thus ignoring the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire. Its main features were that the Legislature should consist of a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies; the peers to be nominated by the crown, the deputies to be chosen by the people. The qualifications for a deputy were, to have completed forty years of age, and to pay annually 1,000 francs in direct taxes. The qualifications for an elector were to have completed thirty years of age, and to contribute annually to the direct taxation 300 francs. The King only was to have the right of proposing laws. The Chambers, however, were entitled to suggest them; but if such suggestions were disregarded, they could not be renewed during the same session. All forms of Christian worship were to be tolerated, but Roman Catholicism remained the religion of the State.

[1] Koch et Schöll, t. x p. 478. [2] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 716.
[3] Montgaillard, t. viii. p. 29.

In order to settle the general affairs of Europe, it had been determined to assemble a Congress at Vienna, which was formally opened November 1st. Nothing, not even the Crusades, had ever displayed the unity of Europe in so forcible a light as this Congress. The Peace of Westphalia offers the nearest parallel, but one far inferior in the number and greatness of the Powers concerned, the importance of the interests at stake, and the extent of the settlement effected. Of the great Powers, some were represented by their Sovereigns in person, others by their most eminent statesmen, while no Christian State of any importance was without its representative. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, the Elector of Hesse, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Brunswick, Coburg, and many other German Princes, were personally present. The other European States were represented by their Ambassadors and Ministers, among whom we may mention Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, for England; Prince Talleyrand and the Duke of Dalberg, for France; Don Labrador, for Spain; Count Palmella and Don Lobo de Silveyra, for Portugal; Cardinal Gonsalvi, for the Pope. But we can give only the main outlines of the transactions of the Congress.[1]

The wars of Napoleon had disturbed the whole European system, and the problem before the Congress was to rearrange its scattered members. On what principle? None; except, perhaps, a hatred of that democratic spirit which had been the original cause of the confusion. It would have been a fine opportunity for a committee of philosophical and philanthropic politicians; but the arbiters were the parties interested, their object was to secure, in the name of satisfaction and indemnity, as large a portion of the territories to be distributed as might be possible, and the only check on this desire was the opposition of their coadjutors, who, except in their own cases, were doubtless competent judges of what was equitable and expedient. It is needless to say that in an Assembly so constituted but little regard was had to the claims of nationalities, ancient rights, historical tra-

[1] The principal works on this subject are, Klüber, *Acten des Wiener Congresses*, 7 vols. 8vo.; and by the same, in French, *Congrès de Vienne, Recueil de Pièces officielles*, &c., being an extract of the principal pieces of the former work. An analysis of them is given in Koch et Schöll, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xi. Also, Bucholz, *Gesch. der Europäischen Staaten seit dem Frieden von Wien*, B. v.; Flassan, *Hist. du Congrès de Vienne;* De Pradt, *Du Congrès de Vienne;* Pertz, *Das Leben Steins;* Cantù, *Storia di cento anni*, t. ii. p. 245 sqq. Austria bore the expense of the Congress. The Imperial table is said to have cost 300,000 francs a day.

ditions, moral fitness, or conformity of religion. Thus, for instance, the Republics of Venice and Genoa, without any alleged delinquencies, were abolished, and handed over to foreign and hostile masters; Venice to Austria, Genoa to Sardinia, in spite of the traditional hatred between the Ligurians and the Piedmontese, and the deprecations of the Genoese. In like manner, Catholic Belgium was annexed to Calvinistic Holland, the Catholic Electorates of the Rhine to Reformed Prussia, and Catholic Poland to Greek Russia. Such arrangements were necessarily sources of weakness, discontent, and sedition, and, where possible, of revolution.

Austria, which had previously held only the isolated Milanese, now seized all Lombardy and the Venetian territories, except the Ionian Isles, which were erected into a Republic under the protection of Great Britain. Thus Austria secured several entrances into Italy, and by occupying Ferrara and Comacchio, got a footing south of the Po. But she was preparing future troubles for herself, by extending her dominion over an unsympathetic people, which, under French rule, had imbibed ideas repugnant to her system. She extended her influence in Central Italy through members of the reigning family. Tuscany and Modena were assigned to collateral branches of the House of Austria, the first to the Archduke Ferdinand, the second to the Archduke François d'Este, also a Prince of the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine. Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were given to Napoleon's consort, Maria Louisa, who retained the title of "Empress." Lucca, erected into a duchy, was assigned to the ex-Queen of Etruria. With regard to the rest of Italy, the Pope recovered all his possessions except Benevento, Ponte Corvo, and the Venaissin. But he refused to sign the Treaty of Vienna, on account of the Austrian garrisons in Ferrara and Comacchio. The King of Sardinia, Victor Emanuel, retained Piedmont and Savoy, with the addition of Genoa, the English Government having ignored Lord Bentinck's proclamation. Joachim Murat, agreeably to treaties, was left for the present in possession of Naples, though somewhat curtailed. Germany, which from its geographical position and the genius of its people, must ever form one of the most important elements in the European system, became completely changed from its condition in the former century. The Holy Roman Empire had vanished, and with it the Golden Bull, the Electoral Capitulations, and the Electors themselves; though the Sovereign of Hesse retained that empty title. There was no

longer a common tribunal, and the constitution of the Diet was entirely altered. The re-establishment of the German Empire was discussed. Several of the German princes and cities were for its revival; but the scheme was not approved by the Allies, nor by the Emperor of Austria. A Federative Constitution was established for Germany, with a Diet to be held at Frankfort, of which the Austrian Emperor was to be President. The greater and smaller German States, to the number of thirty-eight, including the four still remaining free towns of Frankfort, Bremen, Lübeck and Hamburg, and the Kings of Denmark and the Netherlands, the former by virtue of his Duchy of Holstein, the latter for Luxembourg, were to be members of the Confederation. This new Constitution had all the defects of the Empire without the prestige of its traditions, and especially it had the same want of centralization.

The Kingdom of Westphalia had fallen of itself, and the former Sovereigns who claimed its various parts had recovered their possessions. At this Congress the King of England assumed the title of "King," instead of "Elector" of Hanover. Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Saxe-Weimar, as well as Luxembourg annexed to the Netherlands, were made Grand Duchies. With the view of coercing France on the north, Belgium and the Dutch provinces were erected into the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in favour of the Prince of Orange with the title of William I.; though warning voices already proclaimed the danger of uniting countries so different in language, customs, and religion. Bavaria received for her restorations to Austria her former Palatine possessions, with Würtzburg, Aschaffenburg, and what is called Rhenish Bavaria. The restoration of the Prussian Kingdom occasioned long and violent debates, principally from the circumstance of the erection of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Emperor of Russia's promise to restore the Kingdom of Poland in favour of the Grand Duke Constantine, his brother. The Duchy of Warsaw, about half as big again as Ireland, and containing nearly five million inhabitants, was for Russia one of the greatest acquisitions from the war. Russia thus thrust herself into the middle of Europe. Prussia demanded, in compensation, the whole of Saxony, and was supported by Russia; while she was opposed by Austria, France, and England. A new European war seemed on the point of breaking out, which was averted by concessions on both sides. The Emperor Alexander abandoned his project of a Polish kingdom, gave the Duchy of

Posen to Prussia, and to Austria the salt works of Wieliczka and the part of Galicia which she had lost in the last war. The city of Cracow, with a territory of 19½ square geographical miles, was recognized as an independent republic. Besides the Duchy of Posen, Prussia was further compensated with about a third part of Saxony and the Rhenish provinces. These provinces, as well as the Austrian possessions in Alta Italia, served further to coerce France. These acquisitions made Prussia twice as great as she was under Frederick II., and rendered her, together with Protestantism, predominant in Germany. Austria and Bavaria were now the only Catholic states; for though the reigning house of Saxony was Catholic, its subjects were Protestant. Yet on the whole, the German Catholics were somewhat superior in numbers.

England, which wanted no Continental aggrandizement, was chiefly the gainer by the possession of posts which assured her maritime ascendency, as Malta, Heligoland, and the Cape. Sweden obtained Norway, and by way of compensation, Denmark received Swedish Pomerania, which she ceded to Prussia in exchange for Lauenburg. Switzerland was declared neutral. With Spain, which had regained its king, and Portugal, nothing was done. The same was the case with Turkey, not being a Christian Power, and having done, or suffered, nothing in the war. On the whole, Russia was the greatest gainer by this new adjustment of European boundaries; as, besides the Duchy of Warsaw, she obtained Finland in the north, and Bessarabia and part of Moldavia in the south. At the same time, by a treaty with Persia, she had gained several eastern provinces; and thus she now became one of the most formidable Powers in Europe.

Thus, as Cantù remarks, a revolution begun by a democracy left the absolute monarchies strengthened, while republican and elective states were effaced; and an Empire which had sought to overthrow every sovereign only established them more firmly, whilst it fell itself in the attempt.

While the Congress was thus restoring Europe to order, an event occurred which threatened to upset all their labours and to replunge the Continent into confusion. Napoleon, escaping from Elba with 900 of his veterans, landed near Cannes, March 1st, 1815. The news of this event fell like a thunderbolt among the statesmen assembled at Vienna. It had the effect of silencing all minor disputes and uniting the four Powers against the common enemy. On March 13th they published a declaration of outlawry against him; and soon after they renewed the alliance

of Chaumont, by a fresh treaty, signed at Vienna March 25th.[1] By Article 8 Louis XVIII. was to be invited to accede to it. But as before the ratification of it, April 25th, Napoleon seemed to have firmly reseated himself upon the throne, the British Government handed in a declaration purporting that Article 8 was not to be taken as obliging the King of England to prosecute the war for the sake of imposing any particular government upon France; and the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian ministers acceded to this declaration.[2] Great Britain concluded an additional Convention, April 30th,[3] agreeing to furnish a subsidy of five millions, to be equally divided between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Most of the European States successively acceded to the alliance. The amount of the contingents which they engaged to provide considerably exceeded a million men.

Meanwhile, as Napoleon marched towards Paris he was everywhere joined by the soldiery. At Lyon, where he arrived March 12th, he published several decrees, by one of which he proclaimed a general amnesty, excepting however thirteen persons. Among these were Talleyrand, Marmont, the Duke d'Alberg, and Bourrienne, his former secretary. By another decree he promised to convoke a *Champ de Mai*, or assembly of the people, to settle the constitution on the most liberal basis; and to inspire the French with the belief that his restoration was concerted with Austria —an enormous falsehood—it was added that the Empress and her son were to return to Paris, to be crowned in the presence of this Assembly. Marshal Ney, who less than a year before had been one of the first to welcome Louis XVIII. at Compiègne on his return to France, volunteered his services to march against and capture Napoleon; but a few words from his old commander turned his heart, and he joined at Auxerre Napoleon's standards. This act of Ney's caused the royalists to abandon all reliance on the army. Napoleon reached Paris in twenty forced marches, without shedding a drop of blood. The battalions despatched against him served only to augment his escort. Louis XVIII. found himself compelled to fly from Paris, March 20th. He had declared in the Chamber his fidelity to the Charter, and the ministry had made magnificent promises; but it was now too late. On the evening of the same day Napoleon entered Paris, and was again installed at the Tuileries amid the exulting congratulations of his former followers and admirers. By the bulk of the citizens, however, he was not so well received. They feared his warlike

[1] Martens, *N. Rec.* t. ii. p. 110 sqq. [2] *Ibid.* p. 117. [3] *Ibid.* p. 121 sqq.

projects, though he abounded in promises, and declared that he had renounced all thoughts of extending his empire. But he re-established all the theatrical magnificence of his Court. Louis proceeded to Lille and afterwards to Ghent, where he remained during the whole of what is called the HUNDRED DAYS, the term of Napoleon's second empire. The Duke of Bourbon failed in an attempt to excite an insurrection in La Vendée. He even fell into the power of the ex-Emperor, who had murdered his son; but Napoleon recoiled from a second political crime of that description, and gave orders that the Duke should be furnished with a passport for England. The Duchess of Angoulême, relying on the loyalty displayed by the city of Bordeaux, in the previous year, also made a spirited attempt to maintain the Bourbon cause in the south of France; but the population of Bordeaux declined to second her on this occasion, and the Princess also found herself compelled to seek a refuge in England.[1]

Napoleon, though his enterprise had been crowned with such sudden and complete success, found himself in a situation of no ordinary difficulty. The treasury was empty, the army weak and disorganized, the patriot party, if by such a term we may designate the opponents of the Bourbons, mistrustful and exacting. Napoleon named as his ministers, Cambacérès for the department of Justice, Carnot for the Interior, Fouché for the Police, Coulaincourt (Duke of Vicenza) for Foreign Affairs. Fouché had announced to the Bourbons his intended defection, but said that it was only with a view to ruin Napoleon.[2] On April 22nd Napoleon promulgated what he called "an additional Act" to the constitutions of the Empire. It was a good deal modelled on the Charter of Louis XVIII., but far outstripped it in the liberality of its concessions.

It was, however, on the fortune of war that his hold of power must depend. If he could maintain himself against the attacks of the Allies, there was little danger of his being hurled from the throne by his French subjects. The *Champ de Mai*, held June 1st, was celebrated with enthusiasm, and served to rally the people in Napoleon's cause. His disposable army at this time numbered 200,000 men, besides the troops in garrison and a reserve of 150,000 recruits. In accordance with his usual tactics he resolved to take the offensive and to strike a blow before the Allies should be fully prepared. Hostilities had been already resumed in Italy. No sooner did Murat hear of the enthusiasm

[1] Montgaillard, t. viii. p. 153. [2] Gervinus, *Gesch. des xix^en Jahrhunderts.*

with which Napoleon had been received in France than he entered the Papal States with two armies, and marched to encounter the Austrians in Northern Italy. He still harboured the dream of being King of all Italy, and called upon the Italians to drive out the foreigners and found a united kingdom. He occupied Tuscany, Bologna, and Modena, and arrived upon the banks of the Po without having experienced any serious resistance. But on May 3rd he was attacked by the Austrians, under Bianchi, at Tolentino, and after a combat of two days was completely defeated. The Austrians now pressed on to Naples. Before Murat could arrive there his consort had concluded a Convention with Commodore Campbell, the commander of the English fleet, by which the safety of Naples was secured, but on condition of the surrender of all the Neapolitan ships of war. By the Convention of Casa Lanzi between the Austrian Generals and the English Minister on one part, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Neapolitan army on the other, May 20th, the Kingdom of Naples, with all its ports, fortresses, and arsenals, was to be delivered up to the Allies, in order to be restored to King Ferdinand IV.; agreeably to a treaty between that Sovereign and the Emperor of Austria, concluded at Vienna, April 29th.[1] Murat fled to the Isle of Ischia and subsequently to France; but Napoleon forbade him to appear at Paris. His consort obtained permission to reside in the Austrian dominions. Ferdinand IV., after ten years' residence in Sicily, returned to Naples, June 17th.

According to the plan of campaign agreed upon by the Allies,[2] the English and Prussians were to enter France from the Netherlands, whilst the Austrians were to invade it from the Rhine. The English and Prussian armies, under Wellington and Blücher, comprising 220,000 men, already stood upon the Belgian frontiers; and Napoleon determined to attack them before the Austrians could come up. All the troops he could spare for that purpose were 130,000 men, while to oppose the Austrians he could despatch only 30,000 men. Napoleon left Paris for Belgium, June 12th. At this time the Russian army, which equalled in number those of Wellington and Blücher, was only about eight days' march from the scene of action. Wellington's army, composed of English, Hanoverians, Brunswickers and Netherlanders, extended from the sea to the Dyle. Blücher's army, divided into four

[1] Koch et Schöll, t. xi. p. 201 sqq.

[2] For this campaign, see C. de W. (Weiss, Baron Müffling), *Hist. de la Campagne, &c. en* 1815; Buchholz, *Gesch. der eur. Staaten*, B. vi.; Plotho, *Krieg der verbundeten Europa gegen Frankreich im Jahre* 1815.

corps of from 25,000 to 30,000 men, stretched along the Meuse, from the Dyle to the frontiers of Luxembourg. Napoleon resorted to his old strategy of attacking one army after the other, and endeavouring to separate Wellington and Blücher. On June 15th the French crossed the Sambre, defeated Ziethen, took Charleroi, and compelled the advanced guard of the Prussians to retire to Ligny and St. Amand. Blücher now ordered his second corps to advance to Sombreuf, five or six miles north of Fleurus; while Wellington, on hearing what had occurred, ordered his troops to advance on the following morning (16th) to Nivelles and Quatre Bras. He had arranged to send 20,000 men to the aid of Blücher, but being himself attacked by Marshal Ney at QUATRE BRAS, he was unable to perform this promise, though he succeeded in repulsing Ney and in maintaining his position. In this action the Duke of Brunswick was slain. Blücher, attacked by Napoleon in person with superior forces at LIGNY, was defeated with great loss, and compelled to retreat to Wavre, in order to put himself in communication with his fourth corps under Bülow, which had not come up on the 16th. Wellington, hearing of this retrograde movement on the morning of the 17th, also retired through Gemappes to WATERLOO, in order to maintain his communication with the Prussians. Napoleon despatched Grouchy with between 30,000 and 40,000 men to attack the Prussians at Wavre, with orders, after defeating them, to turn against Wellington's army. Napoleon himself attacked Wellington on the 18th. The British army was posted on the heights of Mont St. Jean, with the strong positions in front of Hougomont and La Haye Sainte. The French, after a desperate struggle, succeeded in carrying the latter position; and also in making a lodgment in Hougomont, after that post had been two or three times lost and won. But an attack executed by the guard and the *élite* of the French army on the British lines towards the close of the day was repulsed, and the French thrown into utter confusion. Grouchy, engaging at Wavre, a Prussian corps, which he mistook for their whole army, was too long detained to make his appearance on the 18th. But Bülow's Prussian corps came up towards the close of the day, and beginning to operate on the right flank of the French, completed their defeat. Blücher appeared soon after with the main body of the Prussians, and he and Wellington, meeting at La Belle Alliance, which had been the centre of the French position, saluted each other as victors.

The retreat of the French soon became a perfect rout. They

are said to have lost 60,000 men during the three days' struggle in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Their pursuit was abandoned to the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh. Napoleon, relinquishing to Soult the command of the defeated army, hastened back to Paris, where he arrived June 21st. His carriage filled with gold and precious stones, his Imperial mantle, and his portfolio, formed part of the booty of the victors. The Chamber of Deputies had displayed symptoms of resistance to Napoleon's despotism; who, at the instigation of his brother Lucien and other partisans, determined to dissolve it, and assume a dictatorial authority. But Lafayette, now a member of the Chamber, who during the last quarter of a century had taken no part in public affairs, having gotten intelligence of this scheme, proposed and carried a resolution that the Chamber should declare itself in permanence, and that every attempt to dissolve it should be considered an act of high treason. Yet, with his usual inconstancy, he immediately afterwards assisted Fouché to shut it up![1] Lucien Bonaparte and some of the Ministers made an unsuccessful attempt to induce the deputies to invest Napoleon with a temporary dictatorship; Lafayette and the majority insisted on his immediate abdication. Napoleon was not in a situation to resist. On the 22nd of June he gave in his abdication, but at the same time proclaimed his son Emperor of the French, with the title of Napoleon II. His abdication was received, the reservation in favour of his son ignored, and a Provisional Executive Commission was appointed by the Chamber. Fouché (Duke of Otranto), the executioner of the Lyonese, was elected president of the Commission. That intriguer, in sending Lafayette to the Allies, directed him to treat in favour of any body but the Bourbons, and at the same moment wrote to Louis XVIII., and did all he could for his restoration.[2] While still at the head of the Provisional Government, Fouché, who had been one of the judges of Louis XVI., became the minister of police of his successor. Talleyrand introduced him to the King at St. Denis. Chateaubriand remarked that it was Vice supported by Crime. These two men alone were thought to understand the conjuncture. Napoleon lingered in Paris till June 29th in the hope of some favourable occurrence, when, as the Allies were within sight of the capital, he took his departure for Malmaison. The Provisional Commission despatched Sebastiani, Laforêt, Lafayette, Pontecoulant,

[1] Gervinus, i. 201 (French Transl.).
[2] Capefigue, *Hist. des Cent Jours;* Gervinus, i. 198.

Benjamin Constant, and d'Argenson to the Allied Sovereigns at Heidelberg, to treat on the basis of the national independence and the inviolability of the French soil; but the Sovereigns replied, that no negotiations could be entered into till Bonaparte should be replaced in the custody of the Allies, and thus disabled from again disturbing the repose of Europe. Wellington and Blücher also refused an armistice proposed by Davoust.

The remains of the routed army, as well as Grouchy's corps, had found their way to Paris; and at the beginning of July, 90,000 troops of the line and 12,000 federals, the whole under the command of Davoust, were preparing to defend the capital. But their resistance against the overwhelming masses of the Allies would have been unavailing, and, to save Paris from the horrors of a siege, Davoust signed, with Wellington and Blücher, a military convention, or capitulation, at St. Cloud, July 3rd; by which the French army was to evacuate Paris within three days, and to retire beyond the Loire. On the 6th the Allies entered the capital. The Prussians displayed great animosity against the French. The English commander had much difficulty in restraining Blücher from blowing up the bridge of Jena, a monument of Prussian disgrace. Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris, July 8th, and thus put an end to the interregnum of the Hundred Days. Napoleon, after staying some time in the Isle of Aix, with the design of taking a passage to America, but dreading the risks of the voyage, and preferring to throw himself on the generosity of the English to running the risk of being captured by them, delivered himself up, on the 15th of July, to Captain Maitland, commander of the "Bellerophon," an English ship of the line which happened to be stationed off Rochefort. Captain Maitland gave him no promises, except to convey him in safety to England. Napoleon had, on the previous day, written an inflated letter to the Prince Regent, invoking the hospitality of the British nation, and comparing himself to Themistocles when he sought an asylum from Admetus. The fallen Emperor was conveyed to Plymouth, but was not allowed to land. On the 7th of August he was transferred to the "Northumberland," the flagship of Admiral Sir G. Cockburn, to be conveyed, agreeably to the decision of the Allies, to the Island of St. Helena. In that remote spot, where not even hope could solace him with the prospect of a change of fortune, he lingered out the remainder of his extraordinary and checkered career, till disease terminated at once his life and his repining, May 5th, 1821.

Thus the curtain drops on the first acts of the great French revolutionary drama—the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire. Perhaps no other nation has experienced political and social changes so violent and rapid as those which took place in France between 1789 and 1815. At the former period absolute royalty, feudal customs and abuses, stately and aristocratic manners, the development of centuries, are still in full vigour. Suddenly the scene shifts. The king, the personification of the State, vanishes before the apparition of the State itself—the French nation. Another shift, and the nation itself gives place to a Parisian mob, directed by bloodthirsty demagogues. Democratic tyranny, supported by blood and terror, falls in turn through disgust at its excesses, and the anarchy it has produced is succeeded by a military despotism. A Corsican adventurer of great military and administrative talent, collects the scattered forces of France to hurl them at Europe, gleams for a brief time like a meteor, threatening the nations with change, then suddenly collapses.

The same violent changes are observed in the lives of the leading characters who appear upon the stage. Assassins of the republic, like Fouché,—renegade churchmen, like Talleyrand,—become Ministers of State under every sudden change of Government. In the course of a few months, marshals and senators fight for and support Napoleon, abandon, insult, and depose him, receive honours, emoluments, and peerages from the Bourbons, whom they abandon in turn, submit again to Napoleon, and again desert him. Truly one of the most grotesque, and at the same time most repulsive images of human nature ever presented by the mirror of history! Gervinus has remarked that the vicissitudes of the period are exhibited, as it were in a masquerade, in the manners and dress of the people. The plain attire, the familiar address of the *citoyen*, supersede the elegant *toilette*, the polite and dignified manners which characterized the ancient *régime;* while this intermediate state of equality and fraternity as quickly gives place to the brutal manners and vulgar dress, the red cap and the carmagnole of the *sans-culottes*. But soon the fantastic costume of the *jeunesse dorée* betrays a disgust of past excesses. Bonaparte picks the crown out of the gutter, with his own hand puts it on his own head, then surrounds himself with a court of more than regal splendour, which apes at the same time the tastes of imperial Rome, in adulation of the would-be Cæsar.

These striking anomalies, these sudden variations in principle and character, may perhaps be ascribed to the fickle and impulsive nature of the French people, thrown suddenly into circumstances for which from their previous habits they were totally unprepared. Unaccustomed to self-government, like a horse which has thrown its rider, they rushed headlong into unknown paths, regardless whither they might lead. Taught by bitter experience, they may probably at length comprehend that true liberty—liberty combined with order and security—can be obtained only by obedience to just and equal laws.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE era which succeeded the downfall of Napoleon and of the military predominance of France is still in progress of development, and can hardly yet be called historical; for which reason, as well as from considerations of space, we can give only a brief summary of events down to the period assigned for the conclusion of this work.[1]

A peace unbroken during a whole generation was forced upon Europe by the exhaustion of its blood and treasure. By some sanguine speculators this unwonted tranquillity was regarded as a sign of an improvement in human nature. They fancied that the warlike passions had been subdued by the progress of reason and humanity, and that mankind might look forward to a millenium of peace and happiness. This pleasing vision has since been dissipated by sanguinary wars, and one of the greatest and most disastrous struggles recorded in the history of nations; while the state of Eastern Europe threatens an explosion of still more portentous magnitude. It may be true that the interests of races and nationalities, rather than those of Sovereigns and dynasties, are now the pretexts for war; but this circumstance makes no essential difference in its character, nay, may even add to its atrocities. And recent events in Spain show that even wars for dynastic interests are not altogether obsolete.

On the whole, however, it must be allowed that the ideas engendered by the French Revolution, and the events which followed, have infused a certain degree of liberality into European policy, both foreign and domestic. During the period which we are now to contemplate, the union and independence of cognate races, effected by the revolutions in Belgium, Greece, and Italy, present a striking and agreeable contrast to their arbitrary separa-

[1] Among the principal books for the period may be named:—Alison, *History of Europe* to the accession of Louis Napoleon; Gervinus, *Gesch. des xix^en Jahrhunderts;* Michelet's *Hist. du xix^en Siècle*, interrupted by the death of the author, goes down only to the battle of Waterloo; Menzel (W.) *Gesch. der letzten 40 Jahre* (to 1856); Cantù, *Storia di Cento Anni* (1750-1850); Lamartine, *Hist. de la Restauration*, &c.

tion and subjugation under foreign rulers, which so often prevailed in former times, and even at the Congress of Vienna. Another marked feature of the new epoch is the union of France and England, previously the bitterest opponents, as the protectors of liberal opinions against the despotism of the Eastern Empires. In the internal history of nations we shall have to survey a constant, though not always successful, struggle for more liberal institutions. One of the worst features of the period is the vast augmentation of standing armies in the Continental countries, the result of the great military struggle with the first French Empire, and of national jealousies springing from the adjustments by which it was followed. Armies as great during peace as in the previous century they were in times of war, impoverish the people by withdrawing their flower from agriculture and manufactures, and by the taxes necessary for their maintenance; while at the same time they are a constant threat to civil freedom, and a dangerous incentive to war by the ready means they offer for waging it. England, in a great measure exempt by her position from this disastrous competition, and aided by the wonderful progress of mechanical inventions, has experienced a vast increase of material prosperity and wealth; whether moral improvement has kept equal pace with it may perhaps be doubted.

One of the first acts of Louis XVIII. on re-entering his capital was to appoint Talleyrand his chief minister. The remnant of Napoleon's army, 45,000 strong, had retired beyond the Loire under Marshal Davoust, but yielding to necessity, hoisted the white flag, and was eventually disbanded. The war continued on the north-eastern frontier. The French commandants of some of the fortresses in that quarter, though willing to recognize the authority of Louis XVIII., refused to surrender to foreign troops, and the places had to be besieged. As it was considered necessary to the security of the throne that the Allies should continue to occupy some parts of France, the English army was stationed in the district north of the Seine, the Duke of Wellington having his headquarters at Paris; the Prussians were cantoned to the west of that capital, between the Seine and Loire; the Russians were distributed about the Oise, the Meuse, and the Moselle, while Prince Schwarzenberg's headquarters were at Fontainebleau. The eastern and southern provinces of France, including Provence, were also occupied by divisions of the allied armies, so that two-thirds of France were in their power. The armies of occupation at last amounted to more than a million men.

A new Chamber of Deputies, consisting of 395 members, was elected according to a method sanctioned only by a Royal Ordinance; but as its constitution was placed on a more liberal and democratic footing, this fact escaped observation and censure. The elections showed that France was become almost ultra-royalist. The Chamber of Peers was purged, and the peerage declared hereditary. In choosing Talleyrand and Fouché for his ministers, Louis was guided by the advice of the Duke of Wellington.

In July were begun the negotiations for the Second Peace of Paris. The Allies commenced by an act of justice which had been neglected on the first occupation of Paris. The French were compelled to restore to their lawful owners those works of art which they had carried off from various European capitals in order to adorn their own. The definitive treaties between France and the Allies were signed November 20th, 1815. France was now deprived of part of the territories which the Peace of 1814 had left to her. The Duchy of Bouillon, the towns of Philippeville, Marienburg, Saar-louis, Saar-brück, and some adjacent districts, were assigned to the new kingdom of Belgium and to Prussia. The part of Alsace north of the Lauter was also detached from France, including Landau, which became a fortress of the German Confederation. Part of the county of Gex was assigned to Geneva, but Ferney was retained by France. The fortifications of Hüningen were to be demolished. From Geneva to the Mediterranean the line of demarcation existing in 1790 was to be followed, so that the King of Sardinia regained that part of Savoy which had been left to France by the former peace. But on the whole France lost only 20 square leagues of territory, whilst it had gained 40 by the annexation of the Venaissin by the Constituent Assembly. The indemnity to be paid to the Allies for the expenses of the war was fixed at seven hundred million francs (28,000,000*l.* sterling). A number of fortresses extending along the northern frontier were to be occupied, at the expense of France, by an allied army not exceeding 150,000 men for a maximum period of five years.[1] This term, however, was eventually much abridged. The army of occupation was placed under the command of the Duke of Wellington. Another treaty between Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, excluded the Bonaparte

[1] Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambrai, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroi, Givet, Charlemont, Mézieres, Sedan, Montmédy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitche, and the *tête-du-pont* of Fort Louis. For an analysis of the treaties, see Koch et Schöll, *Traités de Paix*, t. xi. p. 498 sqq.

dynasty for ever from the French throne, and bound the contracting parties to employ their whole forces for that purpose.[1]

The overthrow of Napoleon placed the supreme power in Europe in the hands of the Pentarchy, or five great Powers, viz. England, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France. The Emperor Alexander I., whose conscience was, perhaps, somewhat troubled by memories of his father's death, and whose inclination to mysticism was increased by his connection with a kindred spirit, the Baroness Krüdner, of Riga, whom he visited secretly every day, to pray with her and hear her counsels, conceived the idea of sanctioning the new system by a holy bond, and of regulating in future the measures of policy by the precepts of religion. With this view he persuaded the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia to join with him in a treaty executed at Paris, September 26th, 1815, and subsequently styled the HOLY ALLIANCE.[2] All the potentates of Europe were invited to subscribe to it, with two exceptions: the Turkish Sultan, who could hardly be expected to join a league pretending to be founded expressly on the precepts of Christianity; and the Roman Pontiff, who might, not altogether unreasonably, complain, that these temporal Princes were usurping his peculiar functions. In the preamble to this Convention the Signatories solemnly declared that the object of the act was to manifest to the universe their firm resolution to take for their rule of conduct, both in the administration of their respective States, and in their political relations with foreign Governments, those holy and Christian precepts of justice, charity, and peace, which are not applicable to private life alone, but which ought also directly to influence the counsels of Princes, and to guide all their steps, as the only means of consolidating and perfecting all human institutions. It is needless to say that this solemn act of hypocrisy, or of fanatical enthusiasm, like other holy leagues of the same description, served rather as an instrument of despotism than as a bond of peace and good-will upon earth. It was regarded with little favour in England, but it was acceded to by most of the other Christian States of Europe.

Royal ordinances of July 24th had expelled twenty-nine members from the Chamber of Peers, had ordered nineteen Generals or other officers, who had abandoned the King, to be arraigned before courts-martial; and thirty-eight persons to be placed under the *surveillance* of the police till they should be either banished or brought before the tribunals. The most remarkable among

[1] Martens, Supplt. ii. p. 239 sqq. [2] *Ibid.* p. 532 sqq.

the Generals condemned was Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," who was shot on the morning of December 7th, near the Observatory of the Luxembourg. Ney was undoubtedly guilty of the basest perfidy and treachery; but Louis violated by his execution the broader and more honourable interpretation of the Capitulation of Paris, which granted an amnesty to all within its walls. It was contended, however, that this applied only to civilians, and not to the military. Lavalette, Director General of the Posts, who had again seized that office on the flight of the King, and aided the return of Napoleon, was also condemned to death, but escaped through the heroism of his wife, who exchanged clothes with him in prison. Sir Robert Wilson also aided his flight. The day after the execution of Ney a general amnesty was proclaimed; but the Chamber insisted on the perpetual banishment of regicides. On the whole the measures adopted by Louis XVIII. were marked by moderation. He disappointed the emigrants and ultra-Royalists by declining to support their cause so warmly as they had hoped. In the south of France the fanatical Royalists and priest-party took a ferocious vengeance on the Republicans and Bonapartists. Marshal Brune, one of Napoleon's Generals, was slain by the populace at Avignon in open day, in the presence of several thousand spectators. At Nimes, regularly organized bands, led by Trestaillon and Pointou, slaughtered the Protestants as Bonapartists; and similar scenes took place at Toulouse and other towns.

It has been remarked that history often repeats itself. To other parallels afforded, externally, at least, between the French and English revolutions, may be added the position and conduct of the two Bourbons, restored, like the two Stuarts, to their ancestral throne. Louis XVIII., though far from popular, and ridiculed and despised for his obesity and inactivity, contrived, like his prototype Charles II., through good sense, and by accommodating himself to the spirit of the times, to die in possession of the crown; while his brother, the Count d'Artois, like the Duke of York in England, by his rigid adherence to obsolete principles, ultimately forfeited his own rights and those of his family. While Louis courted the middle class, at that time the predominant one in France, his brother Charles adhered exclusively to the nobles and clergy; and the Pavillon Marsan, that part of the Tuileries which he inhabited, became the rendezvous of the admirers of the ancient *régime*, and the focus of reactionary intrigues. With all his bigotry, however, Charles possessed a

certain dignity of character which saved him from contempt; and though he was ridiculed as a Don Quixote and a Jesuit, he was hated rather than despised.

In September, Talleyrand was superseded in the Ministry by the Duke de Richelieu, one of the best and most respectable of the emigrant nobles, who had distinguished himself in the Russian service, as Governor of Odessa, by his humanity and ability. At the same time Decazes replaced as head of the police, Fouché, Duke of Otranto, the blood-stained missionary of Nantes. Richelieu's influence with the Emperor Alexander succeeded in procuring for France a mitigation of the terms imposed by the treaties of November 20th, 1815. Already in February, 1817, the allied Courts had consented to reduce the army of occupation by 30,000 men, and the Congress of allied Sovereigns, which assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle at the end of September, 1818, decreed that the occupation should be entirely terminated in the following November. The sum payable by France was also reduced to 265,000,000 francs, of which 100,000,000 were to be acquitted by inscriptions on the great book of the public debt of France. These favourable terms were chiefly procured through the disinterested influence of the Duke of Wellington, who thus shortened the duration of the proud position which he occupied and of the vast emoluments which accompanied it. Soon afterwards an assassin attempted his life at Paris; an act afterwards rewarded by Napoleon with a legacy of 10,000 francs. These facts serve better than whole volumes to illustrate the characters of the two men. The CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE put the finishing hand to the pacification of Europe. France as well as England now formally acceded, by a protocol signed November 15th, to the principles of the European Pentarchy for the maintenance of Peace, published in a Declaration of the same date, and to be upheld by means of conferences and congresses. The Congresses of Laibach in 1821, and of Verona in 1822, were the result of this agreement.

In December, 1818, Richelieu, alarmed at the number of Liberal members returned to the Assembly, among whom was Lafayette, resigned the Premiership, in which he was succeeded by General Dessolles; but Decazes, who became Minister of the Interior, was the real chief of the Cabinet. A more liberal policy was now adopted: the freedom of the press was extended, and an amnesty granted to many banished persons. Decazes was supported by the party called *Doctrinaires*, which took its rise about this time. At its head was Royer Collard, and it counted in its ranks many

men distinguished by their talent, as Guizot, Villemain, Barante, Molé, and others. But the assassination, by Louvel, of the Duke de Berri, second son of the Count d'Artois, when returning from the opera, February 13th, 1820, although it appears to have been the isolated act of a fanatic, occasioned a return to less liberal measures. Louis, at the instance of his brother and of the Duchess of Angoulême, now reluctantly dismissed Decazes, who was by some unjustly suspected of having abetted the assassination, and Richelieu returned once more to power. Seven months after her husband's death the Duchess de Berri gave birth to a Prince, the Duke de Bordeaux (September 29th, 1820). Richelieu introduced into the Ministry M. Villèle, an ultra-Royalist, who, in December, 1822, became Prime Minister. The revolutions against the Bourbon Governments in Spain and Italy in 1820, to which we must now briefly advert, produced in France a further reaction which at length compelled Richelieu to retire.

The *Carbonari*, and other secret societies, had been introduced into France a few years after the restoration, and included in their members some Frenchmen of distinction, as Lafayette, Manuel, D'Argenson, Benj. Constant, and others. Lafayette presided over the central committee of the Parisian *Carbonari*. This restless spirit wanted, it is said, to make himself Dictator. Revolutions were several times attempted in different parts of France, but without success, though some of the *Carbonari* were put to death for them.

We have already adverted to the restoration of Ferdinand VII. in Spain. Weak, superstitious, dissembling, unprincipled, and hypocritical, Ferdinand had returned from his French captivity full of projects of vengeance against his subjects, and with a determination to abolish the reforms introduced by the liberal Cortes in Church and State. During the war and the captivity of Ferdinand, the Cortes had, in March, 1812, established a new Constitution, the work of a small democratic faction, by which the Royal authority was reduced to little more than a name. That Assembly was declared altogether independent of the King, and was to consist only of one Chamber, invested with the legislative power; the prerogative of the King in that respect being restricted to proposing, and a temporary *veto*. The Cortes were also to determine yearly the amount of the land and sea forces; to confirm treaties of alliance and commerce; and to propose to the King the names of 120 persons, out of whom he was to select the 40 members of his Council of State. All ecclesiastical benefices and

judicial offices were to be filled up by selecting from three persons named by this Council. The King was not to leave the Kingdom, nor to marry, without the consent of the Cortes, under the penalty of losing his throne.

Ferdinand VII., restored to liberty by Napoleon in 1814 (*supra*, p. 340), immediately after his return applied himself to restore the ancient *régime* in all its unmitigated bigotry and exclusiveness. On the other hand, the Cortes in turn had encroached on his prerogatives even in the most trivial matters. When on his homeward journey they prescribed the towns through which he should pass, and even dictated the replies he should give to the addresses that he might receive. Ferdinand issued decrees in May abolishing the Constitution. All Liberals and Freemasons, and all adherents of the Cortes, and of the officers appointed by them, were either compelled to fly or subjected to imprisonment, or at least deposed. All national property was wrested from the purchasers of it, not only without compensation, but fines were even imposed upon the holders. Dissolved convents were re-established. The Inquisition was restored, and Mir Capillo, Bishop of Almeria, appointed Grand Inquisitor, who acted with fanatical severity, and is said to have incarcerated 50,000 persons for their opinions, many of whom were subjected to torture. But *autos de fé* were abolished. The Jesuits were restored and made controllers of education. Guerilla bands were dissolved, their leaders dismissed without reward, and commands in the regular army bestowed only upon the nobles. The adherents of Joseph Bonaparte and of the former French Government were banished. By these measures some of the bravest and most loyal spirits of the country were driven into the ranks of the opposition, and 10,000 persons are computed to have fled into France. The Kingdom was governed by a *Camarilla*, consisting of the King's favourites, selected from the lowest and most worthless of the courtiers; while most of his faithful friends, the companions of his exile, were dismissed. This *Camarilla* administered justice and bestowed offices accordingly as it was bribed. With such Ministers, whom Ferdinand was constantly changing and perfidiously betraying, he descended to vulgar wit, and amused himself by turning them into ridicule.

The French invasion of Spain had occasioned a revolution in Spanish America. Till the dethronement of the Royal Family of Spain, the American colonies had remained loyal, and an insurrection attempted by General Miranda in the Caraccas, in 1806, had

been speedily suppressed. But, like the mother country, the colonists revolted at the usurpation of Napoleon and his brother Joseph; and thus, properly speaking, they were no more to be called rebels than the Spaniards of the Old World. As, however, they declined to submit to the Juntas erected in Spain, they were declared to be rebels by the Regency established at Cadiz, August 31st, 1810. The insurrection had broken out in Venezuela in April, whence in the course of the year it spread over Rio de la Plata, New Granada, Mexico, and Chili. The insurgents demanded to be put on an equality with the inhabitants of Spain, freedom of manufactures and commerce, the admission of Spanish Americans to all offices, the restoration of the Jesuits, &c. The insurrection acquired its greatest strength in Venezuela, where it was first headed by Miranda, and subsequently, after 1813, by Simon Bolivar. In some of the other provinces, its progress, owing to the dissensions of the inhabitants, was not so rapid and successful. After the restoration of Ferdinand, however, the movement had gone too far to be recalled, even had that Sovereign and his commanders displayed more moderation and good faith than was actually the case. Ferdinand exhausted his disordered finances in a vain attempt to recover these colonies, for which purpose an expedition, under General Murillo, was despatched to America in 1815.[1] In 1819 the Floridas were sold to the Americans for one million and a quarter sterling.

The loss of the American colonies, and a bad system of rural economy, by which agriculture was neglected in favour of sheep-breeding, had reduced Spain to great poverty. This state of things naturally affected the finances; the troops were left unpaid, and broke out into constant mutinies. A successful military insurrection, led by Colonels Quiroga and Riego, occurred in 1820. Mina, who had distinguished himself as a guerilla leader, but, having compromised himself in a previous mutiny, had been compelled to fly into France, now recrossed the Pyrenees to aid the movement. The Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed at

[1] It is impossible for us to describe the struggle between Spain and her colonies. The chief results were, that Bolivar achieved the independence of Venezuela and Granada, which were erected into the Republic of Colombia, Dec. 1819. In the previous May, the States of the Rio de la Plata, or Buenos Ayres, had been constituted into the Argentine Republic. The independence of Chili and Peru was also secured by the aid of Bolivar, and the Republic of Bolivia was established in Upper Peru in August, 1825. In Mexico, Iturbide, who had become leader of the insurgents after the death of Hidalgos, Morelos, and Mina, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor in 1822, but was dethroned in the following year, when the Republic of Mexico formed a league with Colombia. The independence of Colombia, Mexico, and Buenos Ayres was recognized by Great Britain, Jan. 1st, 1825. In Paraguay, Francia ruled as despot from 1810 to 1837.

Saragossa; and Ferdinand, alarmed by an insurrection of the populace and the threats of General Ballesteros, who told him that he must either concede or abdicate, was obliged to swear to it at Madrid. The long promised Cortes were convened in July, when Ferdinand opened the Assembly with a hypocritical speech, remarkable for its exaggeration of Liberal sentiments. The Cortes, at the dictation of the army, immediately proceeded again to dissolve the convents, and even to seize the tithes of the secular clergy, on the pretext that the money was required for the necessities of the State. The Inquisition was once more abolished, the freedom of the press ordained, the right of meeting and forming clubs restored; a large number of persons was dismissed from office, and replaced by members of the Liberal party. The orators of the Assembly, many of whom, as well as of the Ministers, had been confined in State prisons or the dungeons of the Inquisition, rivalled one another in the extravagance of their speeches. But on the whole the insurgents used their victory with moderation, and, with the exception of some few victims of revenge, contented themselves with depriving their opponents, the *Serviles*, of their places and emoluments.

The Spanish revolutionists were divided into three parties: the *Décamisados*, answering to the French *Sans-culottes;* the *Communeros*, who were for a moderate constitutional system; and the *Anilleros*, known by the symbol of a ring; who, dreading the interference of the Holy Alliance, endeavoured to conciliate the people with the crown. There were riots in Madrid in 1821; when the *Décamisados* broke into the prison where the Canon Vinuesa was confined, who had attempted a counter-revolution, and murdered him with a hammer. Martinez de la Rosa was courageous enough to denounce the act in the Cortes; but it was approved by the great majority not only of that Assembly, but also of the nation; and in commemoration of it was instituted the "Order of the Hammer," having a small hammer for its badge. In Eastern Spain the Secret Societies seized several hundred obnoxious persons and shipped them off to the Balearic Islands and to the Canaries. The Government was too weak to interfere, and could only bring back a few in secret. General Morillo, who after his return from America had been appointed Governor of Madrid, attempted to re-establish a reactionary Ministry, but was compelled by popular agitation to dismiss it. The revolution, though originated by the soldiery, was adopted by the more educated class of citizens. On the other hand, the clergy and the

peasantry were bitterly opposed to it. In the summer of 1821 guerilla bands were organized in the provinces in the cause of Church and King, and obtained the name of "Army of the Faith." One of the most noted leaders of these bands was Maranon, a monk of La Trappe. He was the first to mount to the assault of the fortified town of Seo de Urgel, where was established, in July, 1822, what was called a "Regency during the captivity of the King," under the presidency of the Marquis Mata Florida, the Bishop of Tarragona, and Baron d'Eroles. The Royalists got possession of nearly all Catalonia, but before the end of the year they were for the most part reduced by Mina, the Constitutional general. In these civil disturbances dreadful atrocities were committed on both sides.

The ravages of the yellow fever, which had been imported from America, and carried off many thousands, had some effect in allaying these disturbances. The French Government, with the ulterior design of interfering in Spanish affairs, seized the pretext of this disorder to place a cordon of troops on the Pyrenees; to which the Spaniards opposed an army of observation. Ferdinand, relying on the Army of the Faith, and on his Foreign Minister, Martinez de la Rosa, a *Moderado*, thought he might venture on a *coup d'état* before the appearance of the French; but his guards were worsted in a street fight, July 7th, 1822. General Ballesteros and Morillo declared themselves averse to any infringement of the Constitution; at the same time Riego suddenly returned to Madrid, and was elected President of the Cortes. Ferdinand was now base enough to applaud and thank the victors, to dismiss the *Moderados* from the Ministry, and to replace them by *Exaltados*, or Radicals. The bloodthirsty fury of the clubs and the populace was gratified by the illegal execution of two Royalist commanders,—Colonel Geoiffeux and General Elio. This state of things attracted the attention of the Holy Alliance. In October, 1822, the three Northern Monarchs assembled in congress at Verona, to adopt some resolution respecting Spain. It appeared to them that every throne in Europe was threatened. The French Ministry, considering that the establishment of a Republic on the other side of the Pyrenees would endanger the Bourbon throne, were also inclined to intervene; while the English Cabinet, in which Mr. Canning was now Foreign Secretary, as well as the great mass of the English people, were averse to any interference, and especially by France. The policy of Metternich was now predominant. The Emperor Alexander had more than ever set

his face against revolutions, had given up all his Eastern projects, and even abandoned the revolutionary Greeks, however serviceable that movement might eventually prove to him. It was at first the object of the three allied Powers to dispense with the co-operation of France in the affairs of Spain, and to bear down the opposition of England; but ultimately they resolved to support France, and each of the four Powers addressed a note of much the same tenor to the Madrid Cabinet, insisting on an end being put to the present state of things. The Duke of Wellington, who had attended the Congress for England, declined to interfere, and on returning home through Paris, warned Louis against the Spanish war, to which, indeed, the French King himself, as well as his Minister, M. de Villèle, was averse. But the Spaniards refused to listen to moderate counsels, and replied haughtily to all the expostulations of France; so that Chateaubriand himself, who had now become Minister at War, in the place of Montmorenci, though he had opposed at Verona the use of force, now adopted the contrary opinion.

In reply to the note of the Powers, San Miguel, the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, told them that the constitution was the same which had been recognized by the Emperor Alexander in 1812, and declined to make any alteration; whereupon the ambassadors of the three Powers demanded and received their passports, January 11th, 1823. The French Ambassador soon followed their example, so that only the English Minister remained behind, whose endeavours to inculcate moderation upon the Spaniards served perhaps only to blunt the energy of resistance. In the spring, the French army of observation, which had been increased to 100,000 men, was placed under the command of the Duke of Angoulême. To resist the threatened invasion, the Spanish Government appointed Mina to the defence of Catalonia, Ballesteros to that of Navarre, Morillo took the command in Galicia, Asturia, and Leon, while O'Donnell, Count of Abisbal, was stationed with the reserve in New Castile, to support either of those generals, as occasion might require. But these troops were few and ill-disciplined; while in Old Castile stood guerilla bands, under the priest Merino, ready to aid the French invasion. An attempt on the part of Ferdinand to dismiss his Liberal Ministry induced the Ministers and the Cortes to remove him to Seville (March 20th, 1823), whither the Cortes were to follow.

The Duke of Angoulême addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards from Bayonne, April 2nd, in which he told them that

he did not enter Spain as an enemy, but to liberate the captive King, and, in conjunction with the friends of order, to re-establish the altar and the throne. The French crossed the Bidasoa, April 7th. The only serious resistance which they experienced was from Mina. Ballesteros was not strong enough to oppose them, while the traitor O'Donnell entered into negotiations with the enemy, and opened to them the road to the capital. Ballesteros was compelled to retire into Valencia, and the French entered Madrid May 23rd. The Spaniards received the French as deliverers. A Regency, composed of the Duke del Infantado and four other nobles, was now instituted till the King should be rescued from the hands of the Liberals, and immediately commenced an unmeasured reaction. A French corps was despatched into Catalonia against Mina, who still held out in that province; and another against Seville, where the Cortes had reopened their sittings; but on the advance of the French they retired to Cadiz, June 12th, taking with them the King, whom they declared of unsound mind, and a provisional Regency was appointed. Zayas arrested for a while the march of the French at Talavera de la Reyna, but was compelled to yield to superior numbers. Mina was shut up in Catalonia; Ballesteros, driven from Valencia into Granada, was defeated in the mountains near Campillo de Arenas, when he capitulated and acknowledged the Regency at Madrid. About the same time Morillo surrendered at Corunna. These events enabled the Duke of Angoulême to march with the bulk of his army to Cadiz, where he arrived August 16th. Fort Trocadero was captured on the 31st, Fort St. Petri on the 20th of September, when the bombardment of the city was begun. Cadiz having capitulated, October 1st, Valdez conducted the King to the French camp in a boat, while the Cortes made their escape by sea. All further resistance being now hopeless, Mina also capitulated, and surrendered to the French the fortresses which he still held in Catalonia, on condition of a free and unmolested retreat (November 2nd). Riego, who had endeavoured to annoy the French rear, was captured while attempting to join Mina. Sir Robert Wilson and a few other Englishmen had aided the Spanish Liberals in this struggle. The Duke of Angoulême returned to Paris before the end of the year, but Spain continued to be occupied by an army of 40,000 French.

The first act of Ferdinand after his release was to publish a proclamation, October 1st, revoking all that had been done since March 7th, 1820. The Inquisition, indeed, was not restored;

but the vengeance exercised by the secular tribunals was so atrocious that the Duke of Angoulême issued an order prohibiting arrests not sanctioned by the French commander: an act, however, which on the principle of non-interference was disavowed by the French Government. The brave Riego was condemned to death at Madrid, November 7th, conveyed to the place of execution on a hurdle drawn by an ass, with every mark of ignominy and insult, and hanged amid the approving shouts of the mob on a gibbet of enormous height, erected for the purpose. In strange contrast to this scene, the King and Queen of Spain made their public entry into Madrid on the 13th with a ridiculous pomp, sitting on a triumphal car twenty feet high, drawn by 100 men in green and pink, and surrounded by male and female dancers. The whole Spanish army was now disbanded, and its place supplied by the "Army of the Faith." These men were gradually formed into a militia called "Royal Volunteers," who plundered and murdered the Constitutionalists to their hearts' content; while the *Camarilla*, now directed by Victor Saez, the King's confessor, only laughed at the exhortations to moderation addressed to them by the French and English Ambassadors. It is computed that 40,000 Constitutionalists, chiefly of the educated classes, were thrown into prison. The French remained in Spain till 1827. It was the occupation of Spain by the French that induced Mr. Canning, then the English Prime Minister, to recognize the Republics of South America, in order that, if France held Spain it should not be Spain with the Indies.

M. Zea Bermudez, the new Minister, endeavoured to rule with moderation. But he was opposed on all sides. The nobles and clergy attacked him because he attempted to tax them. His most dangerous enemy, however, was the APOSTOLIC JUNTA, erected in 1824 for the purpose of carrying out to its full extent, and independently of the Ministry, the victory of bigotry and absolutism. Saez was at the head of it, and the King sometimes attended its sittings. Every day it engrossed more and more the whole power of the State, and was thus engaged in continual conflicts with the Ministry. In 1825 Zea Bermudez, having caused the notorious Bessières to be shot for having organized riots in order to force the King to dismiss his Liberal Ministry, was compelled to resign. He was succeeded by the Duke del Infantado, who in turn succumbed to intrigue. The Junta now procured the appointment of the weak and incapable Salmon, and in the spring of 1827 excited in Catalonia an

insurrection of the *Serviles*. The insurgents styled themselves *Aggraviados* (aggrieved persons), because the King did not restore the Inquisition, and because he sometimes listened to his half-Liberal Ministers, or to the French and English Ambassadors, instead of suffering the Junta to rule uncontrolled. The history of the revolt is obscure. Saez, who had been relegated to his bishopric of Tortosa, and probably also the Northern Powers, were concerned in it, and the object seems to have been to dethrone Ferdinand in favour of his brother Carlos. But the Duke del Infantado, during his brief administration, had restored a regular army of 50,000 men, at the head of which España, accompanied by the King in person, proceeded into Catalonia, when the insurgents were subdued, the province disarmed, and many persons executed.

Portugal was also shaken by revolutions during this period. The Regent, who, on the death of his mother Maria, March 20th, 1816, ascended the throne with the title of John VI., continued, after the downfall of Napoleon, to reside in Brazil, which had been erected in 1815 into the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves. Lord Beresford, as a member of the Portuguese Regency, as well as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, directed the affairs of Portugal. The discontent at this state of things was fanned into a revolt by the Spanish Revolution of 1820. Colonel Sepulveda established in August a Provisional Government in Oporto; and General Amarante, who had been despatched from Lisbon to quell the revolt, was compelled by his own troops to join the Junta of Oporto. In the middle of September a constitution even more liberal than that of Spain was proclaimed in Lisbon, and a Junta appointed to conduct the Government in the King's name. Lord Beresford, who had been absent in the Brazils during these occurrences, on his return to Portugal early in October, found that his power had departed, and was compelled to return with his officers to England. The English Government forbore to interfere, and left the settlement of matters to King John. That Sovereign was himself driven from Brazil in April, 1821, by an insurrection of the Portuguese soldiery in favour of the constitution promulgated in the mother country, and sailed for Portugal, leaving his eldest son, Don Pedro, Regent of Brazil. On his arrival in Portugal in July, John VI. accepted the constitution which had been framed during his absence; but his consort, Charlotte, a sister of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, refused to take the oath to it.

The interference of the Holy Alliance and of the French in the affairs of Spain, encouraged the reactionary party in Portugal. Towards the end of February, 1823, Count Amarante, the Queen's most distinguished adherent, raised the standard of revolt at Villa Franca, and was immediately joined by several regiments. Dom Miguel, the Queen's youngest and favourite son, fled secretly from Lisbon towards the end of May, and proceeded to the camp of the insurgents; when Sepulveda, betraying the freedom which he had himself established, also joined the reactionary movement. The people of Lisbon followed the impulse of the soldiery; the Cortes, seeing themselves abandoned, dispersed; the Ministers resigned; the King, as usual, submitted, and on the 5th of June the new constitution was abolished. This revolution was accomplished without bloodshed. From this time all the Queen's efforts were directed to dethrone her husband and procure the crown for Dom Miguel. The Marquis Loulé, the King's chamberlain and favourite, who had the reputation of a Liberal, was found murdered, March 1st, 1824, and the Minister at War received letters threatening him with a similar fate. Dom Miguel, having assembled the garrison of Lisbon, April 30th, exhorted them to extirpate all Freemasons and Liberals; caused all generals, ministers, and officers suspected of Liberalism to be apprehended, and even the King, his father, to be placed under surveillance. John would no doubt have now been compelled to resign his crown but for the interference of the French and English Ambassadors and the diplomatic corps. To avoid the machinations of his son, John went on board the "Windsor Castle," a British man-of-war, in the Tagus, May 9th, whither he was followed by all the foreign ambassadors. From this refuge the King issued orders forbidding anybody to obey his son; when Dom Miguel, finding himself abandoned by part of his troops, threw himself at his father's feet and implored his forgiveness. This he obtained, but he was ordered to leave the Kingdom, and took up his residence at Vienna. While these events were passing in the mother country, Don Pedro constituted himself Emperor of Brazil by the aid of the revolutionary party, October 12th, 1822, and the Empire of Brazil was declared independent. John VI. was induced through British mediation to recognize the new empire, May 15th, 1825.

The spirit of imitation influences political events as well as less important matters, and the endeavours of the Spaniards to set up a constitutional King, roused a similar desire in other

countries. The Italian peninsula, like the Iberian, was also shaken by revolutions. We have already mentioned the return of Pope Pius VII. to Rome. Pius re-established, so far as was possible, the ancient state of things, and was favoured by all the European Powers. Ferdinand IV., restored to his Kingdom of the Two Sicilies by Austria, had been put, as it were, under her guardianship by his treaty of alliance with that Power of April 29th, 1815. By a Concordat with the Pope, Ferdinand restored the Papal influence in Naples, though he refused to acknowledge his vassalage to the Holy See by the ancient tribute of a white palfrey. An attempt by Murat to regain the crown proved fatal to that adventurer. Murat, the son of a village shopkeeper, not content with an asylum in the Austrian States, and a fortune such as he could not have ventured to dream of at the beginning of his military career, after many hair-breadth escapes and romantic adventures in flying from France to Corsica after the restoration, made a descent at Pizzo, in Calabria, October 8th, 1815, in the hope that the people would declare in his favour; but falling into a snare laid for him by the *podestà* of the place, he was captured and shot as a common rebel, October 13th.

Various secret societies had sprung up in Naples and Sicily, which, on the departure of the Austrian troops in 1817, began to manifest themselves. The chief of these were the so-called *Carbonari*, or charcoal-men: to oppose whom was instituted the loyal society of *Calderarii* (tinkers or braziers, who use the coals). The *Carbonari* comprised more than half a million persons, chiefly of the higher and better educated classes, and of the army. The *Calderarii* had originated in Sicily, with the Prince of Canosa, the Minister of Police, at their head. It was rumoured that a society of *Sanfedisti* had been formed under the auspices of Count De Maistre, the publicist, in which were enrolled Princes and Prelates, with the design of uniting all Italy under the Pope, a project afterwards revived. The Spanish revolution of 1820 had an electrical effect at Naples; and it is remarkable that here also the insurrection was organized by the soldiery. On the night of June 1st, Lieutenant Morelli proclaimed the Constitution at Nola, at the head of a squadron of horse; and, hastening to Avellino, was immediately joined both by the civil and military officers there, who had long been *Carbonari*. General Pepé, the Commandant of Naples, put himself at the head of the insurrection, and with a regiment of cavalry joined the insurgents at Salerno; while General Carascosa, whom the King had despatched

against them with 5,000 men, remained undecided and inactive. Symptoms of revolt having manifested themselves at Naples itself, the King, without striking a blow, conceded all demands; dismissed his Ministers, replaced them by Liberals, and proclaimed the Spanish Constitution of 1812, which the people hardly knew even by name, instead of the Liberal Sicilian Constitution of the same date; which, however, had been abrogated. The Sicilians also rose; not, however, to aid the sister country, but to proclaim their own independence. Ferdinand IV., under the pretext of illness, abandoned the government to his son Francis, Duke of Calabria; when Caracosa and Pepé returned to Naples, and the army, the people, the Court, and the Crown Prince himself assumed the *Carbonari* colours (black, pink, and sky-blue).[1]

The Neapolitan revolution was entirely a military one, and the only fighting that occurred was between some regiments which differed in opinion; that of Sicily was a popular insurrection. The Viceroy, General Naselli, having displayed the *Carbonari* colours, the people of Palermo assumed the yellow badge of Sicily; and on the festival of St. Rosalia, July 15th, the chief one of the Palermitans, they demanded the independence of the island under a Prince of the Royal House. General Church, an Englishman, who commanded the garrison at Palermo, having attempted to interfere, was compelled to fly for his life; Naselli also fled after having established a Provisional Junta, to which, however, no respect was paid. The people, having defeated the troops in a sanguinary battle, obtained entire possession of Palermo, which during two consecutive days became a scene of robbery and massacre. A new Junta was now appointed, at the head of which was the Prince of Villa Franca, and one Vagleia, of Monreale, a monk. But the revolutionary Government at Naples despatched 5,000 men against Palermo, and compelled that city to capitulate, October 5th.

The Neapolitan revolution inspired the Austrian Government with alarm for the safety of all Italy, and Metternich brought about a Congress at Troppau in October, 1820, which was attended by the Emperors Alexander and Francis, and the Crown Prince of Prussia; by the Ministers, Metternich, for Austria; Hardenberg, for Prussia; Nesselrode and Capodistria, for Russia; Caraman and Laferronays, for France, and Sir Charles Stewart, for England. Ferdinand, at the invitation of the Allies, obtained the

[1] For the Neapolitan insurrection, see Colletta, *Storia di Napoli*, t. ii.

reluctant consent of his people to go to Troppau in the character, as he affirmed, of a mediator, and after renewing his oath to the constitution. Up to this period Alexander had acted in a liberal and beneficent spirit. He had emancipated the serfs in Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, had ameliorated their condition throughout the Empire, and had promoted education and favoured religious toleration. But the military revolutions in Spain and Italy filled him with alarm, for the soldiery were the main prop of his own power. In spite of the opposition of England and France, and even at first, in some degree, of Russia, which dreaded too great a preponderance of Austria in Italy, Metternich succeeded in forming a League between Austria, Russia, and Prussia for the suppression of the Neapolitan rebellion. The Congress was transferred to Laibach in January, 1821, when it was determined to send an Austrian army into the Neapolitan dominions. France acquiesced, and England, single-handed, could do nothing but protest. Next month, 60,000 Austrians, under General Frimont, marched into the South of Italy, with Ferdinand in their train, who plainly threatened to abolish the new constitution. The Neapolitans had raised an army equal in number to that of the invaders, and such was the national enthusiasm, that it was joined by the friends and kinsfolk of the King, and even by the Prince of Salerno, his son. But the constitutional troops were for the most part raw and ill-disciplined, and badly supplied with arms and provisions; and the Austrians, after overcoming some slight resistance from Pepé and Carascosa, entered Naples, March 24th. Ferdinand now gave vent to the wrath which he had postponed at his restoration. The people were disarmed, all suspected persons were arrested, and confiscations and executions became the order of the day. Walmoden was sent with a body of Austrians into Sicily, to restore the ancient state of things in that island.

The effects of the Spanish revolution also extended to Piedmont, where Victor Emanuel I., after his restoration, had placed everything as much as possible on the old footing. The *Carbonari* were also active here, and were in communication with those of Naples, and with the malcontents in France. They even induced Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano, to enter into their plots. That Prince, though but a distant kinsman of the King, was presumptive heir to the throne, Victor Emanuel being now of an age that rendered the prospect of his having further issue highly improbable, and having only a daughter, whose succession was

barred by Salic law. The *Carbonari* flattered Charles Albert with the hope of becoming King of all Italy if the revolution should succeed; and after some hesitation he agreed to enter into their schemes. On the 9th of March, 1821, Colonel Arsaldi proclaimed at Alessandria the Spanish Constitution, and the troops at Turin also hoisted the three-coloured flag. Victor Emanuel, abandoning the Government to the Prince of Carignano, abdicated the throne March 13th, in favour of his brother, Charles Felix, then residing at Modena. The insurrection was put down by a portion of the troops which remained faithful to the King, helped by an Austrian force under Count Bubna. Victor Emanuel, however, declined to resume the crown which he had relinquished. The Prince of Carignano, who had secretly assured the new King that he, as well as the higher class in general, was adverse to the revolution, was only punished by two years' relegation from the Court; and Charles Felix, who was also childless, maintained the Prince's right to the crown, in spite of the endeavours of Austria to obtain it for the Duke of Modena, son of the Archduke Ferdinand and of Beatrix, the only daughter of Victor Emanuel.

Lombardy also contained many secret societies, and was, in fact, the chief centre of the *Carbonari*, and of the society of "Italian Federation," which was to be the nucleus of the insurgent populations. Lombardy was to have risen when the Piedmontese army had crossed the Ticino. But this expectation was frustrated, and such was the vigilance of the police, that any outbreak was prevented; though the Archduke Rainer, who resided as Viceroy with his family at Milan, fled at the first alarm of danger. Towards the end of 1821 the police discovered and captured some members of a secret society, among the most noted of whom were Confalonieri and Silvio Pellico. The latter, in a well-known work, has related the particulars of his imprisonment in the fortress of Spielberg at Brünn, the capital of Moravia. The Emperor himself is said to have regulated, down to the minutest particulars, the treatment of the prisoners confined there.

While the Austrian Government, guided by the counsels of Metternich, kept so vigilant an eye on the domestic affairs of other countries, the home administration was conducted on a system of *laissez-aller*, which though popular enough with the indolent, pleasure-seeking Viennese, was highly detrimental to the interests of the State. Everything was neglected. In a time of peace, the Government got every year deeper into debt. The Russians, in conformity with the Peace of Adrianople, which we

shall have to relate further on, were allowed to settle at the mouth of the Danube, and thus virtually to command that river. The harbour of Venice was suffered to fill with sand, and the steam navigation between that port and Trieste to be monopolized by the English. In the midst of this frivolity of the Austrians and their Government, the Bohemian, Hungarian, and Italian nationalities began to expand and to develop themselves into formidable Powers. The movement, taking its origin in Bohemia and Hungary in the study of national antiquities and literature, assumed at length a political cast, and begot a desire for national independence.[1] With regard to Church matters, the Emperor and his Ministers were far from being bigoted. Intellectual culture among the clergy was discouraged; the pretensions of Rome were repressed, and the Pope was obliged to confirm the Italian bishops nominated by the Emperor. The Jesuits were excluded from the Austrian dominions till 1820, and were then only admitted in Italy and Galicia.

The after-shocks of that great social convulsion which had agitated Europe since 1792, were also felt in Germany as well as in Italy and the Spanish Peninsula. The Germans in general were desirous of an extension of their political liberties, and a confirmation of them by means of constitutions, which had indeed been promised by the Act of Confederation. This matter occasioned some serious disputes between the King of Würtemberg and his subjects. But the Germans are a people who seem little capable of initiating revolutionary movements, and require to be influenced by an impulse from without. States were assembled in Würtemberg, Baden and Hanover, but not in Prussia. Till the second French Revolution in 1830, political demonstrations in Germany were mostly confined to the students of the universities. These, however, were mere harmless mummeries, such as the adoption of a particular dress, the displaying of the German colours, and other acts of the same kind. The most remarkable demonstration occurred in 1817, on the celebration of the third centenary of the Reformation; when on the 18th of October, the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic, a number of students from various universities assembled at the Wartburg near Eisenach, the scene of Luther's concealment. After the festival had been celebrated with songs, speeches, and a procession by torch-light, most of the students dispersed; but a few remained behind, and amused themselves with burning certain insignia of the German military ser-

[1] Wolfgang Menzel, *Gesch. der letzten* 40 *Jahre*, B. i. S. 26.

vice, as well as some histories and other works of an anti-Liberal tendency. The whole affair was absurd and harmless enough, and would speedily have sunk into oblivion had it not been magnified into importance by the notice taken of it by the Prussian and Austrian Ministers. Hence it attracted the attention of the Emperor Alexander, who in the following year took upon himself to interpose in the domestic affairs of Germany by directing his Minister Stourdza to denounce to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle the revolutionary movements of the German students. Among the agents of Russia in Germany was Augustus von Kotzebue, the dramatist, who was suspected of transmitting to St. Petersburg information against the students, and in a weekly paper which he edited, employed himself in turning them and their professors into ridicule. One Sand, a student of Jena, irritated by the denunciations which he heard against Kotzebue, and inflamed by a mistaken patriotism, set off for Mannheim, Kotzebue's residence, and stabbed him to the heart, March 23rd, 1819. After the murder, Sand made an ineffectual attempt at suicide, and in conformity with the German law, which requires confession of a crime before execution, was not executed till fourteen months afterwards. This act of Sand's confirmed the German statesmen in their notion of a secret and widespread conspiracy, or rather, perhaps, afforded them a pretext to act as if such a thing really existed. At a Congress of German Ministers, held at Carlsbad in July, 1819, which was attended by the Princes Metternich and Hardenberg, Count Rechberg from Bavaria, and others, were adopted what have been called the Carlsbad Resolutions, viz., a more rigid superintendence of the press, the suppression of the independence of the universities, and the establishment of a central Commission of Inquiry at Mentz, to discover the existing conspiracy, and to punish the participators in it. These Resolutions were adopted by the Federal Diet, September 27th. But though the Commission sat ten years, filled the prisons with students, and deprived of their chairs and, even banished, many of the professors at the universities, still it did not succeed in discovering any conspiracy, for in fact none existed.

Few other events of European importance occurred during the reign of Louis XVIII. of France. It will suffice to remind the reader of the English expedition to Algiers under Admiral Sir E. Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth, in August, 1816; when, with the assistance of a small Dutch squadron, the fortifications of the place were destroyed, 7,000 Algerines killed, and that nest of pirates

was reduced to submission, though not without great loss on the part of the British. The Dey was compelled to abolish Christian slavery for ever, and to liberate upwards of 3,000 Christian slaves of all nations, who were detained at Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. George III. died January 29th, 1820, and was succeeded on the throne by George IV., who had long been Regent. Sweden also had experienced a change of Sovereign by the death of Charles XIII. in February, 1818, and the accession of Bernadotte, Crown-Prince by adoption, with the title of Charles XIV. On the decease of Pope Pius VII., August 20th, 1823, the Cardinal della Genga, a bigoted churchman, was elected to the Papal chair, and assumed the title of Leo XII.

Louis XVIII. died unregretted, September 16th, 1824. He was not destitute of talent; he had considerable literary culture, and especially he shone in conversation; and as he had sense enough to accommodate himself to the temper of the times, and a coldness of temperament which preserved him from glaring vices, he was a fit enough King to succeed the turbulence of the Republic and the Empire. His brother, Charles X., who now ascended the throne, had, during the last year or two, been virtually ruler of France. Some of his first measures seemed to promise liberality. He suffered the Constitution to remain, and he abolished the censorship of the press. This last act, however, was soon recalled; while the dismissal of 150 generals and superior officers of the time of Napoleon enlisted against him the feelings of the army. The favour which he showed to the House of Orleans seemed a concession made to the Liberal party. Louis Philippe, the head of the family, had returned to France. He had married Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, by whom he had many children, and appeared to lead far from the Court a quiet and secluded life. But under this exterior he concealed a devouring ambition, and sought to recommend himself to the people by the assumption of a citizenlike simplicity. Charles X. mistook his character. In the hope of conquering him by generosity, and identifying the interests of the elder and younger Bourbons, Charles conferred upon him, unsolicited, the title of Royal Highness, and directed that the vast estates should be restored to him which, before the Revolution, had formed the *apanage* of the House of Orleans. But Louis Philippe did not respond to these generous acts by giving the King his political support. At the same time, in order to secure the Crown to the elder branch of the House of Bourbon, Charles declared his son,

the Duke of Angoulême, now past middle age, Dauphin, and he caused this act, as well as the magnificent grant to the Orleans family, to be confirmed by the Chambers.

Charles X. was crowned with the usual solemnities at Rheims, May 29th, 1825. Fortunately a drop or two of the holy chrism with which St. Remigius had anointed Chlodowic had escaped all the perils of the Revolution, as if providentially preserved for the occasion! But Charles soon discovered from unmistakeable symptoms that the ancient *régime* had irrevocably departed. He sought to combat revolutionary ideas by means of religion, and the influence of the *parti prêtre*. The Jesuits were re-established, and new colleges founded for them; the Court assumed an air of ostentatious devotion; magnificent processions of ecclesiastics paraded the streets; and great pains were taken to inspire the soldiery with religious fervour. But it soon became manifest that such projects were useless. The death of General Foy, one of the heads of the Liberal party, November 28th, gave occasion to a popular demonstration. His funeral was attended by 100,000 persons in mourning and bareheaded, though it rained in torrents, and a subscription for his widow reached a million francs, the Duke of Orleans contributing 10,000. The popular feeling was still more directly manifested at a review of the National Guard, April 29th, 1827. No cries were heard but *Vive la Charte!* not a single cheer was raised for the King; and some of the regiments shouted *A bas les ministres! à bas les Jésuites!* On the next day the National Guard was dissolved. M. Villèle hoped to overcome the opposition to the Government by a new Chamber; but the elections gave 428 Liberals against 125 Ministerialists, and Villèle, who was highly unpopular, felt himself compelled to resign (January 3rd, 1828).

M. de Martignac, who now became Prime Minister, introduced some popular measures. Among these were a new law of the press, relaxing the rules prescribed to journalists; and several regulations against the Jesuits. At this period Royer Collard was President of the second Chamber; on the left or Opposition benches of which sat Benjamin Constant, Lafayette, Casimir Périer, Lafitte, and other distinguished men. Martignac's foreign policy was also Liberal. He acted in conjunction with England in the affairs of Portugal and Greece; the French fleet took part in the battle of Navarino, and General Maison led a French army into the Morea. But before we relate these events we must take a brief retrospect of the Greek Revolution.

The Turkish Empire had long been in a declining state. The Sultans were little more than the puppets of the Janissaries. The reforms attempted by Selim III. had terminated in his deposition in 1807, as we have already related. His successor, Mustapha IV., had scarcely enjoyed the throne a year when he also was dethroned, July 28th, 1808, in an insurrection headed by Mustapha Bairactar, Pasha of Rustchuk. His half-brother, Mahmoud II., was now elevated to the throne, which, however, he enjoyed only by sufferance of the Janissaries. The war which broke out again with Russia in 1809 inflicted fresh losses on Turkey, and it would probably have gone hard with her had not the imminence of a war with France induced the Emperor Alexander to grant the Porte moderate conditions. By the Peace of Bucharest, however, May 28th, 1812, Russia remained in possession of Bessarabia and the eastern part of Moldavia as far as the Pruth. Turkey seemed almost in a state of dissolution. The army was disorganized; in Egypt Mehemet Ali had nearly rendered himself independent; in the provinces the pashas were constantly revolting.

That the Turks should have so long maintained their empire in Europe over peoples so much more numerous than themselves, must perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that these peoples are composed of various races unfitted to combine in any general political object, and that the Turk, as a soldier, is far superior to those over whom he rules. He has never mingled, like the conquerors of the North, with the Christian races he has subdued and regards as his slaves. His fatalism and his indolence deprive him of all wish to acquire the arts and manners of a higher civilization; hence the line between him and his European subjects is as strongly drawn as in the first days of conquest, and will most probably remain so as long as he holds supreme power. Exclusive of Armenians and Jews, the European subjects of the Sultan are composed of four distinct races, speaking different languages, and having different laws and customs, viz. Slavonians, Roumans, Albanians, and Greeks. Of these races the Slavonian, inhabiting Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and Montenegro, amounting to upwards of seven million souls, is by far the most numerous. But these different Slavonic races were never united among themselves. The Montenegrins, in their inaccessible mountains, have preserved from the earliest period a sort of independence, which the Servians also have partly succeeded in achieving. The Rouman or Wallach population, inhabiting the

trans-Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and still speaking a bastard Latin dialect, come next in point of number, counting about four million souls. The Albanians or Arnauts, inhabiting the west coast of Turkey, the ancient Epirus, amount to about one and a half million. It was among these mountaineers that Ali, Pasha of Jannina, established towards the end of the last century a kind of independent rule. This remarkable barbarian was the son of Veli Bey, Aga of Tebelen, and of Chamco, a woman of great beauty and spirit, said to have been a descendant of Scanderbeg. Ali's early years were spent in marauding expeditions; his more ambitious schemes were fostered by a marriage with Emina, daughter of the Pasha of Delvino, one of the three Pashalics into which Albania is divided, the other two being Paramatia and Jannina. Ali's father-in-law having been strangled for aiding Greek sedition, was succeeded in his Pashalic by Selim, who favoured and befriended Ali; but Selim having incurred the suspicion of the Porte, Ali treacherously murdered him, and sent his head to Constantinople. For this base and inhuman act he was rewarded with the Pashalic of Thessaly, where by his extortions he amassed sufficient treasure to purchase the Pashalic of Jannina.

The Greeks, the smallest in point of number of all the European races under Ottoman sway, comprising hardly more than one million souls, have alone succeeded, by means of European sympathy, in asserting their entire independence of the Turks. They inhabit the Morea, the adjoining province of Livadia, or ancient Greece proper, the islands of the Archipelago, and the Ionian Islands, besides being scattered in some of the larger cities of the Turkish Empire, as Constantinople, Smyrna, &c. The increase of wealth, acquired by commerce, had inspired them with new tastes and more extended ideas. Young men of the upper classes were sent to Paris and other places for education; in the schools established at home the Greek classics were read, and, whatever may be the right of the modern Greeks to trace their descent from the ancient Hellenes, inspired the youth with a love of liberty and a desire to emulate their assumed ancestors. Among a people thus disposed, the Spanish revolution of 1820 was not without its influence. Their aspirations for independence were encouraged by the *dilettante* Philhellenism which, in many parts of Europe, had become a sort of fashion. We have already adverted to the origin of this feeling in the time of Voltaire and Catharine II. of Russia; in which latter country,

however, it was solely a political idea, cherished with the view of weakening Turkey and rendering her an easier prey.

The disappointed hope that something would have been done for them at the Congress of Vienna, led the Greeks to form Secret Societies, or Hetaireiæ, with the view of securing their independence by revolt. These societies contained some distinguished persons, as Count Capo d'Istria, Secretary of the Emperor Alexander, nay, it was even supposed the Emperor himself. However this may be, it is certain that the Greeks relied on Russian aid. A rising of the Greeks, though often contemplated, was first actually agitated to any purpose by Alexander Ypsilanti, son of the Phanariot Hospodar of Wallachia, before mentioned, and a general in the Russian service.[1] From Kischneff in Bessarabia, whither he had removed from Moscow the central committee of the Hetaireiæ, he despatched agents in all directions to incite the Greeks to rise (1820). But the insurrection first broke out in Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1821, during which the Christians displayed as much barbarity as their lords, by massacring great numbers of Turks in Jassy and Galatz, and plundering their houses. This revolt, however, was disclaimed and reproved by Alexander and denounced by the Patriarch, and was easily put down by the Turks. Soon after insurrectionary symptoms began to show themselves in Greece, especially among the Mainotes, as well as in the north of the Morea, in the Archipelago, and at Athens, where the inhabitants compelled the Turks to take refuge in the Acropolis. Ali, Pasha of Jannina, took part in the movement, and was joined by Odysseus, the leader of some Albanian tribes despatched against Ali by the Sultan. A civil war now began, into the particulars of which we cannot enter. It was marked by the most frightful massacres. The chief events of the first two or three years were, the promulgation of a new Constitution for Greece on New Year's Day, 1822; the reduction and murder of Ali Pasha, who, though still a Mahommedan, caused a diversion in favour of the Greeks (February 5th); the taking of Scio by the Turks in April, when they massacred some 25,000 of the inhabitants, and enslaved about double that number, so that, including the fugitives, the island was almost depopulated; and the capture of Napoli di Romania by the Greeks, under Colocotroni, December 21st. At this period Mavrocordato, a Phanariot of ancient family, was the principal leader of the revolution. The war continued through

[1] See Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution*.

1823, and it was not till the following year that the Western Powers began to interfere. Sultan Mahmoud had treated the Greeks with moderation, in order apparently to deprive Russia of any pretence for intervention, and the Emperor Alexander refrained from interfering, though he proposed to the principal European Powers early in 1823 that the Greeks should be placed in the same relation to the Porte as the Danubian Principalities, and should be governed by four Hospodars. The European Governments, however, were not yet prepared to interfere, though in many countries a strong Philhellenistic feeling prevailed. The first active aid for the Greeks came from England. The accession of Canning to the Ministry, as Foreign Secretary, was favourable to their cause, and early in 1824 they obtained in London a loan of 800,000*l*. Lord Byron, an ardent Philhellenist, not content with assisting them from his own resources with money and arms, proceeded to Greece to give them his personal aid. He was accompanied by Colonel Stanhope. But a nearer acquaintance with the Greeks speedily dissipated all classical illusions. Byron died at Missolonghi, April 19th, from vexation, disappointment, and the effects of the climate. Stanhope was cheated and laughed at by the treacherous Odysseus, who seems to have possessed all the slyness of his classical namesake.[1] In December, 1824, Canning recognized the Greek Government by sending them a friendly note.

The death of the Emperor Alexander I., who, at the early age of forty-eight, expired after a short illness at Taganrog on the Sea of Azof, December 1st, 1825, accelerated the crisis of the Greek revolution. The Russian throne now devolved to Nicholas I., Alexander's youngest brother, in favour of whom Constantine, the second brother, Governor of Poland, had formally renounced his rights. Nicholas, however, seems not to have been aware of this; at all events, when the news of Alexander's death arrived at St. Petersburg, he caused the troops to swear obedience to Constantine. This circumstance was near producing a revolt. Constantine persisted in and publicly notified his renunciation of the crown. But when the soldiery were again called upon to take the oath to Nicholas, a large portion of them, incited, it is said, by a faction led by Prince Trubetzkoi, who were for establishing a federative republic, refused to accept the change, and it became necessary to shoot down some of the regiments with artillery.

[1] That chief, being suspected of intriguing with the Turks, was put to death at Athens in June, 1825.

When Nicholas was crowned at Moscow, Constantine hastened from Warsaw, was the first to do him homage, and embraced him in public, in order that no doubts might remain of the good faith of this transaction.

The accession of Nicholas inaugurated a new era in Russian policy. Alexander, like his predecessors since Peter the Great, had favoured the introduction of foreign culture and manners. Nicholas was distinguished by his predilection for the ancient Muscovitism, and a bigoted adherence to the Greek Church. He made no secret of his pretensions to be the Pope and Emperor of the Greeks, wheresoever they might dwell, and it might be anticipated that he would not remain a passive spectator of the Greek revolution. The Duke of Wellington, who was sent to congratulate Nicholas on his accession, was at the same time instructed to come to an understanding with him on this question. The Czar at first disputed the right of other Powers to intermeddle with his policy regarding Turkey, but at length consented to sign a secret Convention, April 4th, 1826, by which he recognized the new Greek State; which was, however, to pay a yearly tribute to the Porte. Turkey was to be compelled to accept this arrangement, to which the accession of the remaining members of the Pentarchy was to be invited.

It was precisely at this juncture that Turkey was still further weakened by a domestic convulsion. Towards the end of May, 1826, Sultan Mahmoud II. issued a *hattischerif* for the reform of the Janissaries, which, however, still left them considerable privileges. Nevertheless, that licentious soldiery rose in insurrection on the night of June 14th, and plundered the palaces of three grandees whom they considered to be the authors of the decree. The riot was continued on the following day. But the Janissaries had neither plan nor leaders, and the Sultan, who had previously assured himself of the support of the *Ulema*, as well as of the marine, the artillery, and other troops, putting himself at the head of the bands that remained faithful to him, and displaying the tunic of the Prophet, dismissed the crowd which surrounded it to the slaughter of the Janissaries assembled in the Hippodrome. In a single night 4,000 were massacred and cast into the Hellespont; in the following days 25,000 more. Their wives and children were also murdered, and their very name abolished.

Mahmoud had vanquished his domestic enemies, but by the same act had rendered himself defenceless against external ones;

and, being hampered by the Greek insurrection, he found himself compelled to submit to all the dictates of Russia regarding the points which had been left undecided by the Treaty of Bucharest. By the Treaty of Akerman, October 7th, 1826, the Porte consented that the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, though appointed by the Sultan for a period of seven years, should rule independently; that they should have a divan chosen from among the Boyars, and should not be deposed without the sanction of the Czar. The Servians, though still tributary to the Porte, were to elect their own princes; the Porte was to restore the districts which had been taken from them, and to refrain from interfering in their affairs. Russia was to occupy the east coast of the Black Sea, and her vessels were to have free entrance into all the Turkish waters.

Greece was not mentioned in this treaty; but Canning perceived the necessity of preventing the Russians from invading Turkey in its present defenceless state under pretence of the Greek cause. The events of the last year or two had been unfavourable for the Greeks. Mehemet Ali, who cherished hopes of the whole Turkish succession, had, early in 1825, despatched into the Morea an army of 17,000 men under his adopted son, Ibrahim, by whom the Greeks had been defeated, and Navarino taken in May, as well as the little island of Sphagia which lies before it. Hence Ibrahim made incursions into the Morea, but achieved no extensive or lasting conquests till in April, 1826, having been joined by the Turkish commander Redschid Pasha, Missolonghi, after a protracted and heroic defence, yielded to their united arms, April 22nd, 1826. The Greeks had now exhausted the loan, and their affairs began to look desperate. Canning apprehended that Nicholas might come to an understanding with Mehemet Ali to divide Turkey between them; and these fears were shared by the French and Austrian Cabinets. All that part of Greece not occupied by Ibrahim had fallen under the influence of Kolokotroni, a mere agent of Russia. Lord Cochrane and General Church, who arrived early in 1827 to assist the Greeks as volunteers, unadvisedly promoted the views of Russia, by aiding, on the recommendation of Kolokotroni, the election of Count Capodistria as President of Greece. In this state of things was concluded the Treaty of London of July 6th, 1827, which founded the Kingdom of Greece. Prince Metternich did not approve the erection of this State, for fear that religious sympathy might place it under Russian influence; but as the

alternative lay between English and Russian views, he adopted the former. He also helped to persuade the French Government to consent to the erection of the Greek Kingdom, to which Charles X. was personally averse; and it was stipulated that the new King should be selected from one of the European dynasties. To this Canning agreed, on condition that the Greeks should be allowed to choose their own Sovereign. This negotiation was the most important act of Canning's short administration as Premier. He had held that office since April, and died in the following August.

The Treaty of London was executed only by the three maritime Powers, England, France, and Russia; and in August the fleets of those countries, under Admirals Codrington, De Rigny, and Heiden, appeared in the Greek waters to support the treaty. In the harbour of Navarino lay an Egyptian fleet of fifty-one men-of-war and upwards of forty other ships, which were now blockaded by the allied fleets. In consequence of Ibrahim having violated an armistice which had been agreed upon, as well as to arrest the horrible atrocities which he committed in the adjacent district, the allies entered the harbour and almost totally destroyed the Turco-Egyptian fleet, October 26th. After the battle, Codrington sailed to Egypt and compelled Mehemet Ali to recall Ibrahim.

The battle of Navarino, an act of doubtful policy on the part of the Western Powers, naturally enraged the Sultan. He declared all treaties at an end; and though he consented to allow the Greeks an amnesty, he altogether rejected the idea of recognizing their independence. The Ambassadors of the three Powers consequently took their departure from Constantinople December 8th. To Russia the Porte gave particular cause of offence by refusing to carry out the stipulations of Akerman, and by an offensive *Firman*, issued December 20th. Nicholas, in consequence, now released from the Persian war by an advantageous peace, declared war against the Sultan, April 26th, 1828. France and England remained idle spectators of this war, though a French army, under General Maison, was despatched to occupy the Morea. The Russians, under Wittgenstein, crossed the Pruth early in May, captured Brahilo, June 19th, but finding Shumla, the key of the Balkan, impregnable, masked it with a corps of 30,000 men, and proceeded to Varna, which surrendered October 10th. To the west, the Russians, under Wittgenstein, were unsuccessful, and were obliged to recross the Danube. In the following summer,

General Diebitsch, having taken Shumla (June 11th), crossed the mountains and appeared before Adrianople, which immediately surrendered, though his force consisted of only 15,000 men. A Russian division had penetrated to Midiah, within 65 miles of the Bosphorus. The Russian army in Asia, under Paskiewitsch, had also been successful; Wellington and Metternich intervened, and the Porte, seeing the inutility of further resistance, signed the PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE, September 14th, 1829. The stipulations of this treaty were little more than a confirmation of those of Bucharest and Akerman, except that the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be appointed for life, and no Turks were to reside in those Principalities, nor any Turkish fortresses to be maintained there. Russia restored nearly all her conquests. The passage of the Dardanelles was to be free. The most important article was that by which the Porte acceded to the provisions of the Treaty of London with regard to the Greeks.[1] But two or three years were still to elapse before the final settlement of the Greek Kingdom, during which Capodistria governed in the interest of Russia. He had, however, to contend with conspiracies and insurrections. The little Greek fleet was burnt by Miaulis, July 30th, 1831, to prevent it being used in the Russian interest, and shortly after Capodistria was assassinated (October 9th). He was succeeded in the Government by his younger brother Augustine. Meanwhile the Ministers of the five Powers at London were endeavouring to establish the Greek Kingdom. The proffered Crown was declined by Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; but at last King Louis of Bavaria, whose poetical temperament rendered him an enthusiastic Philhellenist, accepted it for his younger son Otho, May 7th, 1832. The distinguished Hellenist and Homeric scholar, Thiersch, had visited Greece in the preceding year, and warped, perhaps, by his favourite studies, as well as by his own amiable temper, had beheld everything in a favourable light. The National Assembly of the Greeks recognized Otho for their King, August 8th, and a Provisional Government of Bavarian Ministers was appointed till he should take possession of the throne. Otho landed at Nauplia, February 5th, 1833; but it was not till June 1st, 1835, that he took the Government into his own hands, when he removed his residence to Athens. In the interval, the Bavarian Government had had to contend with many difficulties and insurrections, which continued under the new King.

M. de Martignac, and the Liberal French Ministry which had

[1] Martens, *Nouv. Recueil*, t. viii. p. 143 sqq.

assisted the Greek cause, had been dismissed before the Peace of Adrianople. M. de Martignac had never enjoyed the King's confidence. On July 30th, 1829, the Chambers were dissolved, and a few days after the Ministry received their dismissal. Nothing could be more impolitic than the choice of their successors. Prince Jules de Polignac, a most unpopular person, who had been bred up in the bosom of the Royal family, and shared in its exile, was now appointed head of the Ministry. The selection of his colleagues was still worse. M. Labourdonnaye, detested for the harshness and severity of his character, received the portfolio of the Interior, but soon resigned. The most injudicious appointment of all was that of General Bourmont, as Minister at War, one of the leaders in the war of La Vendée, a man of great political as well as military talent, but hated and contemned by the nation for his desertion to the allies just before the battle of Waterloo. The installation of this Ministry was hailed with a universal shout of disapprobation. The Journalists, among whom may be named Guizot, Thiers, and Benjamin Constant, assailed the Government in the most unmeasured terms. Alarming symptoms appeared in the provinces. A union to resist all unconstitutional taxes began in Brittany, and soon spread throughout France. The revolutionary society called *Aide-toi* was instituted, and Lafayette began to agitate in several of the provincial towns, especially Lyon, where he was received with tumultuous applause.

The Chambers were reopened March 2nd, 1830. The King, in his opening speech, expressed his determination to maintain the privileges of the Crown, and to repress all attempts to overthrow them. In this assembly appeared M. Guizot, as leader of the party called, from their somewhat pedantic constitutional system, the *Doctrinaires*. The Chamber of Deputies complained, in an address to the throne, of the Government's want of confidence in the people. Symptoms of opposition were also displayed in the Chamber of Peers, where Chateaubriand thundered against the Ministry, and even the Duke of Fitz-James, who, though a favourite of the King's, was an enemy of Polignac's. Montbel, one of the Ministers, advised the King to dissolve the Chambers, and appeal to the people by a manifest; though the majority of the Ministry counselled moderation. It was thought that some popularity might be gained by an expedition against Algiers, which piratical State, under the Dey Hussein Bey, had infested the commerce of France, plundered her settlements, insulted her Consul, and fired on the ship of an officer sent to demand re-

dress. But the British Government was opposed to the expedition; a large English fleet was despatched into the Mediterranean, and it became necessary for the French to obtain the consent of England to the enterprise. This circumstance, as well as the appointment of General Bourmont to the command of the expedition, deprived it of all merit in the eyes of the nation. The fleet was to sail from Toulon, May 16th; on that day the Chambers were dissolved, and the new ones were to meet early in August. At the same time a partial change was made in the Ministry. But the expedition was not so successful as had been hoped. It was detained by storms, and at the outset two brigs fell into the hands of the Algerines. This was all the news that arrived during the elections, in which the society *Aide-toi*, and the *Comité directeur*, under Lafayette, busied themselves against the Crown. The result was that a Chamber was returned still more hostile to the Government than the former one. When the elections were completed, news arrived that Algiers had capitulated, July 4th; a victory, however, which, though announced with great pomp, had no effect whatever on the nation. A grand *Te Deum* was appointed to be performed, and Bourmont was made a Marshal of France; but the people flocked to the Palais Royal, to pay their homage to the Duke of Orleans. It became evident that either the Chambers or the King must fall. Under these circumstances the King and Government resolved on a *coup d'état*. The 14th Article of the Charter provided that the King might issue ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the State. Availing themselves of this Article, the French Ministers published, July 25th, the celebrated and fatal ordinances of St. Cloud, by which the freedom of the press was suspended, a number of Liberal journals suppressed, the law of election altered, by diminishing the number of electors and raising the qualification; the Chambers, which had not yet met, were again dissolved, and new Chambers appointed to meet, September 28th. Further ordinances named a considerable number of councillors of State, selected from the ultra-Royalist party. Yet these violent measures had been adopted without taking the necessary military precautions to insure their success. The troops in Paris numbered not 12,000 men, and these had been placed under the command of Marmont, who was unpopular with the army.

The ordinances appeared in the *Moniteur*, July 26th. The tumult and agitation in Paris were extreme. Groups assembled in the streets; daily labour was suspended; all master printers or

manufacturers, of Liberal politics, closed their workshops, as if by common accord. In the evening the windows of Prince Polignac's hotel were broken by the mob. On the following day a protest against the ordinances appeared in nearly all the Liberal journals. It was now that M. Thiers first prominently appeared, who was to rise from the calling of a journalist to one of the first offices of the State. The *gens d'armes*, who were directed to destroy the presses of the Liberal newspapers, met with a determined resistance at the office of the *Temps*, and could with difficulty find a locksmith to open the doors. Collisions occurred between the mob and the *gens d'armes*, and the more timid citizens closed their shops. It was between five and six o'clock in the evening before the troops appeared; but the sight of them only increased the rage of the people, who began to assail them with stones, tiles, and other missiles. Meanwhile the Liberal deputies having assembled at the house of Casimir Périer, drew up a protest denying the King's right to dismiss Chambers which had not yet met, and declaring all new elections under the ordinances illegal. The night was spent in arming. It was arranged that the disbanded National Guard should reappear in uniform on the following day, and thus give the insurrection an appearance of legality. The pupils of the Polytechnic School mingled with the people, and Lafayette arrived in Paris from the country.

While these things were going on the Ministers had assembled at Prince Polignac's, and had resolved to declare Paris in a state of siege, to send for troops from the provinces, and to arrest the Deputies who had signed the protest. But they were not strong enough to carry out these measures. Marmont had not disposed even the few troops he had so as effectively to hinder the operations of the people. The King, at this critical juncture, had gone to hunt at Rambouillet!

On the 28th the men of the Faubourg St. Antoine, interspersed with a few National Guards, took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, and hoisted on the roof the three-coloured flag, which was also displayed in most of the streets. Marmont, who had expressed his disapprobation of the ordinances, and had undertaken the command unwillingly, wrote to the King, advising him to negotiate; but Charles, instead of either dismissing him or following his advice, ordered him to resist. Marmont now directed two columns against the Hôtel de Ville; but many of the soldiers began to fraternize with the mob, and only the Swiss Guards did their duty. The Liberal Deputies having assembled at the house of Audry

de Puyravaux, debated whether they should turn the revolt into a revolution. Puyravaux himself, supported by Lafayette, Lafitte, and others, was for that course; while Casimir Périer, General Sebastiani, and Guizot advocated constitutional measures and another protest. At length it was resolved to send a deputation, headed by Lafitte and Arago, to Marmont, to require that all further effusion of blood should be arrested. Marmont now again advised the King to yield. But Charles would make no concessions, and Marmont was directed to concentrate his troops in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries. Reinforcements were anxiously expected. But the line of telegraphs had been intercepted, and the messages despatched to St. Omer and Lunéville to bring up troops by forced marches came too late. On July 29th the people had obtained possession of all Paris, except the quarter of the Tuileries, where Marmont maintained his ground, but not without considerable bloodshed. Lafayette having, at the request of the Deputies, assumed the command of the National Guard, fixed his quarters at the Hôtel de Ville, whence he issued a proclamation calling on the people to achieve their liberty or die. On the evening of the 29th the people succeeded in getting possession of the Tuileries, and were thus entirely masters of the metropolis. They acted for the most part with moderation and forbearance, though they plundered the Archbishop's palace. The number of the slain seems to have been about 700.

Consternation reigned among the courtiers at St. Cloud. As happens in such conjunctures, advice of the most various kinds was tendered to the King. Most were for making concessions. Many gave up the King for lost, and thought only of saving the dynasty by proclaiming the Duke of Bordeaux and a regency. All seemed to have lost their heads, except Guernon de Ranville. That Minister had at first advised moderation; now he dissuaded from all concession, because it was too late. The only course, for the King, he contended, was to fly to some loyal province, to rally round him what troops remained faithful, as well as a loyal Chamber. He might then negotiate with success, which at present, after his troops had been beaten, was impossible. But this sensible advice was supported only by the Duke of Angoulême. Charles yielded to the advocates of concession. Polignac was dismissed, and the Duke de Mortemar, who had served in the army of Napoleon, and had lately represented France at the Court of St. Petersburg, was appointed in his place. Mortemar, in conjunction with Vitrolles and D'Argout, proceeded to draw

up some new ordinances, in which a few necessary concessions were made; and he appointed Casimir Périer to the finances, and General Gérard, Minister at War. Charles, who, after a hand at whist, had gone to bed and to sleep, was awakened, and after some little hesitation signed these concessions, with which De Sémonville, Vitrolles, and D'Argout hastened to Paris.

On the morning of the 31st what was called a *Municipal Commission* was instituted and installed at the Hôtel de Ville, to watch over the public safety. Its members were Lafayette, Casimir Périer, Lafitte, Gérard, Puyravaux, Lobau, Von Schonen, and Mangin. The Commission proceeded to name some Ministers: Odillon Barrot as General Secretary, Gérard as Commander of the Forces, Lafayette as Commandant of the National Guard. The authority of the new board was universally recognized. In fact, the revolution seemed to be accomplished, as nearly all the troops of the line had joined the people, while the guards had retired to St. Cloud. Such was the state of things at Paris when De Sémonville arrived to announce the withdrawal of the unpopular ordinances and the appointment of a new Ministry. The Municipal Commission refused to listen to him; Von Schonen coldly observed, "It is too late; the throne has fallen in blood." De Sémonville, after the failure of a similar attempt with the Deputies at the house of Lafitte, returned in despair to St. Cloud to relate his ill success. Mortemar now proceeded to Paris to try what he could do with the more moderate party; but having equally failed, he vanished, to reappear a few days after in the antechamber of the Duke of Orleans.

Louis Philippe had apparently taken no part in the movement. He had spent the whole summer at his seat at Neuilly in the bosom of his numerous family; but in this retirement he had been secretly making a party, among whom may be named Talleyrand, Lafitte, and Thiers. These men persuaded the Deputies that they could not do better than raise Louis Philippe to the throne. The Parisian populace, who had long looked upon him as their friend, would offer no opposition; Talleyrand, who enjoyed a great reputation in the Courts of Europe, would reconcile them to the change of dynasty; the *bourgeoisie* of the National Guard, with their leader Lafayette, would acquiesce. Of the two parties from whom opposition might be expected, the Royalists had been conquered, while the Bonapartists and Republicans knew not how to use their sudden and unexpected victory. A proclamation, drawn up by Thiers, was posted on the walls of Paris,

recommending the Duke of Orleans, who had fought at Jemmapes, as the "Citizen King." The Deputies having met in the Palais Bourbon, signed a paper requesting the Duke of Orleans to undertake the government of the kingdom, with the title of Lieutenant-General, and to uphold the three-coloured flag till the Chambers should have fully assured the realization of the Charter.

The Duke of Orleans entered Paris on foot, July 30th, like a private gentleman. His first care was to see Talleyrand. He had no doubts about the Parisians. His only anxiety was how foreign Governments might regard the revolution; and when Talleyrand had satisfied him on this point, he no longer hesitated. He sent the same night for the Duke of Mortemar, who undertook to carry to the King a letter in which Louis Philippe still spoke of his fidelity! Charles was deceived by it. So little did he imagine that the Duke of Orleans would betray him, that on July 31st he named that Prince by a formal patent Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and requested him in a letter to maintain the rights of the Crown. The Duke now published a proclamation concluding with the words: "In future a charter will be a truth." The Deputies also made a separate proclamation, in which they pledged themselves to procure the legal establishment of certain rights which they specified. In order to obtain the support of the Municipal Commission, the Duke of Orleans proceeded, at the head of the Deputies, to the Hôtel de Ville. He won Lafayette's heart by exclaiming: "You see, gentlemen, an old National Guard, who is come to visit his former general." An agreement was speedily concluded in the brief phrase, "A popular throne with republican institutions." Lafayette then embraced the Duke, and, conducting him to the balcony, placed him under a three-coloured flag, as the man of the people.

The new Lieutenant-General now proceeded to name a Ministry selected from all parties, except the Royalists. Among them were Dupont de l'Eure, who inclined to the Republicans; Guizot, the representative of the *Doctrinaires;* Lafitte, Louis Philippe's confidant; Baron Louis, the favourite of Talleyrand; Bignon, a Bonapartist; the Duke de Broglie, to show the aristocrats that they would not be excluded from the new *régime;* General Gérard, and Admiral Rigny. Thus was completed the "Revolution of July," called also the *Grande Semaine,* and from the superior importance of the 27th, 28th, and 29th, the "Three Days."

On July 31st Charles X. quitted St. Cloud for Trianon. During

this short march he was deserted by some of his guards. At Trianon, De Ranville repeated his advice to the King to fly to Tours, and assemble a Chamber in that city. But Charles still relied on the Duke of Orleans, and was for waiting till he should hear from him. The anxiety of the Duchess of Berri was, however, so great that she induced the King to proceed on the following day to Rambouillet, where they were joined by the Duchess of Angoulême. The soldiers now began to desert in troops. A letter having at length arrived from the Duke of Orleans, purporting that the King had become too unpopular to retain the Crown, Charles published an ordinance announcing his abdication in favour of his grandson the Duke of Bordeaux, whom he proclaimed as Henry V., and calling on the Lieutenant-General to conduct the Regency in the name of the young King (August 2nd).

But Louis Philippe had other views. In his speech to the Chambers, though he announced the abdication of the King, and the Dauphin's renunciation of his rights to the throne, he forbore to mention that these things had been done in favour of the Duke of Bordeaux. He refused to receive any communications from the King, and repulsed all who came to him on the King's behalf. He saw that he could reckon on the majority of the Parisians. Advocates for a Republic could be found only among some of the lowest class. The middle classes would not hear of it, though at the same time they saw that the old line of the Bourbons could not remain. Louis Philippe now began to take measures for driving Charles and his family from France. Marshal Maison, Odillon Barrot, and Von Schonen were sent, as if officially, and by order of the Lieutenant-General and the Deputies, to accompany the King over the frontier. On their arrival at Rambouillet they found the King asleep; but Marmont told them that, for such a step, it was necessary to have a written order from the Duke of Orleans, and the Commissaries hastened back to Paris to procure one. The Duke displayed excitement and displeasure at their return, exclaiming, "He must go! he must go!" It was determined to effect the King's expulsion by means of the Parisian mob. Before break of day an insurrection was organized; the word was given "to Rambouillet!" and arms were distributed to the people, who were to march thither and compel the unfortunate King and his family to fly. Marshal Maison, who with his fellow Commissaries had driven back to Rambouillet, told Charles that the people of Paris were marching against him.

When the truth at last stared the old King in the face he gave vent to such an ebullition of rage that Maison was glad to hasten from his presence. But 60,000 men were marching on Rambouillet; and Charles, having no means of resistance, at length consented to go into exile. The Commissaries gave him a military escort to Cherbourg, where he embarked for England. Nothing could exceed the respect with which the unfortunate monarch was treated during this journey by all ranks of the people. In England, the royal fugitives were at first received at Lulworth castle, in Dorsetshire, and subsequently took up their abode, for the second time, at the palace of Holyrood, at Edinburgh, which had been placed at their disposal by the English Government. Great Britain was now under the sceptre of William IV.; his brother, George IV., having expired, after a long illness, June 26th, 1830.

CHAPTER LXIX.

LOUIS Philippe opened the French Legislature August 3rd. The Chamber of Deputies drew up a Declaration in which the throne was announced to be vacant, through the abdication of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and the principles were announced on which the new reign was to be conducted. Many alterations and additions were made in the existing Charter; of which the following are the most important:—The Roman Catholic religion was to be no longer the dominant one, but all confessions were put on an equal footing: the censorship was abolished, and unconditional freedom of the press established: the King was to have no power to suspend a law, nor to appoint Special Commissioners in order to supersede the usual tribunals: no foreigners were to be admitted into the French military service: every Frenchman of the age of twenty-five to be an elector, and at the age of thirty capable of being elected a Deputy: the Peers named by Charles X. were abolished, and the sittings of that Chamber were to be public: the Chambers, as well as the King, to have the privilege of proposing laws: the King to be called "King of the French:" and the three-coloured flag to be substituted for the white one (August 7th, 1830).

The Chamber of Deputies, under the presidency of Lafitte, chose the Duke of Orleans for King by 219 votes against 33; 39 members abstained from voting. When Lafitte and the Deputies proceeded to the Palais Royal to announce their decision Louis Philippe affected to complain that it was highly disagreeable to him to be withdrawn from domestic life, but, from love to his country, he would make the required sacrifice. Then, supported by Lafitte and Lafayette, he showed himself in the balcony of his palace, and was received by the people with cries of *Vive le Roi!* In these proceedings the Chamber of Peers was not consulted. Chateaubriand was the only Peer who had the courage to maintain the rights of the Duke of Bordeaux; but he was supported by only nineteen of his colleagues.

The new King was enthroned, August 9th, at the Palais Bourbon, where the Deputies held their sittings. Casimir Périer having read the Declaration of August 7th, and Baron Pasquier

the accession to it of the Peers, the Duke of Orleans took an oath to observe it, and ascended the throne as Louis Philippe, amid the acclamations of the Assembly. The new King applied himself to acquire popularity among the Parisians by displaying himself as a "Citizen King." Anybody and everybody was admitted to his presence in pantaloons and boots; he appeared in the streets on foot, in a great coat and round hat, with the proverbial umbrella under his arm, and shook hands familiarly with the people. The church of St. Geneviève became once more the Pantheon, and Voltaire and Rousseau were again adored. Louis Philippe displayed his prudence by relinquishing to his children, on the day of his accession, all the estates of the House of Orleans, so that they became private property, and could not be forfeited with the Crown. France, as usual, acquiesced in the proceedings of the capital; though there were some slight disturbances at Nimes and in La Vendée.

The news of the French Revolution ran through Europe like an electric shock, firing all the elements of discontent which lay lurking in various quarters. Belgium, unwillingly united to Holland by the policy of the Allies to encircle France with powerful States, first felt the explosion. Many were the elements of discord between those two countries. They spoke different languages, had different customs and manners, and opposite commercial interests. The Dutch were rigid Calvinists, the Belgians, bigoted Catholics; and hence the two peoples felt for each other all the bitterness of religious hate. In this state of things a desire had sprung up in Belgium for a union with France, where, under the reign of Charles X., the Catholic Church again flourished. The Belgians also complained that they were saddled with part of the burden of the enormous national debt of Holland, that they contributed to the building of Dutch ships, the maintenance of Dutch dykes, and other objects, from which they derived no benefit whatever. Their discontent was increased by the unpopular Government of King William I., who treated Belgium like a conquered country.

Already before the breaking out of the French Revolution symptoms of insurrection had appeared at Brussels, on occasion of the prosecution of De Potter, a political writer, towards the end of 1828. A serious riot had also occurred at the Catholic College of Louvain, in February, 1830. After the disturbances in France William I. thought it prudent to make some concessions to the Belgians, but they failed to give satisfaction. On the night of August 25th the revolt broke out at Brussels. The opera of the

Muette de Portici, which turns on the revolt of Masaniello, was represented that evening, the incidents of which were vociferously applauded. After the performance the mob broke into, plundered, and even burnt the houses of some of the more unpopular Ministers, the chief of whom was Van Maanen. Next day the old Brabant colours, red, orange, and black, were hoisted on the Town House. The troops were now called out, but having no orders, did not act with decision, and were driven back into their barracks. From this period the insurrection ran its natural course almost without opposition. A burgher-guard was formed, and succeeded in keeping down the mob, but not without some bloodshed. On the 28th of August forty of the principal inhabitants of Brussels assembled, and having chosen Baron Secus as their President, and the advocate Van de Weyer as Secretary, despatched a deputation to the Hague, to request the King to make the concessions which had been so long desired. But William I. was not disposed to give way. He employed his eldest son to soothe the people with promises, whilst his brother, Prince Frederick, assembled at Vilvorde as many troops as possible. On the 31st the two Princes required the burgher-guard of Brussels to strike the national colours, and restore the custody of the city to the King's troops. This demand increased the prevailing irritation. The example of the capital had spread into the provinces. At Verviers dreadful excesses were committed, and many labourers repaired to Brussels, to settle the question in the capital. On the night of September 1st barricades were thrown up in the streets to prevent the entrance of troops. The Prince of Orange now came to Brussels alone, stepped into the midst of the armed masses, and promised that a Commission should be immediately appointed, to consult with himself about the measures to be adopted. But this proceeding gave no satisfaction, and a proclamation issued by the Commission was publicly burnt. The Prince now proposed a legislative and administrative separation of Belgium from Holland; in short, merely a union under the same crown. This concession appeared to give universal satisfaction; it was even supported by the people of Amsterdam; but the King would decide nothing till the meeting of the States-General, which were to assemble at the Hague, September 13th. But when the States met nothing was done. The King even recalled Van Maanen, who had been dismissed, and the Belgians began to suspect that they had been deceived.

The revolt now assumed a more democratic and violent form.

The impulse came from Liége. On September 15th the Liégeois rose, and after dispersing the burgher-guard, drove out the King's troops. The boldest of these insurgents then proceeded to Brussels, where they led an attack on the Dutch troops. On September 20th they headed the people in disarming the National Guard; after which all the depôts of arms were seized, the public buildings occupied, the public boards cashiered, and a Provisional Government was established, of which De Potter, who was then at Paris, was appointed the head. On September 23rd Prince Frederick attacked Brussels with 6,000 or 7,000 men; but though he penetrated into the town and occupied the upper part of it, as the Rue Royale, the Park, &c., he found that he was not strong enough to maintain those positions, and on the night of the 26th he was compelled to retire.

In these and the following days the Dutch troops were driven from most of the towns of Belgium, while the Belgian soldiery declared for the national cause. Antwerp, Maestricht, Mechlin, Dendermonde, and the citadel of Ghent alone remained in the hands of the Dutch. Now, when it was too late, the States-General at the Hague sanctioned by a large majority the legislative and administrative separation of Holland and Belgium, September 29th. But the victorious Belgians refused to listen to any terms. De Potter had arrived in Brussels, and assumed the direction of the Provisional Government, which on October 5th proclaimed the independence of Belgium, appointed a Commission to draw up a Constitution, convoked a National Congress at Brussels, and annulled whatever the Belgian Deputies had done in the States-General at the Hague without the knowledge of the Provisional Government. On the 9th the House of Orange-Nassau was declared to have forfeited, by its late proceedings, all its claims on Belgium; and the Prince of Orange, who had proclaimed himself the head of the separated Belgian administration, was pronounced to have no right to the Regency, unless he should be elected by the National Congress. In the elections for that assembly, however, the moderate party prevailed; even De Potter himself was not returned; and the Prince of Orange, encouraged by this circumstance, issued another proclamation, October 16th, in which, as if resolved to carry out the revolution in spite of his father, he recognized the independence of Belgium, and, as he expressed it, "placed himself at the head of the movement." But the Provisional Government answered this appeal by recommending him to interfere no further in their affairs.

It was the wish of the Belgian liberals to be united to France. But such a union was displeasing to the European Powers; and Louis Philippe, whose own usurpation was hardly yet consolidated, ventured not to offend them by encouraging the Belgian revolution. He procured the recognition of some of the Powers by engaging neither to suffer a republic in Belgium nor to unite that country with France; a proposition which had been made to him by the Belgians through Gendebien. But at the same time he bade the Great Powers remark that they must abstain from undertaking anything against Belgian independence, or that he should not be able to restrain the public opinion of France. Russia was at first inclined to support King William; but all at length concurred in the views of Louis Philippe, and the principle of non-intervention was for the first time unanimously recognized. A conference of ministers, with regard to Belgian affairs, was opened at London, November 4th, composed of Talleyrand, Lord Aberdeen, Prince Esterhazy, Von Bülow, and Count Mutusszewitsch.

The London Congress recognized the INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM, December 20th. This act, and the recognition of Louis Philippe, were the first blows struck at the principle of legitimacy asserted by the Holy Alliance, and maintained at all preceding conferences since the Congress of Vienna. In both these acts Great Britain took the lead. The Belgian National Congress, which had been opened at Brussels November 10th, determined that it must proceed hand in hand with the Congress in London. But William I. was not inclined to relinquish what he could hold; consequently the war went on, and while the Congresses were sitting several battles occurred in the neighbourhood of Maestricht and in the Duchy of Luxembourg. The London Congress assigned to Holland the limits which it had possessed in 1790, with the addition of Luxembourg, and it imposed upon Belgium part of the Dutch debt. With this arrangement King William declared himself satisfied; but the Brussels Congress protested against it, February 1st, 1831; and William, therefore, continued to retain possession of Antwerp.

The Belgian Congress voted a new Constitution February 7th, which was to consist of a king and two representative chambers. The choice of a sovereign occasioned some difficulty. Among the candidates named were the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Nemours, and the Duke of Leuchtenberg. The London Conference proposed Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, who was at

length accepted by the Brussels Congress, June 4th, 1831. Leopold made his solemn entry into Brussels, July 21st, and took the oath to the new Constitution. But he was not to enjoy his new dignity without dispute. King William had silently collected a large army, with which the Prince of Orange suddenly entered Belgium while Leopold was absent on a tour in the provinces. The Belgian Provisional Government, confident that the great Powers would not suffer the armistice to be broken, had neglected the army, and the mob who had been victorious in the towns were no match for disciplined troops in the open field. The Prince of Orange proclaimed that he came not to conquer Belgium, but only to obtain more advantageous conditions. Advancing upon Liége, he defeated the Belgians under General Niellon at Turnhout, August 3rd, and on the 8th overthrew, near Hasselt, General Daine and the larger portion of the Belgian army. A Dutch division proceeded to Antwerp to reinforce General Chassé, repulsed the Belgians under General Tiecke, in whose camp Leopold was, and, breaking down the dykes, laid a large portion of Flanders under water. Duke Bernhardt of Saxe Weimar, whom King William had appointed Governor of Luxembourg, now threw himself between Louvain and Brussels, thus cutting off Leopold from his capital, while the Prince of Orange was advancing against him with superior forces. The two rivals met at Tirlemont, August 11th. A great part of Leopold's army was composed of men in blouses, who fled at the first onset. A few companies of the Brussels National Guard ventured to oppose the Dutch, but were too weak, and the whole army fled in disorder to Louvain. That place surrendered at the first summons of the Dutch, but Leopold escaped to Mechlin.

Meanwhile a French army of 50,000 men, under Marshal Gérard, who was accompanied by Louis Philippe's two eldest sons, entered Belgium, to which step Talleyrand had obtained the consent of the English Ministry. An English fleet under Admiral Codrington also appeared in the Scheldt. Béliard and Adair, the French and English negociators, proceeded to the Dutch camp, when the Prince of Orange consented to an armistice, and the forces on all sides retired to their former positions, August 12th. The Dutch, by this demonstration, and through Russian influence, succeeded in obtaining more favourable conditions. It was decided that Belgium should cede part of Limburg, as well as Luxembourg, and take upon itself yearly 8,400,000 guilders of the Dutch debt. King William, however, would not consent to the new articles,

in the hope that, when the Czar had put down the revolution in Poland, he should be assisted by Russia, as well as by the German Powers. But in this expectation he was disappointed.

In May, 1832, King Leopold proceeded to France, and in an interview with Louis Philippe at Compiègne, obtained the hand of his eldest daughter, Louisa. The marriage was celebrated in the following August, when Leopold assured the Belgians that his children should be educated in the Catholic faith. As the King of the Netherlands had not yet consented to the conditions proposed, an embargo was laid upon Dutch vessels in England, and a French army was set in motion to drive the Dutch from Antwerp. As William I. declared that he would yield only to force, an English fleet under Admiral Malcolm began to blockade the Dutch coast early in November, and about the middle of that month the French laid siege to Antwerp. Chassé made a brave defence, and did not surrender till the citadel was reduced to a heap of rubbish, December 23rd. Even then William refused to accept the capitulation, or to abandon the forts Lillo and Liefkenshoek. At length, on May 21st, 1833, a preliminary treaty was signed; but it was not till January 22nd, 1839, that Holland consented, by a definitive treaty, to accept the London Protocol!

The Russian autocrat, the main prop of legitimacy in Europe, found himself called upon to support his own authority at home. At the news of the outbreak in France Nicholas contemplated suppressing it by force, and the Russian officers talked familiarly of a promenade to Paris. But the irritation of the Czar was somewhat soothed by the elevation of Louis Philippe to a constitutional throne, and his attention was soon after diverted from the affairs of France by a revolt among his Polish subjects. In 1829 Nicholas had received the crown of Poland at Warsaw. All had then appeared tranquil in that subject kingdom, but the elements of discontent lay festering under the surface. Society still consisted only of a proud and restless nobility and a peasantry of slaves; nor had the causes of Poland's former misfortunes been removed by the Constitution given to it by the Emperor Alexander after the model of the French Charter. The misery of the Poles was increased by the harshness of the Grand Duke Constantine's government, who ruled like a Tartar Prince, though he was suspected of being destitute of physical as well as moral courage. The Revolution, which, like the rest in Europe about this time, had its first impulse from the dethronement of Charles X. in France, began by a conspiracy of some young Polish students and subal-

terns to seize Constantine at the Belvedere, a residence of the Prince's in the vicinity of Warsaw; when it was expected that the Polish troops in that city, who numbered 10,000 men, would rise and drive out the Russian garrison of 7,000. The execution of this plan was prematurely hastened by a suspicion that it had been discovered, since the national troops had been withdrawn from Galicia and the Grand Duchy of Posen, and their place supplied by Austrians and Prussians. In the dusk of evening, on November 29th, 1830, twenty young men proceeded to the Belvedere, where they killed General Gendre and the Vice-president Lubowicski; but Constantine escaped by concealing himself in a garret. Meanwhile the citizens of Warsaw had risen *en masse*, armed themselves at the arsenal, and seized many of the Russian officers in the theatre: the Polish soldiers had joined the people, and murdered General Stanislaus Potocki and others of their officers who refused to renounce their allegiance. The defection of the Polish soldiery gave great strength to the movement, and the insurrection was now joined by many persons of distinction. After some deliberation it had been resolved to confine the revolt to the Russian provinces of Poland, or Lithuania, Volhynia and Podolia, in order to avoid the hostility of Austria and Prussia. General Chlopicki, who had distinguished himself in the wars of Napoleon, assumed the chief command, and eventually a sort of absolute dictatorship. He was supported, among others, by Prince Lubecki, Professor Lelewel, Count Ostrowski, and Prince Adam Czartoryski. The last, a descendant of the ancient Princes of Lithuania, and related to the Russian Imperial Family, had been a favourite of the Emperor Alexander's, and the Poles, in case of success, had marked him out for their future King. Constantine retired with the troops which remained faithful to him to a village within a mile or two of Warsaw. Here he permitted the Polish part of his force to join, if they wished, their brethren in Warsaw, and with only 6,000 Russians retreated towards Volhynia. He had referred to the Imperial Court a deputation which waited upon him with a statement of their claims and grievances; but Nicholas would hear of nothing but unconditional submission, and early in 1831, a large Russian army, commanded by Diebitsch, prepared to reduce the Poles to obedience. At the command of the Emperor, Chlopicki laid down his dictatorship in January; but the Poles, headed by Czartoryski, pursued the insurrection more vigorously than ever. Prince Radzivill was now appointed commander-in-chief of their

forces in place of Chlopicki. Diebitsch, having issued a proclamation which left the Poles no choice between slavish submission or destruction, the Diet declared, January 25th, that Nicholas had forfeited the Polish crown; and they prepared to support their resolution by all the means in their power. The army was raised to between 50,000 and 60,000 men; but a great portion of them was armed only with scythes. Negotiations were entered into with foreign Powers; and in order to conciliate them, it was resolved, February 3rd, that Poland should be governed by a constitutional monarchy. But the Poles were disappointed in their hopes of foreign support. Austria and Prussia assured the Czar that they would not countenance the rebellion, and that they would join their arms with his if it extended to their own Provinces. Austria, however, from dread of Russia, would willingly have seen an independent Polish Kingdom, and offered to sacrifice Galicia for that purpose, provided a King should be chosen from the House of Austria, and France and England should concur. Lord Palmerston, however, declined, and was followed by France. Louis Philippe only used the Polish insurrection to induce Nicholas to recognize his own accession and the independence of Belgium, while England and Austria afforded the Poles no substantial aid.

Diebitsch, who had collected an army of 114,000 men, with 336 guns, at Bialystok and Grodno, crossed the Polish frontier February 5th. We cannot enter into the details of the insurrectionary war. The campaign was marked by several desperate battles fought with varying success; but at length the Poles, though aided by insurrections in Podolia, the Ukraine, and Lithuania, were compelled to yield, after an heroic defence, to superior numbers and discipline. The cholera had ravaged the armies of both sides. Diebitsch died of it June 10th, and a few weeks afterwards the Grand Duke Constantine, at Witebsk. Warsaw surrendered September 8th, to Paskiewitsch, who had succeeded Diebitsch in the command, and on the 28th of the same month, the Russian General Rüdiger entered Cracow. On the approach of the Russians, the mob at Warsaw, like that at Paris on the advance of the Duke of Brunswick, forced their way into the Palace and compelled a change of government, then broke into the state prisons and committed an indiscriminate massacre. The Polish divisions in the provinces were speedily dispersed, and before the end of autumn the insurrection was entirely quelled. Paskiewitsch, who was made Prince and Governor of Warsaw, re-established the Russian regimen. An amnesty was indeed

granted November 1st, but with so many exceptions that hardly anybody was safe. Paskiewitsch directed his efforts to abolish the nationality of Poland, and to reduce it as much as possible to a Russian Province. The University of Warsaw was suppressed, the archives, libraries, scientific collections, &c., were removed to St. Petersburg, the Polish uniform and colours were abolished, and the Polish soldiery incorporated in Russian regiments. Prince Radzivill and other leading Poles were relegated to the interior of the Empire, and it is computed that in 1832, 80,000 Poles were sent into Siberia. In that dreadful banishment individuals are almost deprived of their identity; they lose not only their rank but even their very name, and are no longer known but by a number! Polish children were snatched from their parents and carried into what are called the military colonies of Russia; the Roman Catholic Church was persecuted agreeably to the Czar's Græco-Russian system; and on February 26th, 1832, Poland was declared a Russian Province.

Even the inert mass of the German Confederation was partially stirred by the French Revolution. The most characteristic trait of German history at this period is that the so-called constitutions moulded on the French Charter, which had been bestowed on some of the minor States, were established by Russian influence. But Russia had set her face against a Prussian Constitution. The establishment of a *Zollverein*, or customs union, between Bavaria and Würtemberg, subsequently adopted by other German States, seemed a step towards German unity. But the partial revolutions which occurred in Germany in 1830, were more calculated to confirm the ancient state of things than to lead to such a consummation. In Saxony, the old King, Frederick Augustus, had died in May, 1827, and had been succeeded by his brother Anthony. No line of Princes was more bigoted to the old order of things than the House of Wettin; and the circumstance that while the royal family professed the Roman Catholic religion, their subjects were Protestants, augmented the danger of collision. In June, 1830, a few days before the breaking out of the French Revolution, the citizens of Dresden and the University of Leipsic had wished to celebrate the Jubilee of the Augsburg Confession; but the demonstration was suppressed in order not to give offence to the Court. This proceeding occasioned disturbances which had not been quelled when the news of the French Revolution arrived in Saxony. Serious riots ensued both in Leipsic and Dresden, in which latter capital the Council House and police buildings were

burnt. In order to allay the storm King Anthony found himself compelled to adopt his son, Frederick Augustus, who was very popular, as co-regent, to dismiss his Minister, Einsiedel, and to make some improvements in the Constitution. Insurrections also broke out in Brunswick, where the tyrannical Duke Charles was deposed in favour of his brother William; and in electoral Hesse, where William II. abdicated in favour of his son, Frederick William. Disturbances likewise occurred in Hesse Darmstadt, Baden, and other minor States, as well as in Switzerland, where reforms were effected in several cantons. Prussia and Austria proper were little effected by the French Revolution of 1830. But it gave an impulse to the awakening nationality of the Hungarians. When in November, 1830, the Emperor Francis caused his son Ferdinand to be crowned King of Hungary, the Diet made much larger demands than it had ever done before: namely, that the Magyar tongue should in future be the official one instead of Latin; that Magyars only should be appointed to commands in Hungarian regiments, &c. The two *Tables*, that is, the upper and lower Houses of the Diet, or the Magnates and the States, now introduced the use of the Magyar language in their debates. In consequence of these proceedings the Diet was not again assembled till 1832, when Louis Kossuth first appeared as the *ablegat*, or proxy of an absent noble.

After the overthrow of Charles X., Mina, Valdez, and hundreds of Spanish liberals who had sought refuge in France, made an irruption into Spain. Louis Philippe at first supported them. He assured Lafayette, who took a great interest in their success, of his favourable views towards them, and even gave him money in support of their cause. But, as in the case of Belgium and Poland, his interest in their success only extended so far as it might affect his own political interests, and he treacherously abandoned them to their fate as soon as Ferdinand VII. acknowledged his dynasty. The Minister Molé had warned the Spanish emigrants of their danger. They were already on the frontier when Louis Philippe sent orders to disarm them. They preferred, however, to enter Spain, but were speedily defeated at every point by superior forces. It was with the greatest difficulty that Mina, after wandering several days in the mountains, succeeded in escaping back to France. Italy was not at this time disturbed, though insurrections, which we shall relate further on, broke out in the following year. Pope Pius VII., as we have said, had, in 1823, been succeeded by the Cardinal della Genga, an old man of

seventy-four, who, as Leo XII., ruled severely and kept down the *Carbonari*. On his death, in 1829, Cardinal Castiglione was elected to the vacant chair as Pope Pius VIII.

The reign of Louis Philippe, the "Citizen King," was without any fixed principles, and only a continued system of trimming, both in foreign and domestic policy. His first Ministry, chosen from among the party which had triumphed in the "great week," consisted of Dupont de l'Eure, Lafitte, Gérard, Molé, Guizot, Broglie, Louis, Sébastiani, Casimir Périer, and Dupin. Bignon, Napoleon's celebrated secretary, had also a place in it, but without a portfolio. Four of Charles X.'s Ministers, Polignac, Peyronnet, Guernon de Ranville, and Chantelauze, had been arrested, and the populace clamoured loudly for their death. They were to be arraigned before the peers at the Luxembourg, December 15th, and the people threatened to enforce their execution. To avert disturbances, the King, under pretence of making preparations against foreign Powers, coloured by a false rumour that Russia and Prussia were to invade France, appointed Marshal Soult Minister-at-War, and directed him to organize a large force. The unpopularity, however, of acting against the people was left in the first instance to the National Guard under Lafayette, who appeared on the side of order, defended the Luxembourg against the attacks of the mob, and captured some 400 of their more turbulent leaders. Lafayette having thus rendered himself unpopular, Louis Philippe found himself strong enough, with the support of Soult, to dismiss him from the command of the National Guard, and at the same time to disband the artillery, who had shown a disposition to fraternize with the mob. Dupont de l'Eure, fearing some similar trick, resigned, and was succeeded as head of the Ministry by Lafitte. The ex-Ministers of Charles X. were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with loss of rank and civil rights.

Louis Philippe's domestic policy was necessarily in some decree reactionary, because the principles on which he had accepted the throne were untenable. Lafitte was dismissed in March, 1831, and Casimir Périer then became Prime Minister, who immediately caused several noted Republicans to be arrested. In his foreign policy, Louis Philippe endeavoured to acquire a little popularity without risking a breach with the great Powers. Thus in July, 1831, he despatched a naval expedition against Dom Miguel, in order to influence the elections then pending by the *éclat* of an easy victory. But as at the same time Poland was

left unaided in the midst of her troubles, this manœuvre deceived nobody. The new Government was at once exposed to the intrigues and insurrections of the Carlists and of the Republicans. Serious riots occurred at Lyon, Grenoble, and other places in the south of France. Republican demonstrations having been made at Paris on the occasion of General Lamarque's funeral, June 1st, 1832, when barricades were erected and several persons killed, Paris was declared in a state of siege, by the advice, it is said, of M. Thiers. The Polytechnic School was now dissolved, and all suspected persons arrested, including the leaders of the legitimists, Chauteaubriand, Fitzjames, and Hyde de Neuville; but these last were speedily liberated. The Duchess of Berri, after attempting an insurrection in Provence in the spring of the year, passed through France to La Vendée, and endeavoured to raise the people in favour of her son the Duke of Bordeaux, or Henry V. Some bloody conflicts ensued between the insurgents and the royal troops; but the contest soon appeared hopeless, and the Duchess retired to Nantes. Here she was betrayed by one Deutz, a German Jew, in whom she had confided, and was discovered concealed behind the fireplace of a house at Nantes, November 6th. Being found to be pregnant, she declared that she had been secretly married in Italy. She was brought to bed of a daughter at Blaye, May 10th, 1833, when she affirmed that Count Luchesi Palli was the husband to whom she had been secretly united. The discovery of her dishonour having deprived her of any dangerous influence, Louis Philippe liberated her, June 8th, when she proceeded to Palermo. In the previous September Charles X. and his family had quitted Holyrood to take up his residence at Prague. This change was attributed to various motives. Some said that Charles was pursued by creditors, others that Metternich wished to have the Duke of Bordeaux as a pledge against the French usurper. Another claimant of the French throne, the Duke de Reichstadt, had been removed by death July 22nd, 1832.

Fresh insurrections occurred at Lyon in the spring of 1834, which were not suppressed without considerable bloodshed. They were instigated by certain secret political societies, several of the leaders of which were brought to trial in May, 1835, and condemned to imprisonment or transportation. On the 28th of July this year, on the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the July revolution, a diabolical attempt was made on the King's life by a wretch named Fieschi, who from the window of a small house on the Boulevard du Temple, discharged at Louis Philippe,

while passing, what was called an "infernal machine," consisting of about a hundred gun-barrels fixed on a frame, and fired simultaneously by means of a train of gunpowder. Fortunately the King escaped unhurt, but a great many of his suite were either killed or wounded. Fieschi was arrested and guillotined. This attempt occasioned what were called the "Laws of September," to expedite the proceedings of the tribunals in cases of rebellion, and to curb the liberty of the press. M. Thiers, now Minister of the Interior, took a principal share in these proceedings, and scrupled not, in spite of the liberal doctrines which he so loudly professed when in opposition, to resort when in office to the most absolute and tyrannical measures. M. Guizot, who was his colleague in the Soult Ministry, was distinguished from his rival by a more honourable and consistent conduct. In the following February M. Thiers became President of the Council and Secretary for Foreign Affairs. But in consequence of his views on the Spanish question his Ministry was dissolved after an existence of about half a year; when Count Molé became President, and M. Guizot was appointed Minister of Public Instruction. In June, 1836, another abortive attempt was made on the King's life by a workman named Alibaud. In the same year Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the future Emperor of the French, undertook his extraordinary and rash conspiracy at Strasburg; but before relating his attempt we will briefly advert to the affairs of Italy, where this Prince had already made himself conspicuous by his participation in revolutionary movements.

Symptoms of revolt first showed themselves in the Italian States after the death of Pope Pius VIII. in 1831, and during the conclave which elected Cardinal Capillari to the vacant chair, with the title of Gregory XVI., Francis, Duke of Modena, detested for his absolutism and intolerance, who is thought to have entertained the ambitious project of making himself King of Central Italy, was driven out by his subjects, and a Provisional Government established (February, 1831). Singularly enough, this revolt was led by Menotti, the head of the Modenese police, and a favourite of the Duke's. Bologna next felt the shock, where the Papal Pro-legate was in like manner expelled, and a Provisional Government erected. In the same month the Archduchess Maria Louisa, widow of Napoleon, was driven from her Duchy of Parma. Similar scenes occurred at Ferrara, Ancona, and Perugia. Louis Napoleon and Charles Louis Napoleon, the sons of Louis Bonaparte King of Holland, were at this time

residing at Florence, whence they corresponded with Menotti, the leader of the Modenese revolution. When the insurrection broke out in the Papal States the two brothers joined the insurgents at Spoleto.

The Advocate Vicini opened at Bologna, February 26th, what was called an Italian National Congress, with the avowed purpose of establishing the unity of Italy; and General Zucchi, who had served under Napoleon, but who had subsequently entered the Austrian service, endeavoured to organize a revolutionary army. But the Austrians put down these attempts with unwonted promptitude. An Austrian army under General Frimont entered the disturbed districts early in March, when the insurgents fled in all directions. After some feeble attempts at resistance, Zucchi was defeated, captured, and thrown into an Austrian dungeon, and the Austrians entered Bologna March 21st. Spoleto capitulated on the 30th, and the insurrection was at an end. The elder of the two sons of Louis Bonaparte died at Forlì, during the riots, March 17th. The younger, Charles Louis Napoleon, escaped disguised as a servant in the retinue of his mother, Hortense, whose anxiety for the safety of her sons had brought her to Spoleto.

The Italians relied without foundation on the aid of France. Louis Philippe had no idea of entering into a war with Austria for Italian liberty, though public opinion in France compelled him to some demonstrations on that side. Hence he exhorted the Pope to moderation, and on July 5th Gregory XVI. published an edict promising some reforms in the administration. These, however, did not satisfy the Italian people. They were encouraged by the opinion that the Austrians, who, with the exception of the citadel of Ferrara, had evacuated all the places they had entered, feared the intervention of the French, and the insurrection was resumed. At a meeting held at Bologna it was determined to convoke in that town another National Congress on January 5th, 1832. The Pope assembled his troops at Rimini and Ferrara. The National Guard of Bologna, under General Patuzzi, marched against them, but were defeated after a short combat at Cesena, January 20th. The Papal army, composed in a great part of bandits, had committed such disorders and cruelties, that Cardinal Albani, the Pope's representative, was ashamed to lead them against Bologna; and the Austrians were therefore called in once more. But so great was the clamour of the French liberals at this invasion, that Louis Philippe was compelled to make a demonstration by taking possession of Ancona. The act,

however, was almost immediately disavowed, and on May 2nd the Papal troops were admitted into that place.

Neither Naples nor Sardinia was disturbed by these occurrences. The old King, Ferdinand IV. of Naples, who after his restoration had assumed the title of "Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies," had died January 4th, 1825, and was succeeded by his son, Francis I. The latter Sovereign died in November, 1830. His son and successor, Ferdinand II., had rendered himself popular by introducing some reforms into the administration, and by liberating political prisoners. In Sardinia, Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano, had succeeded to the crown on the death of Charles Felix in April, 1831. The situation of this Prince between Austria, which he feared, and the liberals, whom he had betrayed, was somewhat critical; but on the whole he inclined to the liberal side, where his interests seemed to lie.

After his flight from Italy, Prince Napoleon had for the most part lived with his mother, Queen Hortense, at her château of Arenenberg in the Thürgau. While residing in Switzerland he employed himself in studying the science of artillery in the school at Thun, under the tuition of Dufours. At this period his character seemed to be earnest and thoughtful, though he was not averse to the pleasures of youth. He aspired to a literary reputation, and composed at this time "Political Dreams," "Remarks on the Political and Military Condition of Switzerland," and a "Handbook of the Science of Artillery." The unpopularity which Louis Philippe had incurred suggested to him an attempt on the Crown of France. Hence his abortive conspiracy of Strasburg in 1836; the best excuse for which is, that he merely wished to attract the notice of the world, and to exhibit himself as a leader to those who desired the downfall of Louis Philippe. After some preparations at Strasburg, through Colonel Vaudray and others, he caused himself, on the morning of October 30th, to be proclaimed Emperor, when he was joined by a small portion of the troops. The greater part, however, remained faithful to the King; and the Prince and his fellow conspirators were arrested and conducted to Paris. Louis Philippe was surprised and embarrassed by this strange event; but he immediately dismissed the Prince, thinking that the ridicule which attached to so rash and inconsiderate an enterprise sufficed to render him harmless. Prince Napoleon now proceeded to America; but alarmed at the illness of his mother, returned to Switzerland the following year by way of England. His Strasburg accomplices were acquitted at

the assizes in January, 1837, an event which strengthened the opposition by manifesting the disposition of the people. After the death of Queen Hortense, October 5th, Louis Philippe called upon the Swiss to expel the Prince from their territories, who, however, demurred to comply, as Napoleon had been made an honorary citizen of the Thürgau. But he voluntarily relinquished a privilege which might tell against his claims to the French Crown, declared that he was, and would remain, a Frenchman, and in the autumn of 1838 he took up his residence in London.

The discovery of Louis Philippe's insatiable avarice increased his unpopularity. To his inheritance, the richest in France, he had added all the possessions of Charles X. and Condé; he had entered into partnership with the Rothschilds, thus becoming a commercial, as well as a citizen king; and not content with all his wealth, he solicited marriage portions for his children, and even tried to augment them by false representations. Thus on the marriage of the Duke of Nemours to the Princess Victoria of Coburg, early in 1837, Louis Philippe destined for him a million francs besides the domain of Rambouillet; but the Chamber demurred, and it turned out on inquiry that Rambouillet had been valued much too low. Marriage settlements were also procured for the Duke of Orleans, who espoused a Mecklenburg Princess, May 30th, and for the Queen of the Belgians. Towards the end of 1837 the reign of Louis Philippe obtained a little military glory by the conquest of Constantine, taken by storm by General Damremont October 13th. In the winter a naval expedition was despatched to Hayti, which compelled the negro government of that island to pay a compensation of sixty million francs to the expelled planters.

Towards the end of 1838 the leaders of three of the four parties into which the Chamber was divided, namely, Thiers, Guizot, and Odillon Barrot, the respective heads of the *centre gauche*, the *centre droit*, and the *côté gauche*, having formed a coalition, the Molé Ministry was overthrown early in the following year by an adverse address moved and carried by M. Thiers. Louis Philippe now wished Marshal Soult to conduct the Government; but as M. Thiers, whose services the Marshal considered indispensable, appeared to set too much value on them, the arrangements went off, and the Duke of Montebello, son of Marshal Lannes, became Prime Minister. But his hold of power was short. The Republicans of the secret society called *la société des familles*, led by Blanqui and Barbès, succeeded, May 12th, in seizing the Hôtel

de Ville, throwing up barricades, &c. They were soon put down; but their attempt induced Soult, ever ready to throw his sword into the scale of danger, to accept the office of Prime Minister. Early in 1840, however, the Government was again overthrown by M. Thiers on the question of the marriage-settlement of the Duke of Nemours, and Louis Philippe found himself compelled to place that intriguer at the head of the Ministry. M. Guizot was now appointed Ambassador at the Court of St. James's. But the Eastern question, which nearly involved France and England in a war, soon proved fatal to the Ministry of Thiers.

Mehemet Ali, not content with the Isle of Candia in reward of his services to the Sultan in Greece, had thrown a covetous eye on Syria. The Porte seemed in no condition to defend that Province, and in the autumn of 1831, Mehemet, under pretence of punishing the Pasha of St. Jean d'Acre for some affronts, despatched thither his son Ibrahim, with an army. Acre did not fall till May 27th, 1832. But Ibrahim had betrayed his real design by occupying a great part of the country. After the capture of Acre he proceeded to take Damascus and Tripoli; and having defeated Hussein Pasha, July 7th, whom the Sultan had despatched against him with a large army, he entered Aleppo and Antioch. The Grand Vizier, Redschid Pasha, who attempted to oppose his progress, was defeated and captured at Konieh, December 21st.

The Sultan Mahmoud II., trembling for Constantinople itself, implored the aid of Russia, as well as of England and France. Nicholas having despatched a fleet to Constantinople, the French also sent one, but only to watch that of Russia. Ibrahim continuing to advance, and Mehemet Ali having refused French mediation, the Sultan had no alternative but to throw himself upon the protection of Russia. In April, 1833, Nicholas sent 5,000 men to Scutari, while another Russian army of 30,000 crossed the Pruth. But an English fleet having appeared and joined the French, the Russians withdrew, and Mehemet submitted to mediation, by which Syria was assigned to him, to be held as a fief of the Porte. Mahmoud, indignant at being thus treated by the Western Powers, threw himself into the arms of Russia, and by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, July 8th, 1833, agreed not to suffer any but Russian ships to pass the Dardanelles. But on the protest of England and France, the treaty was subsequently modified in favour of those countries in January, 1834.

The Porte, encouraged by England and Russia, attempted in

1839 to recover Syria; but Ibrahim totally defeated the Turkish army at Nisib on the Euphrates, June 24th. Sultan Mahmoud, who had experienced little but misfortune during his reign, died a few days after (June 28th), leaving his empire to his son, Abdul Medjid, then only seventeen years of age, yet already enervated by premature enjoyment. The French now wished the Osmanli sceptre to be transferred to Mehemet Ali, as better qualified than Abdul for the difficult task of maintaining the integrity of the Turkish Empire; but this proposition was opposed by England as well as Russia. So strong was the opinion of the approaching fall of the House of Osman, that the Capudan Pasha, Achmet Fewzi, carried the Turkish fleet to Alexandria, and placed it at the disposal of Mehemet. The English Ministry now proposed to France to prevent any further extension of Mehemet's power, and to aid the Porte, though not in such a manner as to forward the views of Russia. The French, however, took up the cause of Mehemet, and were for establishing him in the independent possession both of Egypt and Syria. Some warm diplomatic correspondence ensued; till at length England persuaded Russia, Austria, and Prussia to join her in the Treaty of London, July 15th, 1840, by which both Syria and Candia were to be restored to the Porte. A small English and Austrian army was landed in Syria, and being joined by some Turks and Druses, defeated the hitherto victorious army of Ibrahim at Kaleb Medina, October 10th. Acre, bombarded by the English fleet under Admiral Stopford and Admiral Napier, surrendered November 4th, and Mehemet, seeing the impossibility of successful resistance, agreed to the provisions of the London Treaty, November 27th, and restored Candia and Syria, as well as the Turkish fleet, to the Porte. The young Sultan was after this mostly guided by the counsels of England, ably conducted by Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Redcliffe, her Ambassador at Constantinople.

This affair created great indignation in France, and rendered the Thiers Ministry highly unpopular. A rupture with England seemed for some time imminent; but Louis Philippe, as usual, only employed the conjuncture to promote his domestic interests, and under the alarm of a European war, carried the project for the fortification of Paris by a girdle of forts; designed rather to keep down the populace within than to repel an enemy from without. Prince Napoleon had also seized the occasion to make another attempt on the Crown. Landing at Boulogne, August 4th, with a few followers, of whom Count Montholon was the most dis-

tinguished, he proclaimed himself Emperor of the French, and named M. Thiers as his Minister. Being repulsed by the troops, he was nearly drowned in his attempt to escape by the upsetting of a boat, but was saved and captured. M. Berryer undertook his defence before the Chamber of Peers; but he was condemned, and sentenced to imprisonment at Ham; where he passed six years, for the most part spent in study and writing.

Another attempt on the King's life by an assassin named Darmès, October 17th, is said to have occasioned the dismissal of M. Thiers on the 29th. That minister had become so unpopular, and the state of French affairs was so discouraging, that a change of ministry was absolutely necessary. Marshal Soult now again became the nominal prime minister, but M. Guizot, to whom was intrusted the portfolio for foreign affairs, exercised supreme influence in the cabinet. The transfer of the remains of Napoleon I. from St. Helena to Paris by the consent of England, served to heal the temporary breach of the *entente cordiale* between England and France. The body arrived at Paris December 15th, 1840, and was entombed with great solemnity at the *Invalides*. But so vivid a resuscitation of Napoleon's memory was not perhaps the discreetest act on the part of Louis Philippe.

M. Humann, the minister of finance, having in 1841 caused a new census of the people to be taken, in order to include persons who had hitherto escaped taxation, disturbances broke out in several parts of France, and even in Paris; but the rioters were reduced to order, and M. Guizot proceeded against them with severity. The death of Louis Philippe's eldest son, the Duke of Orleans, killed by a fall from his carriage, June 13th, 1842, was a severe blow to the new dynasty. The Duke indeed left two sons, Louis Philippe, Count of Paris, and Robert, Duke of Chartres; but the eldest was only in his fourth year, and thus the prospect was opened of a long minority. The main spring of Louis Philippe's policy was the maintenance of peace, and especially the preservation of the *entente cordiale* with England; a policy, however, which he sometimes pushed to a length which irritated the national feelings of the French, and rendered him unpopular. An instance of this sort occurred in the affair of Mr. Pritchard, an English missionary at Tahiti. Mr. Pritchard having been improperly arrested in 1843 by the French captain D'Aubigny, the English Government made peremptory demands for satisfaction, which were granted by the Cabinet of the Tuileries. In so doing they only obeyed the dictates of justice and good sense;

but they offended the national vanity of the French and rendered M. Guizot's administration unpopular. In pursuance of the same policy, Louis Philippe in the following year paid a visit to Queen Victoria in England, when he was invested with the Order of the Garter. By these means the reign of Louis Philippe was passed in profound peace with regard to Europe; though the military ardour of the French was at the same time gratified by battles and conquests in Africa. The French succeeded in establishing themselves at Algiers, where, under the auspices of General Bugeaud, a dreadful system of *razzias* was inaugurated, and every sort of cruelty perpetrated on both sides. As Abd-el-Kader, the celebrated leader of the Arabs, supported himself against the French by the aid of the Maroquins, an expedition was undertaken against the Emperor of Morocco, who by the overthrow of his army at the battle of the Isly, August 14th, 1844, was compelled to sue for peace. For this exploit Bugeaud was rewarded with the marshal's bâton. About the same time the Prince de Joinville with the French fleet attacked the town of Mogador, and compelled it to surrender.

The slyness of Louis Philippe sometimes outran his caution. In spite of all his care, the affair of the Spanish marriages in 1846 nearly led to a rupture with Great Britain. But before we relate that transaction it will be necessary to take a brief retrospect of Spanish history.

After losing his first Sicilian wife, Ferdinand VII. had married in 1816 his niece, Maria Isabel Francesca, second daughter of the King of Portugal, while his brother Don Carlos married the third daughter. Maria died in a year or two, and in 1819 Ferdinand married a niece of the King of Saxony, who also died in 1829. By none of these three wives had he any issue. At the age of forty-six, and debilitated in constitution, he married for his fourth wife Maria Christina, daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, and sister of the Duchess of Berri, and of Maria Carlotta, married to the Spanish King's youngest brother, Francisco. Three months after this marriage the new Queen appearing to be pregnant, Ferdinand published a *Pragmatic Sanction* abolishing the Salic law, March 29th, 1830. Ferdinand's brothers, Carlos and Francisco, as well as Charles X. of France and Francis I. of the Two Sicilies, brother of the Spanish Queen, protested against this act, which threatened their collateral claims to the throne of Spain. But Ferdinand persisted, and on the 10th of October 1830, his Queen was delivered of a daughter, Isabella, who was

recognized as Princess of the Asturias, or heiress apparent of the throne. Ferdinand having being seized with a severe illness in the autumn of 1832, Don Carlos either extorted from him a revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction, or caused one to be forged. But Maria Christina, who had borne another daughter in the preceding January, declared herself Regent for her daughter Isabella during the King's illness, and sought popularity by some liberal measures. She granted an amnesty to the insurgents who, as already related, had risen after the French Revolution of July; she re-established the universities, which had been dissolved after the Restoration; and, by the advice of Martinez de la Rosa, she announced a speedy reassembly of the Cortes. Ferdinand unexpectedly recovered, and resumed the reins of government in January, 1833, when he confirmed all that the Queen had done; and Don Carlos, after protesting, withdrew to Don Miguel in Portugal. In pursuance of the more liberal policy inaugurated by Christina, Ferdinand again appointed Zea Bermudez to the ministry, and agreeably to the Queen's promise, reopened the Cortes, July 29th, when that assembly did homage to his daughter Isabella as their future sovereign. Ferdinand VII. did not long survive this event. He was again attacked by his disorder, and expired in dreadful torments, Sept. 29th, 1833.

Isabella II. was now proclaimed Queen, and her mother Christina assumed the Regency. The Pragmatic Sanction was recognised by Louis Philippe and by the English Government; but the Northern Powers, as well as the Pope, refused to acknowledge it. Spain itself was divided in opinion and torn by factions. The Liberals and moderate party supported the Queen, and were hence called *Christinos*, while the Serviles declared for Don Carlos, and obtained the name of *Carlists*. The *Christinos*, though not at one among themselves, prevailed. In 1834, Zea Bermudez was compelled to resign in favour of the still more liberal Martinez de la Rosa. On the 10th of April the new minister proclaimed the *Estatuto Real*, a constitution modelled by the advice of Louis Philippe. But it was not sufficiently liberal to please the extreme party; warm disputes arose between the *Moderados* and *Progresistas*, and Martinez de la Rosa, to whose embarrassments was added that of civil war, was unable to maintain himself.

The *Carlists* had raised an insurrection in Biscay in 1833. Their strength lay chiefly in the Basque provinces, which had been injured by the system of centralization adopted by Ferdinand after the French model. The insurrection also spread to other

provinces, but not to any great extent. The priest Merino in Old Castile, and Locho in La Mancha, raised some *guerilla* bands. The Basque army, which had gradually increased to 25,000 men, found an excellent leader in Zumalacarragui. Generals Sarsfeld, Valdez, and two or three more in vain attempted to subdue it. Don Carlos, who had been driven from Portugal and taken refuge in England, returned secretly through France, and appearing in Zumalacarragui's camp, June 9th, 1834, was received with acclamation. But he was totally unfit for the enterprise he had undertaken. He surrounded himself with the stiffest etiquette, and he continued to maintain the Apostolic Junta, a former member of which, Father Cirilo, was his most intimate confidant. Spain, like other parts of Europe, was this year visited by the *cholera*, when a hundred monks, suspected of having poisoned the fountains, were murdered in Madrid alone, and many others in various towns. This popular prejudice was manifested in other countries with the same results.

In 1835 Mina undertook the command of the *Christinos*, but, like his predecessors, was worsted by Zumalacarragui after a sanguinary campaign of five months. Valdez, who resumed the attempt with 20,000 men, had no better success. These unfortunate campaigns exhausted the troops and money of the Spanish Government, and compelled the Regent to apply to the Western Powers for aid. Louis Philippe pursued in the affairs of Spain his usual double and self-interested policy. He had formed the design of marrying his sons to Christina's daughters, and he courted the friendship of the Spanish Regent and pressed upon her his advice, yet without taking so decided a part in her affairs as might excite the hostility of the Northern Powers. In like manner he went hand in hand with England in opposing *Carlism*, but so as not to give too much strength to the *Progresistas*. It was not till the summer of 1835, after the unlooked-for resistance of the Basques, that Louis Philippe prepared to give Christina any active assistance, agreeably to the Quadruple Alliance formed in the preceding year. But as that alliance had reference primarily to the affairs of Portugal, we must here briefly resume the history of that country.

After the banishment of Don Miguel, before recorded, Portugal remained tranquil till the death of the weak but well-meaning King John VI., March 10th, 1826. As Don Pedro, his eldest son, now Emperor of Brazil, was precluded by the constitution of that country from assuming the crown of Portugal, he trans-

ferred it to his youthful daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, while Don Miguel, John's second son, asserted his claim as the only legitimate male heir. The question of the succession, therefore, was somewhat analogous to that which subsequently arose in Spain, turning on the claims of a direct female and collateral male heir. Both pretenders to the crown were absent, and public opinion in Portugal was very much divided. The Liberals, led by Count Villaflor, and composed for the most part of the educated and commercial classes and a portion of the army, were for Donna Maria, while the Serviles, as they were called, with the Marquis de Chaves at their head, comprising the clergy, the peasantry, and the remainder of the troops, espoused the cause of Don Miguel. The adverse parties had already come to blows, when the landing of 6,000 English soldiers in the Tagus in December, despatched by Canning, decided the question in favour of Donna Maria. The Serviles now submitted, Queen Maria was acknowledged, and Donna Isabella, the young Queen's aunt, was placed at the head of the Regency. The Cortes being assembled, January 2nd, 1828, accepted the charter of a constitution drawn up by Don Pedro on liberal principles.

These proceedings were highly displeasing to the Northern Powers, who, as the assertors of legitimacy and of the principles of the Holy Alliance, espoused the cause of Don Miguel. Under these circumstances a compromise was adopted. Don Miguel, as before suggested by Don Pedro, was betrothed to his niece, and it was arranged that he should undertake the Regency in her name. He accordingly returned to Lisbon, after paying a visit to England on his way, and took the oath to the Constitution, February 26th. But on the 13th of March, immediately after the departure of the English army, he dissolved the Chambers and annulled Don Pedro's Constitution; and as the clergy and the great mass of the people were in favour of the ancient absolutism, an attempt at insurrection in support of the Charter proved abortive.

Encouraged by this success, Miguel proceeded to further violence. On the 17th of June, declaring the succession established by his brother to be invalid, he seized the throne for himself, as legitimate King, and his usurpation was sanctioned by acclamation by the assembled Cortes on the 26th. Miguel now displayed all the vices and caprices of his character. The leading Liberals who had not succeeded in escaping were thrown into prison; some of them were executed, the rest were treated with the greatest

cruelty. The young tyrant sometimes assaulted his sister the Regent to the danger of her life; and he displayed his levity and caprice by making a *çi-devant* barber, one of his favourites, Duke of Queluz. He succeeded, however, in maintaining himself upon the throne, and two conspiracies in 1829 were suppressed and punished by bloody and illegal executions. Don Pedro despatched a fleet to Terceira, and made some unsuccessful attempts in favour of his daughter. Donna Maria had retired to Brazil, where, in 1830, she was betrothed to the young Prince Augustus von Leuchtenberg, whose sister Don Pedro had married. In 1831, Don Pedro being compelled by a revolution to relinquish the throne of Brazil to his youthful son, Don Pedro II., took charge of his daughter's affairs in person, and sailed for Terceira with a well-appointed army and fleet. He landed at Oporto, July 8th, 1832, and was received with enthusiasm; but Miguel kept him shut up a whole year in that town. Napier, however, the commander of Pedro's fleet, having almost annihilated that of Miguel in a battle off Cape St. Vincent, July 5th, 1833, it became possible to ship an army at Oporto for Lisbon. Miguel's forces having been defeated in a bloody battle, he was compelled to fly, and Pedro entered Lisbon July 28th. Two months after, Donna Maria arrived from London, and assumed the Crown September 23rd. Marshal Bourmont, driven from France by the Revolution, having obtained the command of the Miguelite forces, made an attempt upon Lisbon, which was defeated October 10th; but Miguel still maintained himself in the provinces.

In this state of things the Northern Powers, the patrons of legitimacy even in such representatives of the principle as Carlos and Miguel, having assumed at a Congress at Münchengrätz a hostile, or at all events adverse, attitude to the policy of France and England, the latter Powers concluded with the Queens of Spain and Portugal the Quadruple Alliance before mentioned, April 22nd, 1834. Miguel, alarmed by this step, agreed by the Treaty of Evoramonte to quit the Peninsula, May 26th, and he subsequently fixed his residence at Rome. On the 24th of the following September, Don Pedro died. The marriage of Queen Maria with the Prince of Leuchtenberg was celebrated in January, 1835; but in the following March the youthful bridegroom was carried off by a cold, and Queen Maria, on the proposal of England, shortly after accepted the hand of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg. We now return to the affairs of Spain.

The Spanish Queen did not derive much benefit from the

Quadruple Alliance. By a treaty of June 28th, 1835, Louis Philippe, indeed, allowed the *Christinos* the aid of the so-called Foreign Legion, composed of all the scum of Paris; which had been sent to Algiers, and served as food for powder in the fights with the Arabs and Kabyles. A Legion of much the same kind, under General Evans, was also organized in England. But before these troops could arrive the position of Christina had become very critical. Although the Carlists had lost their great general Zumalacarragui, killed at the siege of Bilbao, June 25th, yet his place was ably filled by the brave and youthful Cabrera. The Spanish Government, besides having to contend with the Carlists, was also menaced by the factions and discontent of its own supporters. The Regent, indeed, in her heart detested the *Progresistas*, and it was only with reluctance that she was driven, through the success of the Carlists, to court their aid. That party established in 1835 a Junta at Barcelona, and demanded that the Constitution of 1812 should be restored; nor could Mina, whom the Queen had appointed Governor of that place, succeed in restoring obedience to the Government. The example spread: Juntas were erected at Saragossa, Valencia, Seville, Malaga, Cadiz, and other places; till at last the revolt broke out in the capital itself. The Regent was compelled to proclaim the Constitution of 1812, at her castle at La Granja, August 13th, 1836, and to place Calatrava, a Liberal, at the head of the Ministry.

On that very day General Lebeau, at the head of the French Foreign Legion, had at length entered Spain, and published a manifesto, proclaiming that he had been sent by the King of the French to support the Queen. But no sooner did Louis Philippe hear of the proclamation at La Granja than he publicly disavowed his general in the *Moniteur*. He well knew that a government founded on the Spanish Constitution of 1812, instead of following his counsels, would make common cause with the Republican party in France. Agreeably, however, to the Quadruple Alliance, he suffered his Legion to remain in Spain, where it continued to fight in the *Christina* cause till it was almost exhausted. Meanwhile Don Carlos not only prospered in the North, but also gained adherents in Andalusia and the South. In the spring of 1837 he even felt himself strong enough to make an attempt on Madrid, and gained a victory at Villa de las Navarras; but on the appearance of Espartero, who had relinquished the siege of Bilbao he lost heart and retired, and from this time his cause declined. Among the fanatical decrees which he issued in

Biscay, was one directing that all Englishmen should be put to death, because they prevented him from receiving assistance by sea!

The Cortes, on the model of 1812, were opened by Christina June 18th, 1837, when she took an oath to the Constitution. She nevertheless favoured a reactionary policy, and was supported in it by the victorious Espartero, who belonged to the *Moderados*. That party was also favoured by Louis Philippe, who wished to suppress the insurrection in Spain, and to form a matrimonial connection for his sons with the Spanish family; while England opposed this policy by supporting the *Progresistas*. In the autumn of 1838, Narvaez having failed in an attempt to overthrow Espartero, was compelled to fly to England. Maroto, who soon afterwards obtained the command of the Basque army, seeing the incapacity of Don Carlos, resolved to abandon the cause of legitimacy, and concluded a treaty with Espartero at Vergara, August 31st, 1839, by which the Basque Provinces agreed to acknowledge Queen Isabella II. on condition of recovering their *Fueros*, or ancient customs. Carlos now fled over the Pyrenees; when Louis Philippe caused him to be apprehended and kept him in honourable custody at Bourges. General O'Donnel dispersed the remains of the Carlists in the summer of 1840.

Espartero was rewarded for his success with the title of "Duke of Victory." Christina tried to persuade him to annul the Basque *Fueros;* but he would not consent, and he was supported in his policy by an insurrection at Barcelona. Christina now fled to Valencia, and placed herself under the protection of O'Donnel; but in her absence the people of Madrid rose and proclaimed a Provisional Government, an example which was followed by most of the principal towns of Spain; and the Regent found herself compelled to appoint Espartero Prime Minister. Espartero made a sort of triumphal entry into Madrid September 16th, and in the following October, Christina laid down the Regency in his favour and quitted Spain. This step was not taken entirely on political grounds. A secret marriage with Muñoz, a private in the guards, by whom she had several children, as well as an accusation of embezzling the public money, had rendered her contemptible. She proceeded to Rome, and thence to France, where she took up her abode till, as the instrument of Louis Philippe, she might find an opportunity again to interfere in the affairs of Spain.

The Regency of Espartero, who was a moderate *Progresista*, attracted the envy and opposition of the other generals. Hence what were called the *Pronunciamentos*. Wherever the people

were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Government or the person of the Regent, they *pronounced* against them and threatened to throw Spain into eternal confusion. To this, however, an end was put by the Cortes confirming Espartero in the Regency, May 8th, 1841; though Arguelles was named guardian of Isabella. Espartero maintained himself in the Regency, in spite of much opposition and many insurrections, till July, 1843, when being defeated by Narvaez in Valencia, he was compelled to fly to England. The policy of Spain at this period turned much on the marriage of the young Queen. The *Moderados* wanted to marry her, or at all events her sister, to a French Prince; the moderate *Progresistas* approved the English proposal of a German Prince; while the *ultras* of the latter party wished her to espouse her cousin, the son of Louisa Charlotte. That Princess had formed a project to keep her sister Maria Christina for ever out of Spain, and to seize upon the Government. But her plans were cut short by a sudden death, January 29th, 1844.

The young Queen Isabella II. was declared of age by the Cortes, November 10th, 1843, when she took the oath to the Constitution. Narvaez, who now enjoyed the supreme military power, being a *Moderado*, and consequently favouring the views of France and Christina, the Queen-mother ventured, after her sister's death, to return to Madrid. She obtained the guidance of her daughter, but intent only on the gratification of her base inclinations, suffered Narvaez to rule. She created Muñoz Duke of Rianzarez and a grandee of Spain, and employed herself in accumulating large sums for her numerous children by him. Meanwhile Narvaez pursued a reactionary policy by curtailing the power of the Cortes, restoring the prerogatives of the Crown, recalling the exiled bishops, and otherwise promoting the interests of the Church. In 1845, in company with Christina and her two daughters, he made a tour in the provinces; when they were met at Pamplona by Louis Philippe's sons, the Dukes of Nemours and Aumale, with a view to forward the projected marriages. Narvaez was now created Duke of Valencia. But he was suddenly dismissed, April 4th, 1846, for having, it is suspected, favoured the suit of Francis, Count of Trapani, son of the King of Naples, for the hand of Isabella. Isturitz, who had before held the reins of power, now became Prime Minister.

Other suitors to the young Queen were her cousins, Don Henry, second son of the Infant Francis de Paula; and Charles Louis, Count of Montemolin, son of Don Carlos, who had made over to

his son all his claims to the Spanish throne. An insurrection was even attempted in favour of Don Henry; but its leader, Colonel Solis, was shot, and Don Henry banished from Spain. A marriage with the Count of Montemolin would have united all the claims to the Spanish throne; but both France and England opposed it. Louis Philippe, with the acquiescence of Christina, had selected for Isabella's husband, Francis de Assis, the eldest son of Francis de Paula, a young man alike incapable in mind and body; while he destined his own son, the Duke de Montpensier, for Isabella's younger and healthier sister, Maria Louisa. Louis Philippe had promised Queen Victoria, when on a visit to him at the Château d'Eu in Normandy, in 1845, that the marriage of his son with the Infanta should not take place till Isabella had given birth to an heir to the throne. The young Queen had manifested her aversion for Francis de Assis, and in reliance on the English scheme, Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg had proceeded to Madrid in the spring of 1846 to sue for her hand. But by the machinations of Louis Philippe and Christina, Isabella's scrúples to accept her cousin were overcome, and the King of the French, sacrificing without remorse the domestic happiness of the young Queen, gained a transient and not very honourable triumph by the *fait accompli* of a simultaneous marriage of Isabella with Francis de Assis, and of Montpensier with her sister, Maria Louisa, October 10th, 1846. Louis Philippe's deep-laid plot was, however, ultimately frustrated by unforeseen circumstances. The expulsion of the Orleans dynasty from France at once severed the family connection between the two crowns; and even had Louis Philippe remained in possession of the French throne, the hopes of the Duke of Montpensier would still have been frustrated by Queen Isabella giving birth to a daughter in 1851. That this child, however, was the offspring of Francis de Assis is more than doubtful. Francis was kept at a country residence, while Isabella surrounded herself with those who pleased her. General Serrano, one of the handsomest men in Spain, is said to have had an especial claim to that honour. By his advice Isabella emancipated herself from her mother's guidance, and favoured the party of the *Progresistas*, while Christina proceeded again to Paris to seek the advice of Louis Philippe. Isabella banished all the ancient Spanish etiquette, and the Court became a scene of scandalous dissipation.

While Louis Philippe was thus engaged in the affairs of Spain, his own fall was preparing in France. The discontent which extensively prevailed in that kingdom was increased by the scarcity

in the years 1846 and 1847. Disturbances broke out in several places, and the Liberal party began to agitate an electoral reform. The Central Electoral Committee at Paris declared itself *en permanence*, and incited the Provincial Committees to petition the Government. At a grand reform banquet, held at Château Rouge near Paris, July 9th, 1847, at which 1,200 persons were present, the King's health was omitted, but the toast of "the sovereignty of the people" was drunk with acclamation. A similar banquet took place at Mans, August 10th, under the presidency of Ledru Rollin, and was followed by many others in various places. The reactionary policy of M. Guizot, and his determination to maintain the English alliance, were highly unpopular; while the corruption of some members of the Administration and of the Chambers had rendered the Government in general contemptible. The French Republicans were encouraged by the triumph of the Radicals in Switzerland, and by the progress of Mazzini's doctrines in Italy. The leaders of the first French Revolution had been content with claiming liberty, equality, and fraternity; the ideas of the *soi-disant* philosophical and revolutionary Radicals had now advanced considerably further. *Communism*, an offshoot of *St. Simonism*, had spread very extensively among the lower classes of the French, while M. Louis Blanc had brought forward a gigantic scheme of Utopian *Socialism* by which the State was to form one large happy family, providing work and maintenance for all its members. An insane project! which, by merging the family as well as the individual in the community, would sever all domestic ties, do away with conjugal, paternal, and brotherly love, and abolish every motive for industry, action, and independence. The elements of disturbance and revolution were insidiously stirred by M. Thiers, with the design of supplanting Guizot, and again seizing the reins of government.

The King, on opening the Chambers December 27th, 1847, indiscreetly alluded in offensive terms to the reform banquet, and intimated his conviction that no reform was needed. In consequence of this speech very sharp debates took place on the Address, which lasted till the middle of February. The Electoral Committee of Paris, in conjunction with a committee of the Opposition Deputies, and of the officers of the National Guard, determined to have a colossal reform banquet in the Champs Elysées on the 22nd February, 1848, when it was expected that 100,000 spectators would be present. But it was forbidden by M. Guizot, who threatened to prevent it, if necessary, by military

force. Odillon Barrot and most of the Deputies now abandoned any further opposition, though M. Lamartine and a few followers continued to declaim against the arbitrariness of the Government. The fête did not take place, as Marshal Bugeaud, who had between 50,000 and 60,000 men in Paris and its neighbourhood, was prepared to suppress it, while the guns of the forts were directed upon Paris. But symptoms of revolt began to manifest themselves among the Parisian populace; barricades were thrown up, and some conflicts took place with the Municipal Guard. The riots were renewed on the 23rd, and the National Guard, which was called out for the protection of the city, manifested a hostile disposition towards the Government by shouts of *Vive la Réforme! A bas Guizot!* The King was weak enough to yield to this demonstration, by dismissing Guizot, and sending for Count Molé to form a new Administration. The tumult continued in the ensuing night, but without any very marked character, till a Lyonese named Lagrange, a determined Republican and influential leader amongst the secret societies, gave matters a decided turn by conducting a large band, carrying a red flag, to the hotel of M. Guizot, where a battalion of infantry had been drawn up for his protection. A shot, fired, it is said, by Lagrange himself, having killed their commanding officer, the troops answered by a volley, which prostrated many dead and wounded on the pavement. The corpse of a woman was now placed in a cart and paraded through the streets by torchlight; every now and then the cart stopped, and the body, bleeding at the breast, was exposed to the gaze of the infuriated populace.

While these scenes were passing out of doors, all was indecision in the Palace. Count Molé declined to accept the Ministry, and recourse was then had to M. Thiers. But matters had gone rather further than that statesman had contemplated, and he required that M. Odillon Barrot should be joined with him. Thiers now required the King to consent to the reforms demanded, to summon a new Chamber, elected on the principles of them, to forbid the troops to use any further violence towards the people, and to dismiss Marshal Bugeaud; in short, to disarm and countermand his enormous military preparations. Louis Philippe had completely lost his head. He agreed to all the demands of Thiers, who immediately issued a proclamation stating that reform was granted, that all motive for further opposition was removed, and that the soldiery had orders not to fire. But the proclamation came too late; nay, as the signature had been omitted, it only

excited the suspicions of the people, as intended to disarm them. Bugeaud was dismissed on the morning of February 24th, having previously signed an order forbidding the troops to fire. Many of the soldiers now began to fraternize with the people; fresh barricades were erected, and the attack drew hourly nearer and nearer to the Tuileries. The Palais Royal was stormed, and its costly furniture destroyed; while the troops, agreeably to their orders, looked quietly on; the Municipal Guards were massacred without assistance. The Duke of Nemours, who had been appointed Regent in case of his father's abdication, rejected Bugeaud's pressing instances to resort to force. Louis Philippe would not listen to his Consort's exhortations to put himself at the head of the troops. As the storm approached the Tuileries, indeed, he mounted his horse and rode towards the troops; but he uttered not a word. The soldiery also remained dumb; but some of the National Guards cried *Vive la Réforme! A bas les ministres!* The King turned back, and all was lost. It was a repetition of Louis XVI.'s review of August 10th.

M. Girardin now pressed into the King's presence, and exclaimed, "Sire, you must abdicate!" Louis Philippe, at the instance of the Duke de Montpensier, at length signed an Act of Abdication in favour of the Count de Paris, his grandson, and then hurried to St. Cloud. General Lamoricière took the Act of Abdication, and exhibited it to the people; but Lagrange tore the sheet from his hand, exclaiming, "It is not enough—the whole Dynasty must go!" As Lamoricière turned to depart, his horse was shot and he himself wounded. His soldiers lifted him up and fired. This incident aided the Republican cause. A little more blood gave it a stimulus. The Royal family were in consternation, and at a loss how to act. Thiers had vanished nobody knew whither, and left them to take care of themselves. The Duke de Nemours, as Regent, conducted the Duchess of Orleans, with her two young sons, to the Chamber of Deputies; but the mob broke in and prevented the proclamation of the Regency. In the midst of the tumult, Marie, an advocate, mounted the tribune and proposed a Provisional Government. The motion was received with shouts of applause. Dunoyer, at the head of another band, carrying a flag captured at the Tuileries, now forced his way into the Chamber, and exclaimed: "This flag proclaims our victory; outside are 100,000 combatants, who will have neither King nor Regency." It was but too plain that all was lost, and the Royal family made their escape from Paris.

A Provisional Government was now appointed, consisting of Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine the poet, Arago the astronomer, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Ledru Rollin, and Crémieux. These names were received with acclamation by the members, and by the armed mob which filled the precincts of the Chamber. On the motion of Lamartine, the new Government resolved to fix itself at the Hôtel de Ville, in order to prevent the establishment there of a Republican Socialist Directory. Louis Blanc, Marrast, Bastide, Floçon, and other leaders of the Republicans and Socialists, had indeed already taken possession of that building, and would no doubt have opposed the Provisional Government, had not the latter deemed it expedient to coalesce with them. It is to the firmness of Lamartine that must be attributed the preservation of any degree of order among these discordant elements. He allowed the Republic to be proclaimed only on condition of its future approval by the people, to whose newly-elected representatives was to be intrusted the settlement of the Constitution. Lamartine also caused a guard of young people to be formed for the protection of the Government, and thus eliminated one of the most dangerous elements of the revolt.

Matters, however, still wore a threatening aspect. The mob had broken into the Tuileries, demolished all the furniture, and taken up their abode in the palace. The throne, after being carried in triumphal procession through the streets, was burnt in a bonfire. Lagrange, armed with a huge sabre, at the head of the most furious of the populace, endeavoured to drive Lamartine from the Hôtel de Ville, by threats, and by the stench of dead bodies piled up in the lower rooms and on the staircases. Lamartine resisted with admirable courage these attempts at intimidation, and calmed the minds of the people by his exhortations. The middle classes, alarmed at the prospect of a Red Republic, assembled, the National Guard appeared on the Place de Grève, and the mob with their red flag began gradually to disperse.

Louis Philippe, who was not pursued, fled towards the sea-coast, and after a concealment of nine days procured a passage for England in the name of Mr. William Smith. He was accompanied by the Queen and a few attendants, while the Duke de Montpensier, with the other ladies, except the Duchess of Orleans, who proceeded to Germany, took a different route to the coast, in order to lessen the risk of detection. Louis Philippe landed in England March 3rd, and took up his residence at Claremont, the property of his son-in-law, the King of the Belgians.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE new French Government proceeded to consolidate itself. M. Louis Blanc was appointed "Minister of Progress," as a pledge for the furtherance of the "organization of labour." The Luxembourg, abandoned by the Peers, received a new senate in a committee of labourers and mechanics, who there discussed their interests and demands. At their head was Albert, a workman in a *blouse*, who had obtained a place in the Government next to M. Louis Blanc. The scheme adopted was to open large national workshops, where all who applied might find employment and wages. Thus the State was converted into a manufacturing firm, to whose service, as the pay was good, and the superintendence not over strict, flocked all the lazy, skulking mechanics of Paris and its neighbourhood. They soon numbered 80,000, to be maintained at the public expense, to the ruin of private tradesmen. Thus the Revolution of 1848 was not like that of 1830, merely political, but social also, like the first Revolution, but based on such absurd, though less inhuman principles, that the speedy fall of the new system was inevitable.

The Provisional Government was recognized throughout France. Marshal Bugeaud acknowledged its authority, and was followed by the whole army. The Duke d'Aumale, who commanded in Algiers, surrendered his post to General Changarnier, and proceeded to England with his brother the Duke de Joinville, who had hitherto commanded the French fleet. The Provisional Government superseded Changarnier by Cavaignac, the brother of an influential republican. The priests also submitted, for the Church was not threatened with persecution. After the interval of a fortnight the prefect of police drove out the filthy crowd which had taken possession of the Tuileries, and that palace was converted into an hospital for old and infirm labourers. The same dangerous elements were, however, afloat as in the first Revolution, and if they did not gain the ascendency it was because the higher and middle classes, instructed by experience, actively opposed them. The inscriptions of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité,*

struck the eye on every side; the titles of *Monsieur* and *Madame* again gave place to those of *Citoyen* and *Citoyenne;* the Goddess of Liberty with her red cap appeared at every public festival, and trees of liberty were planted in all the public places. Low journals were published under the names of *La Guillotine, La Carmagnole,* &c., which adopted all the slang of *sans-culottisme,* and exhorted to plunder and murder in the style of Marat. The ultra-democrats Cabet, Blanqui, and Raspail formed a sort of triumvirate, and incited the Communist clubs to proceed to extremities. They attempted to put down Lamartine and the more moderate party, and to establish a Red Republic under Ledru Rollin. But the citizens and National Guards were on the alert. A mob having been collected, April 16th, to petition for an alteration in the relations between master and servant, 100,000 National Guards assembled to preserve the peace, and shouted, *A bas Cabet! à bas le communisme!* From this day the extreme party was defeated.

The National Assembly met at Paris, May 4th. The majority of it were men of moderate opinions, some even desired a reaction; yet when Dupont de l'Eure, in the name of the Provisional Government, resigned its power into their hands, a Republic was voted by acclamation, and an Executive Commission was appointed to conduct the public business till the new Constitution should be established. The members of the Commission were Lamartine, Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, and Ledru Rollin; and Louis Blanc, Albert, and the Socialists were excluded. A mob of Socialists and Communists broke into the Assembly, May 15th, and endeavoured to enforce a government in conformity with their views, but the attempt failed. This party was entirely overawed by the force displayed at a grand review held on May 21st; after which, Barbès, Albert, and Hubert were indicted and sentenced to transportation, and Blanqui to seven years' imprisonment. Louis Blanc was also indicted, but escaped by flight.

When the news of the Revolution arrived in England, Prince Napoleon, who had, in May, 1846, succeeded in escaping to that country from his prison at Ham, immediately set off for Paris; but returned, in compliance with the wishes of the Provisional Government. On the 8th of June he was elected a representative for Paris, and he was also returned in the departments of Charente and Yonne. Two of his cousins, Napoleon, son of Jerôme, and Peter, son of Lucien, sat in the Assembly. These movements of the Bonaparte family excited the apprehension of Lamartine, who attempted to obtain with regard to Louis Napo-

leon the enforcement of the old decree for the banishment of the Emperor Napoleon's posterity. Louis Napoleon, thinking that his opportunity was not yet arrived, thanked the electors who had returned him, and declared himself ready to discharge any duties which the people might intrust to him, but for the present he remained in London.

An attempt of the Government to dismiss part of the workmen from the *ateliers nationaux* produced one of the bloodiest battles Paris had yet seen. These workmen, who now numbered near 100,000, and were regularly drilled, threw up barricades more artificially constructed than any that had yet been made, and defended them with desperation. The battle began on the 23rd of June, and lasted four days; but the insurgents were at length subdued by the superior force of the troops of the line and the National Guards. Many of the latter had come up from the provincial towns to aid in the suppression of Socialism. Some thousands of persons fell in this sanguinary affray, among them the venerable Monseigneur Affre, Archbishop of Paris, while exhorting the rioters to peace. General Cavaignac, who had been appointed Dictator during the struggle, now laid down his office, but was appointed chief of the Executive Commission with the title of President of the Council.

The fear which Socialism had inspired had produced among the more educated classes a reaction in favour of monarchy. The national workshops were now suppressed, as well as all clubs and the revolutionary press. Even Lamartine and Cavaignac lost their popularity, and persons like Thiers began to appear, and to give a different direction to affairs. Cavaignac, however, who now directed the Government of France, had little personal ambition; he aimed at preserving peace both abroad and at home, and avoiding the extremes either of Socialism or despotism. Besides the Republicans and Socialists, three parties were in the field—the Legitimists, or adherents of Charles X.'s dynasty, the Orleanists, and the Bonapartists. Louis Napoleon had remained quietly in London till he was again elected a representative for Paris, as well as for four departments—the Moselle, Yonne, Lower Charente, and Corsica. He now returned to France, and after making a short speech in the Assembly, September 26th, took no further part in the debates. Meanwhile the new Constitution was prepared—a Republic, headed by a President elected every four years, but almost entirely dependent on the National Assembly. For the Presidency became candidates Louis Napo-

leon, Cavaignac, Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, and Raspail, the representative of the Socialists. In his address to the electors, Louis Napoleon promised order at home, peace abroad, a reduction of taxes, and a ministry chosen from the best and most able men of all parties. But the educated classes of Frenchmen entertained at this time a contempt for his abilities, and his pretensions were ridiculed by the newspapers. The peasantry and the common soldiers were his chief supporters. Thiers, however, and other intriguers of Louis Philippe's time, advocated his claims; but only in the expectation that he would display his incapacity, and serve as a stepping-stone to the restoration of the Orleans dynasty, while others supported him from envy and jealousy of Cavaignac. The election took place December 10th, when Napoleon obtained five-and-a-half million votes, while Cavaignac, who stood next, had only about one-and-a-half million, and the other candidates but very small numbers. Napoleon was installed in the office which he had thus triumphantly won, December 20th, and took up his residence in the Elysée. He appointed Odillon Barrot Minister of Justice, Drouyn de Lhuys to the Foreign Office, Malleville to the Home Office, General Rulhière to the War Department, De Tracy to the Navy, and Passy to the administration of the finances. To Marshal Bugeaud was intrusted the command of the army, and to Changarnier that of the National Guard; while Jerôme Bonaparte, ex-king of Westphalia, was made Governor of the *Invalides*.

The shock of the French Revolution of 1848, like that of the previous one, vibrated through Europe. The Germans were among the first to feel its influence. The affairs of Germany have claimed but a small part of our attention, for in fact there has been little to relate. While most of the nations of Europe were struggling for freedom or independence, the German mass remained inert. The subdivision of that people into a number of petty States seems to damp the feeling of nationality and patriotism, which is also cowed and subdued by the immense standing armies of the two great military German despotisms, supported in the background by the Russian autocrat.

Before we describe the effects of the French Revolution in Germany, we must briefly recapitulate a few events which had occurred there. The Imperial throne of Austria was now occupied by Ferdinand I. Francis, the last of the Romano-German and the first of the Austrian Emperors, after an eventful reign which had commenced almost contemporaneously with the first French Re-

public, died March 2nd, 1835. His son and successor would have been still less fitted for such eventful times. Ferdinand was the personification of good nature, but weak both in body and mind, without all knowledge of business, and led like a child by his Minister, Prince Metternich. The death of the English King William IV. in 1837 had also vacated the crown of Hanover, and severed it from its connection with Great Britain. Victoria, our present gracious Sovereign, who ascended the throne of England on the death of her uncle, was disqualified by her sex, according to the laws of Hanover, from succeeding to that crown, which consequently devolved to her uncle Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. One of the first acts of the new King's reign was to abolish the Constitution which had been established in 1833, and to restore that of 1819. But this *coup d'état* was attended with no more serious result than the resignation of seven Göttingen professors. King Frederick William III. of Prussia died June 7th, 1840. Of this King it may be said, that as few Sovereigns of modern times have experienced greater misfortunes and humiliations, so few or none more richly deserved them by the vacillation and timidity of his counsels, his want of all political principle, and his treachery towards his neighbours and allies. His son and successor Frederick William IV. began his reign with some liberal measures, which, however, soon appeared to be the effects of weakness rather than of wisdom and benevolence. Prussia had been promised a Representative Constitution in 1815, but nothing had yet been done. Frederick William IV. summoned to Berlin a sort of Diet or Parliament, not, however, in the spirit of this promise, but merely composed of the provincial assemblies united together. The King opened this mock assembly April 11th with a fine sentimental speech, in which he observed that he would never allow a sheet of paper—that is, a Charter—to stand like a second Providence between him and the country! He complained of the spirit of innovation and infidelity that was abroad, and with that union of religion with despotism affected by the two most powerful of the Northern Courts, exclaimed, "I and my house will serve the Lord." The Chamber, in their address, claimed, but in vain, the promised Representative Constitution.

A trifling insurrection having occurred in Poland in 1846, Prussia and Russia agreed that the Republic of Cracow should be incorporated with Austria; which accordingly took place in November, in spite of the opposition of Lord Palmerston, the English Minister.

In Hungary, after the death of the Archduke Stephen, the Palatine, his son Joseph was elected to that high office. In 1847 the Emperor Ferdinand himself proceeded into Hungary, to be crowned with the holy crown of St. Stephen as King Ferdinand V. Instead of the usual Latin oration, he spoke on this occasion in the Hungarian tongue; a circumstance which increased the hopes of the Magyars of forcing, with their own language, their desires also of independence on the Slavonians, Germans, and Wallachians living in Hungary. Kossuth now distinguished himself as the most eloquent speaker and most influential member of the Opposition. The States of Bohemia also exerted themselves for the freedom of the press and the right of self-taxation; and even in Austria itself projects of reform were agitated.

It was about 1846 that complications began to arise concerning the Danish boundary. The old King, Frederick VI., had died in 1839. He was succeeded by his great nephew, Christian VIII., then fifty-four years of age, whose only son, Frederick, did not promise to leave any posterity. In the Duchies of Schleswick and Holstein, females were excluded from succeeding to the Sovereignty, though, as we have seen, such was not the case in Denmark.[1] Frederick's aunt, Charlotte, sister of Christian VIII., was therefore next heir to the throne of that Kingdom, in the event of Frederick's death. Charlotte was the mother of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse, who had married in 1844 the Grand Duchess Alexandra, daughter of the Emperor Nicholas; and hence the Imperial family of Russia had obtained a near interest in the Danish succession. On the other hand, Duke Christian, of Schleswick-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, as the nearest male agnate of the Danish Royal family, began to entertain hopes of succeeding in Schleswick and Holstein, and did everything that lay in his power to support the German party in those Duchies. But in 1846 King Christian VIII., in the interests of Russian policy, issued letters patent extending the Danish law of female succession to the whole of his dominions, thus annihilating with the stroke of a pen all the hopes of the German party in Schleswick and Holstein.

The Germans now began an agitation on this subject, in which they confounded the totally distinct rights of Schleswick and Holstein. The latter Duchy having an entirely German population, and being a member of the German Confederation, its affairs came

[1] The Danish crown was made transmissible *en quenouille* at the same time that it was made hereditary (in 1660). See vol. iii. p. 394 sq.

properly under the consideration of the German Diet. With Schleswick the case was entirely different. That Duchy was ceded to Canute, King of Denmark and England, by the Emperor Conrad II., in 1030, when the boundary of the Eyder was re-established as the natural one of Denmark; while Holstein did not come under the dominion of the Danish Crown till 1460, in the reign of Christian I., Count of Oldenburg, who had claims on the female side. The German *Bund* had no right to interfere with the internal affairs of Schleswick. At most, as an international, not a national question, it had a right to demand that the claims of the German agnates to the succession should be respected. About half the inhabitants of Schleswick, however, speak Low German, and this portion of the population desired that the union of the two Duchies should be maintained, and that both should, if possible, be incorporated with the German *Bund*. This sufficed to produce in Germany an agitation in their favour, especially as the question opened up the prospect of territorial aggrandizement, and the acquisition of ports on the North Sea. The rights of the two Duchies were confounded, and the enthusiasm of the Germans was excited by articles in newspapers, and by the popular song *Schleswig-Holstein meer-umschlungen*. Meetings were held in Holstein, and the German Diet promised that the rights of the *Bund* and the succession of the legal agnates should be asserted. A meeting in Holstein was dispersed by the Danish military; but the peace was not further disturbed, and matters remained in this posture till the death of Christian VIII., January 20th, 1848. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick VII., and a few weeks after, the French Revolution broke out.

This event not only inflamed the Schleswick-Holstein question, but also, as we have said, set all Germany in combustion. In the smaller States it displayed itself in a desire for German unity, while in the Austrian dominions it produced an insurrection of the Hungarians, Slavonians, and Italians. Revolutionary symptoms first appeared on the banks of the Rhine. At Mannheim the people assembled and demanded a German Parliament, the freedom of the press, and the arming of the people. Similar disturbances took place at Karlsruhe. A day or two after Welker further demanded, in the Chamber of the States of Baden, that the *Bund* should abrogate all its unpopular resolutions, that the military should take an oath to the Constitution, that persons of all religious denominations should be placed on a footing of perfect political equality, that Ministers should be made responsible, that

all feudal burdens still remaining should be abolished, that taxation should be more equally distributed, that labour should be protected, and lastly, that the Ministry should be purified. These resolutions became the programme of the Revolutionists throughout Germany. The peasants from the surrounding country had flocked in crowds to Karlsruhe, and in the following night the hotel of the Foreign Minister was burnt down. The Grand Duke of Baden now promised everything demanded. Similar movements took place in Darmstadt and Nassau. In the Electorate of Hesse, a "Commission of the People" was established at Hanau, which threatened to depose the Elector if he did not grant all their demands within three days. On the 10th of March everything was conceded. Similar concessions were made in Oldenburg, Brunswick, and other of the smaller States. The Governments of the larger middle States, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, alone opposed any resistance to the people, till Austria and Prussia were likewise observed to be in confusion. Commotions also arose in Switzerland, where Radicalism was now triumphant. The seven Catholic Cantons, Lucerne, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and the Valais, had in 1846 united against the attacks of the others, and formed what was called the *Sonderbund;* but this league was soon overthrown by the Swiss Radicals under Dufour. In 1848 *Free Bands* were organized in Switzerland to aid the establishment of a Republic in Germany. Applications were also made to the French Government for aid in that project, which, however, was refused.

The leaders of the Opposition in various German Chambers held a meeting at Heidelberg, March 8th, and published a proclamation to the German people, promising them a national representation, and inviting them to attend a grand assembly, or as they called it, *Vor-parlament,* in which a representative system was to be prepared. The smaller German Sovereigns met the movement by making the leaders of the Constitutionalists their Ministers, or by appointing them to the Diet. Austria and Prussia concerted together a reform of the Confederation, and published a declaration, March 10th, that a Congress of Princes would assemble at Dresden on the 15th, to take the proposed reform in hand. But the Congress was prevented by Austria herself becoming absorbed in the revolutionary vortex.

The whole strength of that vast but ill-compacted Empire seemed to collapse in a single day. When the news of the French Revolution arrived in Hungary, Kossuth carried in the Diet at

Pesth an address to the Emperor, March 3rd, demanding "a National Government, purged from all foreign influence." Addresses for reform were also got up in Vienna itself, in some of which the dismissal of Metternich was demanded. Kossuth had agents in the Austrian capital, who read to the Viennese his address to the Hungarian Diet. After a slight attempt to put down the people by force, that method was abandoned, and the Archduke Louis, the Emperor's uncle, advised him to yield to their demands. Prince Metternich now quitted Vienna for London, and the Emperor granted freedom of the press, a national guard, and a Liberal Constitution for the whole Empire. A national guard was immediately formed, and kept the mob in order. Kossuth made a sort of triumphal entry into Vienna by torch-light, March 15th, at the head of a numerous Hungarian deputation, which, accompanied by several thousand armed men, with banners and music, proceeded to the Burg to deliver the Hungarian address to the Emperor.

Riots also occurred in several parts of Prussia, as Breslau, Königsberg, Erfurt. At Berlin, meetings were held in the Thiergarten, at which addresses to the King were prepared. The Prussian Government at first resorted to military force to disperse these assemblies, and some blood was shed. But at the news of what was passing in Vienna, the King announced, March 17th, freedom of the press, the assembly of a *Landstag*, or Diet, for April 2nd, the conversion of the German *Staatenbund* (Confederation of States) into a *Bundesstaat* (Confederated State), and the incorporation of East and West Prussia and Posen in the *Bund*. But the people further required the formation of a burgher-guard, the withdrawal of the military from the town, and the dismissal of the Ministry. These demands were carried to the palace by a great multitude, when the King appeared on the balcony and promised that everything should be conceded. In consequence, however, of some misunderstanding, an affray with the military suddenly began, barricades were thrown up, and a riot ensued which lasted all night, in which upwards of 200 persons lost their lives. Henry von Arnim, who had been Prussian Ambassador at Paris during the Revolution, and was now made Foreign Minister, advised the King to put himself at the head of the people. William, Prince of Prussia, the King's brother, fled from Berlin, and the people wrote on his palace, "National property."

Part of the Prussian Ministry had resolved on an attempt to

place Frederick William IV. at the head of the new German nationality, and that Sovereign lent himself to the project with the same feeble mixture of covetousness and irresolution which his father had displayed with regard to the filching of Hanover. On the 21st of March the army assumed the German cockade in addition to the Prussian; the King rode through the streets decorated with the three German colours, preceded by the students carrying a banner of the Empire with the double eagle. In proclamations addressed "To my people," and "To the German nation," it was declared "that Prussia rises into Germany," and that "the Princes and States of Germany shall deliberate in common, as an Assembly of German States, as to the regeneration and reconstruction of Germany." The King rejected, indeed, the titles of "Emperor" and of "King of the Germans," which had been given him in one of these proclamations. But he yielded entirely to the demands for internal reform. The bodies of those who had fallen, March 18th, were conducted to the grave in a solemn procession, which the King beheld from his balcony; and Sydow, the preacher, pronounced a funeral oration over them. On the same day the King granted all the demands of the Baden scheme already described. Riots broke out at the same time in other parts of Prussia, and especially the Rhenish Provinces; to pacify which, Camphausen, of Cologne, was appointed head of the Ministry.

The proceedings at Berlin on the 21st of March produced a bad impression in Germany. Frederick William's attempt at usurpation was received with the unconcealed scorn of all parties at Vienna, Munich, and Stuttgardt. But his concessions to his people, as well as the revolution at Vienna, prevented the Saxon, Hanoverian, and Bavarian Governments from any longer opposing the demands of their subjects. The King of Hanover granted the Baden scheme of reform. The King of Saxony, on the news of Metternich's dismissal, immediately appointed a Liberal Ministry. In Bavaria, the old King, Louis, abdicated in favour of his son, Maximilian II., March 20th. At Munich, in addition to the other revolutionary elements which prevailed throughout Germany, the King had made himself unpopular by a scandalous amour with Lola Montez, an Hiberno-Spanish opera-dancer.

The *Vor-parlament* (preliminary Parliament) was opened in the Paul's Church at Frankfort, March 31st. It consisted, for the most part, of Opposition members from the Chambers of the middling and smaller German States, but many nondescript per-

sons were admitted. There were but few Prussian members, and Austria was represented only by Wiesner, a Jew writer. Hacker, Struve, and other violent democrats, aimed at a German Republic, or, at all events, the establishment of a German Parliament, from which Princes were to be excluded. But as these Princes were at the head of large standing armies, it is difficult to see how this project was to be accomplished. The cowardice, boasting, drunkenness, and other vices of the German democrats, made them contemptible from the beginning; and, though they succeeded in creating a great deal of disorder, they never had a chance of success. In all their skirmishes with the regular troops they were invariably defeated.

The effects of the movement manifested themselves in Schleswick and Holstein by a demand for union, with a separate Constitution, and the admission of Schleswick into the German *Bund*. A Provisional Government for the two Duchies was appointed, March 24th, with the Duke of Augustenburg, Count Reventlow, and Beseler at the head. Frederick William IV. assured the Duke of Augustenburg by letter that he would protect his title, and that he approved the union of Schleswick with Holstein. The Prussian army had been offended by their dismissal from Berlin; a war with Denmark might obliterate the feeling, as well as restore the King's popularity. The Diet at Frankfort adopted the Prussian view, authorized Prussia to interfere in the Danish question, and admitted into their Assembly a Deputy from Schleswick-Holstein. The Prussian and Hanoverian troops of the *Bund* defeated the Danes in several battles; and on May 18th, General Wrangel entered Jutland, and enforced a contribution of three million dollars. He contemplated holding that province as a material guarantee for the compliance of the Danes with the German demands; but on May 26th he received an order of recall, and the progress of the campaign was arrested, owing, it is thought, to Russian influence.

In Sweden, the tranquillity which had prevailed ever since the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, was not now disturbed. The Crown Prince, Charles John (Bernadotte), had succeeded to the Swedish Throne, with the title of Charles XIV., on the death of Charles XIII. in 1818; and in conjunction with the Four Estates, had ruled with wisdom and moderation. Charles XIV. died in 1844, and was succeeded by his son Oscar. During the Dano-German conflict Oscar offered his mediation, and on its rejection by the Germans, promised the Danes his aid. The

pretensions of the Germans to Schleswick were also condemned by the Norwegians. As Prussia, which suffered from the Danish blockade, did not seem inclined to follow up her victories, the Ministry of the Confederation resolved, July 1st, to raise an army and to carry out the German pretensions without her aid. The contingents of Würtemberg and Baden began their march for the North at the beginning of August, but on the 7th of that month the Archduke John, who had now been elected *Reichsverweser*, or Vicar of the new German Confederation, gave the King of Prussia full powers to negotiate an armistice with the Danes. Prussia had accepted Swedish mediation, and Conferences were going on, which resulted, August 26th, in the armistice of Malmö. The King of Denmark consented that during this armistice, which was to last for seven months, Schleswick and Holstein should have a common Government; half to be appointed by himself, and the other half by the King of Prussia, on behalf of the *Bund*.

The revolution at Vienna naturally set all Italy in a flame. But here we must recapitulate a few of the leading events which had occurred since our last notice of that peninsula.

In 1838 the Emperor Ferdinand had caused himself to be crowned, at Milan, King of Lombardy and Venice, and in the same year the French had evacuated Ancona. The dominion of Austria seemed to be sufficiently stable in Northern Italy, so long as peace with France was preserved, to assure the tranquillity, or the servitude, of the other Italian States. But under the surface glowed a volcano of faction. Mazzini had founded a secret league called *La giovane Italia*, or "Young Italy," the object of which was to emancipate Italy from the yoke of foreigners. In 1840, when the affairs of the East threatened a breach between France and the Northern Powers, the Italians began to stir; and partial attempts at insurrection were subsequently made in 1843 and 1846. The death of Pope Gregory XVI. in June, 1846, seemed to open brighter prospects to the patriots of Italy. The Conclave chose for his successor Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, who assumed the title of Pius IX. The new Pope began his reign with some liberal measures, which made him very popular in Italy. He granted amnesties, deposed all unpopular magistrates, allowed a greater liberty of the press. It was an opinion entertained by many, that the unity and independence of Italy could be achieved only by means of the Pope; and it was hoped that Pius IX. might be induced to head the

league of "Young Italy:" but there was an afterthought that the tool should be thrown aside when it had answered the purpose. The club called *Circolo Romano* took up this idea, pretended a great affection for the Pope, and cheered him when he appeared in public. Pio Nono consented to a sort of Parliament, and to the formation of a *guardia civica*, or burgher-guard. He even entertained the idea of an Italian *Zoll-verein*, or customs-union, as a prelude to political unity. Leopold II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, was also induced by some popular demonstrations to authorize a burgher-guard, and certain political reforms. Austria, however, warned the Pope as to his proceedings. That Power garrisoned the citadel of Ferrara, agreeably to the Treaties of 1815; but she now proceeded to occupy the whole town; an act against which Pius was persuaded to protest, and even to make preparations for war.

Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, also announced about this time some liberal measures. In November, 1847, he concluded a customs-union with Rome and Tuscany, and in February, 1848, he granted a new Constitution to his subjects. On the North he cultivated the friendship of the Swiss. The South of Italy had been disturbed before the French Revolution. An insurrection had broken out at Palermo, January 12th, 1848, and on the 29th in Naples, when King Ferdinand II. granted a Constitution. The principles of Mazzini also pervaded Austrian Italy. The Austrian Government affected mildness, but it is difficult to reconcile men to a foreign yoke. A crusade was got up against tobacco, the sale of which was an Austrian monopoly, by a renunciation of smoking; and at the beginning of 1848 all intercourse with Austrian officers was broken off. At this time the apathetic Archduke Rainer was Viceroy in the Austrian dominions in Italy, while Marshal Radetzki, then eighty-two years of age, held the military command. Radetzki, who foresaw the coming storm, in vain besought his Government for reinforcements, and that Milan, Verona, and other places should be strengthened. The Archduke left Milan for Vienna, March 17th, and on the evening of the same day the insurrection in that capital was publicly known at Milan. Next morning Casati, the Podestà, the Archbishop of Milan, and Count Borromeo, the chief of the Lombard nobles, who had long been initiated in the conspiracy, displayed the three-coloured flag, and demanded from Count O'Donnel, who conducted the Government in the absence of the Archduke, that he should assent to all the demands of the

Lombard people, as had been done in Vienna. O'Donnel hesitated, the Podestà apprehended him, and the people threw up barricades. A street fight ensued, which lasted four days; during which the troops suffered so severely that Radetzki withdrew them, except at the gates and in the citadel. His force consisted of only 20,000 men; Charles Albert of Sardinia was approaching with his whole army; and Radetzki, feeling that he was not strong enough to hold the insurgent town, evacuated it on the night of March 22nd.

Charles Albert had received no injury from Austria; but the opportunity was too tempting to be lost. He declared war, took possession of Milan, and pursued the retreating Radetzki; who, after reducing to ashes the little town of Melegnano which had obstructed his retreat, and withdrawing the garrisons from several places, took up a strong position between the Mincio and the Adige, in the triangle formed by the fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera and Verona; where he awaited reinforcements from Germany. The Austrian garrisons in Brescia, Cremona, Como, Padua, Treviso, Udine, surrendered. Venice was lost through the cowardice of the commandant. A capitulation was entered into with the insurgent people, the Austrians left the city, and the advocate Manin placed himself at the head of the restored Republic.

Charles Albert, though called the *Spada d' Italia*, or sword of Italy, and though his forces far outnumbered those of Radetzki, ventured not a battle. He hoped that his connection with the revolutionists at Vienna would obtain for him the gift of Italy, which all parties agreed must be wrested from Austria, though they differed as to what was to be done with it. Radetzki could expect no aid from Vienna, where the Government was in a state of dissolution. Count Kolowrat, the hope of the Liberals, had succeeded to Metternich's place, but could not allay the storm. The Archduke Louis resigned the conduct of affairs to the Archduke Francis Charles, who ruled with as weak a hand, and Kolowrat was succeeded by Count Ficquelmont. Kossuth, in order to wrest Hungary from Austria, endeavoured to perpetuate the disturbances at Vienna. The Emperor Ferdinand had promised the Hungarians many reforms, and even permitted a national ministry independent of that at Vienna, of which Count Batthyani was the head, while Kossuth administered the finances. Kossuth demanded for Hungary the Baden scheme of reform, which would give the aristocracy their last blow. He also required the in-

corporation of Transylvania with Hungary, a national Hungarian bank and the exclusion of Austrian paper money; also, that Hungarian troops should not serve the Emperor out of the Austrian dominions. The Diet at Pesth, overawed by the aspect of affairs, in its last sitting, April 11th, at which the Emperor Ferdinand was present, gave all these demands the force of law.

The Bohemians also demanded a new Constitution and reforms very similar to those required by the Hungarians. Professor Palacky, the historian of Bohemia, was the soul of the Tschech party, as Kossuth was of the Magyar movement in Hungary. Palacky was invited by the *Vor-parlament* to take his seat among them; but he declared that he was a Tschech, and would not meddle with German affairs. The Bohemians invited Ferdinand to Prague, as the riots still continued at Vienna; but he took refuge in preference at Innsbruck among his faithful Tyrolese. The suppression of a riot at Prague, by Prince Windischgrätz, in June, was the first reactionary triumph of the Imperial arms. Nor did Charles Albert, in spite of his numerical superiority, make much progress in Lombardy. Garibaldi, who was born at Nice, July 4th, 1807, and after some exploits in South America returned to Europe in 1848, had raised about 8,000 volunteers; but the King of Sardinia, dreading the triumph of the Mazzinists and Republicans, did not encourage the arming of the people. He sent 2,000 men to assist and secure Venice, but that city preferred to remain a Republic. As at one time the Austrian Government seemed disposed to surrender, Charles Albert refused to join a league of the Italian States proposed by the Pope.

After the revolution at Paris the movements already in progress in Central and Southern Italy broke into a perfect storm. Pius IX. in some degree allayed it at Rome by announcing a new Constitution for that city, including a temporal ministry and a chamber of deputies (March 15th). But at the news of the revolution at Vienna the Romans were seized with a sort of fury. All flew to arms; the Palazzo di Venezia was stormed, and the Austrian double eagle torn down. The Pope despatched his troops under Durando, with a considerable body of volunteers under Colonel Ferrari, to his northern frontier, for the avowed purpose of defence; but Durando led them over the Po to join Charles Albert, when Pius, in alarm, asserted in an allocution, April 29th, that he had given his troops no such orders. Such, however, was the spirit inspired by the democratic movement in

Austria, that the Pope's consent was extorted to make common cause with Charles Albert, but on condition that the latter Sovereign should join the Italian league, which, as we have said, he declined. The same spirit prevailed in Tuscany as at Rome, and hence also a small army of 7,000 men was despatched. In Modena the Duke was driven from his dominions.

Before the French Revolution broke out the King of Naples had already granted a Constitution to his subjects, February 10th, 1848, while in the preceding January Sicily had separated from that country and declared its independence. Lord Minto, who had been sent into Italy in a semi-official capacity by the British Government, endeavoured in vain to reconcile the Sicilians and the King. The Jesuits were now driven from Naples; the Austrian arms at the Embassy were torn down; and, as the King could give him no satisfaction, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Ambassador, took his departure. Ferdinand II. was at length compelled to sanction a fresh democratic Constitution, April 3rd, when Troja, the historian, became his Prime Minister. War was now declared against Austria, and General Pepé sent to the North with 13,000 men; but from jealousy of Charles Albert they were directed not to cross the Po. When the Neapolitan Chambers met, May 14th, they were not contented with the new Constitution, and a fresh insurrection broke out which threatened to overturn the throne. Barricades were thrown up, and a sanguinary conflict ensued between the Swiss guards and the populace, which ended in the entire discomfiture of the insurgents. Ferdinand, after causing the people to be disarmed, withdrew the concessions which he had made in April, but retained the Constitution of February. Prince Cariati was now appointed Minister. Pepé was recalled, and directed to proceed to Sicily to restore order, but preferred to go to Venice with such of his troops as were inclined to follow him. The Swiss *Tagsatzung*, or Diet, ordered the regiments which had fought for the King at Naples to be disbanded, as having acted contrary to the honour and interest of Switzerland. But these regiments refused to quit the King's service.

Meanwhile in the North of Italy, Marshal Radetzki, having been reinforced by Count Nugent with 13,000 men, repulsed an attack made by Charles Albert at St. Lucia, May 6th. On the 29th he defeated with great loss Laugier's Tuscan division at Curtatone; but was, in turn, defeated the following day by Charles Albert at Goito. The Emperor Ferdinand, who was at

Innsbruck, now directed Radetzki to conclude an armistice, but the Marshal ventured to disobey these orders, and wrote to his master not to despond. Peschiera surrendered to the Piedmontese, May 30th. On the other hand, Radetzki took Vicenza, June 11th. The capture of Rivoli by Charles Albert, which lies on the road from Verona into South Tyrol, was of less importance than it might seem, as Radetzki's communication with Vienna was secured more to the east. Towards the end of July the Piedmontese were defeated in several engagements, and the Austrians, having been largely reinforced, began to advance. Charles Albert now solicited a truce, which was refused. The British Government had attempted to mediate in favour of Charles Albert, and Lord Abercrombie, the English Ambassador at Turin, proceeded to the Austrian camp to negotiate; but Radetzki would hear of nothing till he should have arrived at Milan. The Piedmontese retreated, or rather fled, to that town, without venturing to defend Cremona, and were defeated in a battle before the gates of the Lombard capital, August 5th, which was re-entered by Radetzki on the following day. On the 9th he signed an armistice, by which he secured Charles Albert's frontiers. That Sovereign, on his side, surrendered Peschiera, and withdrew his troops from Venice. He had been proclaimed King in that city, July 4th, but at the news of his misfortunes the people turned, and Manin again proclaimed the Republic. Garibaldi, after delivering a last battle against the Austrians, fled into Switzerland. Thus all Lombardy was again subdued; Radetzki proceeded to invest Venice on the land side, and began the laborious siege of that city.

Meanwhile the German National Assembly assembled at Frankfort to establish a "German Constitution" without any interference on the part of the Princes, chose Henry von Gagern for their President, May 18th. It would be tedious to detail the proceedings of this abortive Assembly. The majority were for restoring an Emperor, while only a minority desired a Republic. On the motion of Von Gagern, the Archduke John, as we have before intimated, was elected *Reichsverweser*, or Imperial Vicar, June 29th, being thus constituted, as it were, a Præ-Emperor, as the *Vor-parlament* had been a Præ-parliament. The Archduke John entered Frankfort in state, July 11th; on the following day the Diet of the Confederation closed its session, and handed over its power to the Imperial Vicar. Of all the German Sovereigns, the King of Hanover alone protested against these proceedings.

The Constituent Assembly for Prussia was also opened at Berlin, May 22nd, but like the Frankfort Parliament, did nothing but talk. The expedition against Denmark had been undertaken to divert the people's attention from their own affairs. The Frankfort mob, however, did not acquiesce in the proceedings of the Parliament. A serious riot took place, August 18th, which was eventually put down by the military; but two members of the Parliament, Prince Lichnowski and General Auerswald, were killed. Riots and democratic demonstrations broke out at this time in many parts of Germany, but were suppressed without much difficulty. After the failure of the attempted insurrection at Frankfort some of the boldest democratic leaders vanished to other places. Robert Blum, Fröbel, and others betook themselves to Vienna, to fan the embers of sedition in that capital. A "Central Committee of Democratic Germany" published, October 3rd, a violent proclamation, repudiating and abusing the Frankfort Parliament, protesting against its existence, and summoning a "General Democratic Congress," to meet at Berlin on the 26th. The assembly actually met; but in the interval the courage of the talkers had oozed out, and the congress made but a sorry figure.

The hopes of the German democrats were fixed upon Vienna, where alone the people had obtained the mastery, and were supported by Kossuth with the whole strength of Hungary. The higher and richer class had quitted Vienna in the summer. A Committee of Safety and the Aula, or university, ruled side by side with the Ministry and Diet. The Austrian Constituent National Assembly, which had been opened by the Archduke John, July 22nd, shortly before he went to Frankfort, had no influence at all with the people. The insurgent Viennese were directed by Kossuth. That leader had carried in the Hungarian Diet the levy of 200,000 Honveds, or national troops, and the issue of forty-two million gulden in paper money. But the aspect of affairs began gradually to change. The Emperor Ferdinand returned to Vienna after Radetzki's success, August 12th, and the Ministry began to take some bolder steps. In order to appease the people work had been provided for them by the Government; but the wages were now reduced, and though the labourers revolted, they were put down by the municipal guard The Government dissolved the Committee of Safety August 24th, which ventured not to resist. The Servians and Croats had taken up arms against the Hungarians in Ferdinand's cause;

though Kossuth pretended to fight against them, as rebels, in the Emperor's name. At the beginning of September Kossuth sent a deputation of 150 Hungarian gentlemen to Vienna to invite the Emperor to Pesth, and to request him to order back the Hungarian regiments from Italy to defend their country. Ferdinand, of course, declined these proposals.

The Archduke Stephen having laid down the office of Hungarian Palatine and returned to Vienna, the Emperor appointed Count Lemberg Governor of Hungary. But a party of Kossuth's scythemen murdered him on the bridge of Pesth, September 28th. No terms of course could any longer be kept. Kossuth relied for support on a revolt which had long been preparing at Vienna, and which broke out October 6th. The Minister Latour was seized and murdered. The mob broke into the chamber of the National Assembly and caused an address to be drawn up to the Emperor, in which he was required to recall all the measures which had been taken against Hungary and all the powers which had been given to Radetzki. The Government arsenal and that in the city were stormed and plundered. Next day Ferdinand fled from Schönbrunn to Olmütz, where he found a defence in the loyalty of the people and the neighbourhood of Windischgrätz and his army. That general proceeded with 30,000 men from Bohemia to Vienna to form the siege of that city; in which he was assisted by Jellachich, the Croat leader, with 35,000 men, and Auersperg with 15,000. These forces completely surrounded Vienna, which, after a week's siege, was taken by assault, October 31st. Some of the captured leaders of the insurrection were shot, among them Robert Blum. A revolution now ensued at Court. Prince Felix Schwarzenberg became Prime Minister, November 24th, and on December 2nd, 1848, the Emperor Ferdinand I. abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. The motive assigned for this step was, that a younger Sovereign was required to carry out the necessary reforms in the State.

The suppression of the insurrection at Vienna produced a reaction at Berlin. On November 4th the King empowered Count Brandenburg, a natural son of Frederick William II., to form a new Ministry. On the 8th the so-called Constituent Assembly was ordered to transfer itself to the town of Brandenburg, and on the 10th General Wrangel entered Berlin with a numerous force, without encountering any resistance. At the news of these proceedings riots ensued in various parts of Germany, which were not, however, attended with any important

results. The Constituent Assembly was opened at Brandenburg November 27th; but in consequence of their tumultuous debates the King dissolved them, December 5th, and granted a Constitution by his own grace and favour. The legislature was to consist of two chambers, and writs were issued for elections in the ensuing February.

In Austria, the first care of the new Emperor was the reduction of Hungary. That commission was intrusted to Prince Windischgrätz, who began the campaign in the middle of December. Kossuth ruled nearly the whole of Hungary, as President of a Committee of National Defence. The Hungarian Diet did not recognize the abdication of Ferdinand, but still called him King of Hungary, and represented Francis Joseph to the troops as a usurper. The Hungarian army was commanded by Görgey, while General Bem led the insurgents in Transylvania. As the Austrians advanced the Hungarians retreated, with the view of drawing them into the interior of the country during the bad season. Kossuth abandoned Pesth on the approach of Windischgrätz, carrying with him the crown of St. Stephen, and the Austrians entered Buda and Pesth without opposition, January 5th, 1849. Windischgrätz defeated the Hungarians under Dembinski at Kapolna, February 28th; while, on the other hand, General Bem gained several advantages over the Imperialists in Transylvania.

The state of affairs in Hungary, and the circumstance of Radetzki being still engaged in the siege of Venice, encouraged the King of Sardinia to resume the war against Austria at the termination of the armistice, March 12th, 1849. Thus Austria would have to deal at once with the revolted Hungarians and Italians, and it was considered that the disturbances in Germany would lend a moral support to the movement. Charles Albert's army amounted to between 80,000 and 90,000 men, while that of Radetzki was not more than 60,000 or 70,000. But the best Piedmontese generals were adverse to the war, and the chief commands were, therefore, intrusted to Poles. Radetzki defeated Chrzanowski at Mortara, March 21st, and on the 23rd inflicted on him a still more terrible defeat at Novara. Never was overthrow more speedy or more complete. On the 24th of March Charles Albert resigned his crown in despair, and fled to Oporto, where he died a few months after. His son and successor, Victor Emanuel II., immediately besought Radetzki for a truce, which that general granted on very moderate terms. On the 28th of

March Radetzki again entered Milan. Brescia, which had revolted, and persisted in defending itself, was captured by Count Haynau, a natural son of the Elector of Hesse; who, from the barbarous cruelty which he exercised on the inhabitants, obtained the name of the "Hyæna of Brescia." A definitive peace was concluded between Austria and Sardinia, August 6th, by which everything was replaced on the ancient footing. The Sardinians had to pay seventy-five million francs for the costs of the war.

The Hungarian insurgents under Görgey were more successful. The Austrians were defeated in several battles, Komorn was taken, and Vienna itself was threatened. Austria now accepted the aid of Russia. This step on the part of the Emperor Nicholas was not altogether disinterested. Many Poles took part in the Hungarian war, and he apprehended lest the success of the rebels in that country should lead to a revolution in Poland. It had been decided by the new Austrian Government that Hungary should be deprived of its former Constitution, its separate Diet, and nationality. Kossuth retorted by causing the Diet assembled at Debreczin to depose the House of Habsburg-Lorraine from the throne of Hungary, and to establish a Provisional Republic. Windischgrätz was superseded in the command of the Austrian army by Baron Welden; who, however, was compelled to retreat, and Görgey took Buda by storm, May 21st. But in the middle of June Prince Paskiewitsch entered Hungary at several points, with a Russian army of 130,000 men and 500 guns. The Austrian army had also been reinforced, and the command again transferred to Haynau. The Hungarian army was estimated at 200,000 men, but was not equal to the combined armies of Austria and Russia.

We cannot enter into the details of the Hungarian war, which ended with the complete reduction of the Hungarians in the autumn of 1849. Thus Austria preserved that Kingdom, but through foreign aid, and consequently with some sacrifice of independence. The division of the Hungarian army under Dembinski, with which was Kossuth, having been annihilated by Haynau, Kossuth, having first resigned his power into the hands of Görgey, betook himself to the protection of that general, August 11th. Görgey, who was no republican, loved him not; and Kossuth, instead of fulfilling his promise to give up the Hungarian crown and jewels, fled with them to General Bem in Transylvania. On the 12th of August Görgey surrendered by capitulation with his whole army of 23,000 men to the Russian General Rüdiger. Bem, having only 6,000 men, both he and

Kossuth now fled into Turkey, where they found protection, in spite of the Russian and Austrian demands for their extradition. Kossuth, and several other fugitives, afterwards proceeded to England. The Hungarian divisions now surrendered one after another. Görgey obtained, through Russian mediation, permission to reside at Gratz; but Haynau took a cruel and sanguinary revenge on other leaders of the revolution. He condemned Batthyani to the gallows, and went half mad with rage on learning that the unfortunate count had only been shot at Buda. He caused Prince Wroniski and two others to be hanged at Pesth, and the Generals Becsey, Aulich, Leiningen, with several more, at Arad; some, by way of favour, he only ordered to be shot. The Emperor was obliged to recall him. This man was afterwards imprudent enough to come to England; when the treatment which he received at the hands of some of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins', the brewers, men, will be in the recollection of some of our readers.

Austria, after quelling the Lombard and Hungarian insurrections, was at leisure to attend to the affairs of Central Italy. In Rome, since the spring of 1848, the Pope had been compelled to accept the temporal and liberal ministry of Mamiani. After the success of the Austrians in Upper Italy Pio Nono ventured again to assert his pontifical authority. His principal adviser was Count Rossi, the French Ambassador, though an Italian by birth. Rossi subsequently became the Pope's Prime Minister, and endeavoured to restore things to their ancient footing; but he was assassinated, November 15th, when about to enter the newly-opened National Assembly. Upon this, the people, aided by the papal troops, as well as by the civic guard, stormed Pius in the Quirinal, murdered his private secretary, Cardinal Palma, and extorted the dismissal of the Swiss guards and the appointment of a popular ministry. The Pope, with the aid of Count Spaur, the Bavarian Ambassador, succeeded in escaping from the Quirinal, disguised as one of the count's livery servants, and betook himself to Gaëta, whither he was followed by his ministers. The Roman Parliament having in vain required him to return, at length proceeded to establish a Provisional Government, or Junta of State, consisting of the triumvirate, Counts Corsini, Camerata, and Galetti (December 19th). The Pope protested against all their acts as illegal. At this time, Garibaldi, who had taken service under the Roman Republic, entered Rome at the head of a large body of volunteers. In Tuscany, also, the Grand Duke was compelled to accept a

democratic ministry, which aimed at establishing a Republic. Sanguinary insurrections took place at Leghorn and Genoa in December. On February 5th, 1849, was opened at Rome a general Italian Constituent Assembly, with the view of establishing Italian unity under a republican form of government. In this Assembly Mazzini played the chief part, and after him, Prince Charles of Canino, a son of Lucien Bonaparte. But at the time of the Pope's flight Prince Louis Napoleon, afterwards the French President, had expressed his sympathy for the Church, and repudiated the proceedings of his cousin; and General Cavaignac promised Pius that he would assist him. The Constituent Assembly began by deposing the Pope as a temporal prince, and proclaiming the Roman Republic, February 8th. The executive power of the new Republic was placed in the hands of the triumvirate, Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi, who decreed the confiscation of all Church property. In Florence also, the Grand Duke fled, Guerazzi proclaimed a Republic, and was named Dictator.

After the overthrow of Charles Albert, however, a reaction commenced. The Austrians began to enter Central Italy; France and Spain also despatched troops to the Pope's aid; whilst Victor Emanuel, the new King of Sardinia, sent an army to reduce the Republicans of Genoa. At Florence a counter-revolution broke out, and Guerazzi was compelled to fly.

In June, Parma, Bologna, and Ancona, were successively occupied by the Austrians, who, however, at Rome, were anticipated by the French. A division of 6,000 French troops under General Oudinot landed at Cività Vecchia, April 25th, and a few days later, a few thousand Spaniards landed at Terracina. The King of Naples also advanced against Rome. That the new French Republic should begin its career with coercing its fellow Republicans at Rome, showed how vast was the difference between the Revolution of 1848 and that of 1792. Oudinot found a reception he had little anticipated. He had experienced a signal defeat before the walls of Rome from Garibaldi's volunteers, April 30th; upon which the King of Naples withdrew his troops. Oudinot now procured a truce in order to reinforce himself, while Lesseps, the French Ambassador, endeavoured to cajole the Romans. When these purposes were answered Lesseps was disavowed, and, in spite of Garibaldi's heroic defence, Oudinot captured Rome, July 3rd. Garibaldi succeeded in escaping, and embarked near S. Marinello for Genoa. Mazzini also escaped.

He had previously been obliged to lay down his power in favour of a new triumvirate, consisting of Salicetti, Mariani, and Calandretti; who concluded the capitulation with the French. The Spaniards did not venture to approach Rome. General Oudinot, after his entrance, established a government in the name of the Pope, and thus *de facto* put an end to the Roman Republic. Pius himself, however, not relishing the protection of French bayonets, remained at Gaëta; nor would he consent to make such concessions as the French Government desired, in order to avert the unpopularity of the expedition among the liberal party in France. The Grand Duke of Tuscany returned to his capital July 29th. Venice, which had endured a siege since the summer of 1848, was not reduced by the Austrians till August 22nd, 1849, partly by bombardment, partly through the effects of famine. The Austrians were computed to have lost 20,000 men during the siege, principally by marsh fever. Manin, and forty of the most compromised of the Venetian Republicans, were permitted to withdraw.

Although Naples had been reduced, Sicily continued in a state of rebellion. In July, 1848, the Sicilians, at the suggestion, it is said, of Lord Minto, chose Duke Ferdinand of Genoa, brother of Victor Emanuel, for their King; but that Prince declined to accept the proffered crown. Prince Filangieri, with a Neapolitan army, landed at Messina, and captured that town after a sanguinary struggle, September 7th. In the spring of 1849 Filangieri reduced Catania and Syracuse, and on April 23rd he entered Palermo, thus putting an end to the rebellion.

We must now revert to the affairs of Germany, where the German Parliament had by a small majority elected the King of Prussia hereditary Emperor, March 28th, 1849; a dignity, however, which, after a month's hesitation, Frederick William IV. declined to accept. His timidity again overcame him. He was afraid of some of the other German Princes, though twenty-nine of them approved the offer; and he also wanted resolution to wield the supreme power at a period of such disturbance. Thus vanished the hopes of the German patriots. After this step on the part of the Parliament Austria withdrew her representatives. The debates at Frankfort were accompanied with disturbances in many parts of Germany. Riots first broke out at Dresden, May 3rd, where the King of Saxony had dismissed the Radical Chamber and established a strong ministry. At first the people had the mastery. The Royal Family fled in the night to Königs-

tein, and a Provisional Government was constituted under the triumvirate, Tschirner, Heubner, and Todt. By the aid of Prussian and other troops the rebellion, however, was put down, May 9th. An attempted insurrection at Leipsic also failed. Berlin was not again disturbed, but riots, attended with loss of life, occurred in many of the smaller towns. On May 14th Frederick William IV. directed all Prussian subjects to quit the Frankfort Parliament, and a similar order was issued a few days after by the King of Saxony. That assembly was also reduced, by the voluntary desertion of other members, to little more than 100 persons; who, deeming themselves no longer secure in Frankfort, transferred their sittings to Stuttgardt early in June. Here they deposed the Imperial Vicar, and appointed a new Regency, consisting of five members. But, as they began to call the people to arms, they were dispersed by the Würtemberg Government. The insurgents, under Mierolowski, held out for some time in the Palatinate and Baden; but towards the end of June the Prussians compelled them to disperse and take refuge in Switzerland. The Swiss Confederate Council, however, by a decree of July 16th, directed the ringleaders to quit that country.

In the spring of 1849 the war had again broken out in Schleswick-Holstein. Denmark was dissatisfied with the arrangement by which, after the armistice of Malmö, the Duchies had been conjointly administered under the presidency of Count Reventlow; nor were England and Russia willing that Schleswick should be ravished from Denmark, its rightful Sovereign. Denmark denounced the armistice, April 26th. The campaign commenced with the loss, by the Danes, of two of their best ships at Eckenförde; while on land they were shortly after defeated at Kolding by General Bonin and the army of the Bund. Bonin, however, was in turn defeated by the Danes under General Rye at Fredericia, July 6th. England and Russia now interfered, and dictated a fresh armistice of six months on the basis of the separation of Schleswick and Holstein, July 10th.

CHAPTER LXXI.

WHILE great part of Europe was thus disturbed, the new French Republic was peacefully consolidating itself. The clubs were suppressed; part of the *garde mobile* dismissed; Blanqui, Raspail, and other agitators were condemned by the Court of Assizes at Bourges. In the spring of 1849 Louis Napoleon conciliated the Church by despatching to Rome the expedition under General Oudinot already mentioned, with the collateral view of establishing in Italy a counterpoise to Austrian influence, and making the arms of France respected.

The newly-elected Legislative Assembly met at Paris, May 28th. More than half the Chamber were new members, and many who had taken a leading part in the Revolution were not returned. Among those excluded were Lamartine and Marrast. The Red Republicans and Socialists were furious; Ledru Rollin violently attacked the President's policy, nay even sought to impeach him. The ill success at first of Oudinot at Rome favoured an attempt to excite a general insurrection. The Republicans of the Opposition, called the Mountain, consisting of about 120 members, invited the National Guard to make a procession, though unarmed, to the Assembly, in order to remind it of its duties (June 13th). But the President had taken the necessary military precautions, and Changarnier, at the head of the troops, dispersed the procession and destroyed the barricades which had been commenced. The insurgents were also driven from the Conservatory of Arts, where they had opened a sort of Convention, and named Ledru Rollin Dictator. Several of the ringleaders were apprehended, while Ledru Rollin only saved himself by flight. The Paris insurrection was thus suppressed, as well as another which occurred the same day at Lyon; the latter, however, not without considerable bloodshed. After these events the republican journals were in part suppressed, and the remainder subjected by a new law to more rigid control.

In the summer of 1849 the President made several tours in the provinces. His policy assumed more and more a conservative

tendency. Early in December he made some partial changes in the Ministry, and announced his intention to be firm; such, he said, had been the wish of France in choosing him. Many former adherents of the Bourbons now joined him, as Thiers, Molé, Broglie, Berryer, Montalembert, and others; but only in the hope that a restoration of one of the Bourbon lines might be effected. Most of the *projets de loi* which the President submitted to the Assembly were directed against liberty; such as higher securities for the journals, the leading articles of which were ordered to be signed, the limitation of the elective franchise, a severe law for the transportation of political offenders, &c. The Chamber tamely submitted, and voted the President, though exceptionally for a year, a salary of 2,160,000 francs, instead of 600,000. Out of this supply he defrayed the expense of the military feasts, in which he was toasted as the "Emperor." His plans were promoted by dread and hatred of Socialism, and his government even became popular, because it insured tranquillity, with employment and prosperity as its consequences. But the basis of his power was fixed chiefly in the provinces, which now for the first time possessed more influence than Paris.

The Pretender, Henry V., Duke of Bordeaux, who in his exile used only the modest title of Count de Chambord, visited Wiesbaden in August, 1850, where he was soon surrounded by the leading Legitimists of France. He was persuaded to publish a foolish manifesto. In the same month the ex-King, Louis Philippe, died at Claremont (August 26). He left his family not altogether at unity. The Count of Paris, the claimant of the French throne, resided in Germany, at a distance from his relatives.

Another change in the French Administration took place in January, 1851, the chief feature of which was the dismissal of General Changarnier. It had been observed that in the reviews of the preceding autumn, all the regiments had shouted "*Vive l'Empereur*" except those commanded by Changarnier. The Assembly, however, began to show symptoms of resistance. A vote was carried of non-confidence in the new Ministry, which was again changed; and in February a proposal for increasing the President's salary was rejected. But this opposition only stimulated Louis Napoleon in his purpose. Petitions came up from all parts of France demanding a revision of the Constitution or, in plain words, an Empire instead of a Republic; but they were rejected by the Chamber. When the Chamber was

reopened in November the President again demanded a revision of the Constitution, in order, as he intimated, to regulate legally what the French people would otherwise know how to obtain in another manner. He alluded to the support which he might expect from the clergy, the agricultural and manufacturing interests, and above all from the troops; and he hinted the influence of his name among the army, of which, according to the Constitution, he alone had the disposal. If the Assembly would not vote the revision of the Constitution, the people would, in 1852, when the term of his Presidency expired, express its new decision; that is, in other words, he would be proclaimed Emperor by universal suffrage.

The struggle between the President and the Chambers continued throughout 1851, in which year the Ministry was repeatedly changed. A Government project to modify the electoral law of May 31st, 1850, and to restore universal suffrage, having been rejected by the Assembly in November, and a measure having been brought forward for determining the responsibility of the Ministers and of the head of the State, Louis Napoleon resolved on a *coup d'état*. The soldiery were devoted to him, he had surrounded himself with able generals who favoured his cause, and he relied on the disunion which reigned among his opponents. M. de Thorigny, who refused to lend himself to the proposed *coup d'état*, was superseded as Minister of the Interior by M. de Morny, a speculator of doubtful repute. One of the chief agents in the plot was Major Fleury, a spendthrift and gamester of ruined fortunes and desperate character, to whom were assigned the more hazardous parts of the enterprise, and who stimulated and supplemented the sometimes faltering courage of Napoleon. Maupas, another coadjutor, was made Prefect of Police. M. de Persigny, an attached friend of Napoleon's, took no very active share in the plot. To secure the army, General St. Arnaud, whose real name was Jacques Arnaud Le Roy, who had no troublesome scruples, was sent for from Algeria, and made Minister of War. The services of General Magnan, who commanded the troops quartered in Paris, were also secured. On the night of December 1st, the President, in order to divert attention, gave a grand party, during which the troops were distributed in readiness for action, the Government presses were employed in printing placards and proclamations, and arrests were quietly effected of all such generals, deputies, and other persons whose opposition might prove troublesome. Among those arrested were Generals

Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoricière, Bédeau, and others; Messrs. Thiers, Roger du Nord, Victor Hugo, Eugène Sue, &c. The prisoners were carried, some to Vincennes, some to Ham, in those cage-like carriages used for the conveyance of persons sentenced to transportation. On the morning of December 2nd placards appeared upon the walls of Paris containing the following decrees: "The National Assembly is dissolved, universal suffrage is re-established, the Elective Colleges are summoned to meet on the 14th of December, the first military division (Paris and the Department of the Seine) is placed in a state of siege, the Council of State is dissolved." These decrees were accompanied with an Address to the people, proposing a responsible chief, to be named for ten years, and other changes. If the people were discontented with the President's acts, they must choose another person; but if they confided to him a great mission, they must give him the means of fulfilling it. Another proclamation was addressed to the army, in which Louis Napoleon reminded them of the disdain with which they had been treated during the reign of Louis Philippe, that they had now an opportunity to recover their ancient consideration as the *élite* of the nation, that their history was identified with his own by a preceding community of glory and misfortunes.

On the appearance of these proclamations, the Deputies, to the number of 252, among whom was Odillon Barrot, finding the Palais Bourbon, their usual place of meeting, occupied by troops, assembled at the Mayoralty of the 10th Arrondissement, and resolved, on the motion of M. Berryer, to depose the President, and to give General Oudinot the command of the army. But they were all surrounded and taken into custody by the Chasseurs de Vincennes. Some resistance was attempted on the morning of December 4th, and a few barricades were erected on the Boulevards, but not of the requisite strength; and the troops, under General Magnan, easily overcame all opposition. Yet there was a regular massacre, and hundreds of innocent persons, who were offering no resistance, were killed, while the troops lost only twenty-five men. Persons captured with arms in their hands were shot on the spot. Within a few weeks after, 26,500 persons, accused of belonging to secret societies, were transported, and several thousands more were imprisoned. The fear of anarchy induced the upper and middling classes to support Napoleon: the National Guard remained passive.

The Revolution was favourably received at Vienna, St. Peters-

burg, and Berlin. Napoleon surrounded himself with a consultative Commission, into which were admitted all the notabilities that were inclined to adhere to him. M. Léon Faucher alone refused to be nominated. Matters took the course which had been anticipated. Before the end of December Napoleon was elected President for ten years by nearly seven and a half million votes, while only 640,737 were recorded against him. He now released the adversaries whom he had imprisoned. General Cavaignac was allowed to return to Paris: Changarnier, Lamoricière, Victor Hugo, Thiers, and the rest were banished: but M. Thiers was shortly after permitted to return. Rioters taken in arms were transported *en masse* to Cayenne.

It now only remained to prepare the way for the grand final step—the assumption of Imperial power. Early in 1852 the gilt eagles of the first Napoleon were restored on the standards of the army; the National Guard was dissolved and reconstituted on a new system; the trees of liberty and other Republican emblems were removed from the public places; the name of Napoleon was substituted for that of the Republic in the prayers of the Church. On the 15th of January the new Constitution was promulgated, which, though it professed to confirm the principles of 1789, was a return to the system of the first Napoleon. The Executive power was vested in the President, who was to be advised with still decreasing authority by a State Council, a Senate of nobles, and a completely powerless Legislative Assembly, whose transactions, at the demand of five members, might be secret. Napoleon confiscated the greater part of the possessions of the House of Orleans, and ordered that the remainder of them should be sold by the family itself before the expiration of the year. De Morny, with his colleagues, Roucher, Fould, and Dupin, who did not approve this measure, resigned; but their places were soon supplied by other Ministers devoted to Napoleon, to whom he gave large salaries. At a grand review, held January 21st, he distributed among the soldiers medals which entitled the holders of them to one hundred francs yearly. The Universities were reformed, the Professors deprived of the independence which they had enjoyed, and some of them, as MM. Michelet and Edgar Quinet, were dismissed. The grateful Senate voted the President a civil list of twelve million francs, the titles of "Prince" and "Monseigneur," and the use of the Royal Palaces.

In the autumn the President again made a long tour in the south of France, and was everywhere saluted with cries of "*Vive*

l'Empereur!" On re-entering Paris in state, October 16th, whither many provincial persons had flocked, the same cry struck his ear, the emblems of the Empire everywhere met his eyes. Napoleon now alighted at the palace of the Tuileries, where he fixed his residence. He directed the Senate to debate the restoration of the Empire, which had been so significantly demanded during his tour in the provinces; but it was to be sanctioned by the universal suffrage of the nation, by votes to be taken on November 21st and 22nd. On this occasion the votes recorded in his favour were 7,824,189, and those against him only 253,145. On December 2nd he was proclaimed Emperor, with the title of Napoleon III. Thus did he recklessly violate the solemn oath which he had sworn before God, and the plighted word of honour which he had given to the nation, in 1848, that he would uphold the indivisible Republic. And his inauguration as Emperor was blessed by the priests in the same cathedral in which he had uttered the oath to be faithful to the established Constitution.

The Constitution of January, 1852, was confirmed with some modifications. The royal title was restored to Napoleon's uncle, Jerôme Bonaparte; Generals St. Arnaud, Magnan, and Castellane were created Marshals of the Empire. All foreign Courts were assured of the New Emperor's desire for peace, in token of which a reduction of 30,000 men was made in the army. England and most of the European Powers acknowledged Napoleon's title; the three Northern Courts did the same, after a short hesitation, in January, 1853. On the 29th of that month Napoleon married Donna Eugenia Montijo, Countess of Téba: on which occasion he granted an amnesty for political offences, and pardoned upwards of 3,000 loyal persons.

Meanwhile, in Germany, where the influence of Austria was restored by the extinction of the revolution, matters were gradually resuming their ancient course. The question of the German Constitution, however, still remained a cause of disunion. Austria, backed by the influence of Russia, succeeded in re-establishing the Federal Constitution with the Frankfort Diet, as arranged in 1815. But Prussia was not willing to relinquish her pretensions to take a more leading part in the affairs of Germany. On February 26th, 1850, Frederick William IV. took the oath to the new Prussian Constitution, granted by himself, as of divine right, in the preceding month. The Prussian Government now endeavoured, in opposition to Austria, to form a new Bund, or Confederation, of which Prussia was to be the presiding Power,

and which was to consist of all the German States except the Austrian. With this view a German Parliament was convoked at Erfurt, March 20th, which was attended by representatives from such States as approved the Prussian views. But distrust and apprehension prevailed, and after a few sittings the new Parliament was indefinitely adjourned. The King of Würtemberg, on opening the Diet of his Kingdom, March 15th, 1850, expressed himself so strongly against the projects of the Court of Berlin, that diplomatic relations were suspended between Würtemberg and Prussia. Frederick William IV. made another attempt to form a separate league by summoning a Congress at Berlin in May, which was attended by twenty-two German Princes, besides the representatives of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. At the same time, Austria had summoned the Diet of the Confederation to meet at Frankfort, which was attended by representatives from all the States except Prussia and Oldenburg. Thus two rival congresses were sitting at the same time; one at Berlin, to establish a new Confederation under Prussian influence; and one at Frankfort, to maintain the old one under the supremacy of Austria. The quarrel of the two leading German Powers was brought to an issue by some disturbances which occurred in Hesse-Cassel. Hassenpflug, the Elector's Minister, treating the States with contempt, attempted to raise taxes without their consent. This arbitrary and unconstitutional act was opposed even by persons in the employ of the Government, and the Elector in alarm fled to Frankfort. Even a deputation from the officers of the army proceeded to Frankfort to protest against the illegal proceedings of Hassenpflug; to whom the Elector replied: "If you will not obey, take off your coats." Hereupon, between two and three hundred officers resigned their commissions. The seat of the Electoral Government was now established at Wilhelmsbad (September). The Diet at Frankfort resolved to support the Elector against his subjects, and Austria, Bavaria, and Würtemberg prepared to interfere in his favour; while Prussia took up the opposite side, and moved a large military force towards the Hessian frontier. A collision appeared inevitable, when hostilities were averted by Russian interference and a change of ministry at Berlin. To put an end to these disputes, conferences were opened at Olmütz, and on November 27th was signed the Convention of Olmütz, by which Prussia virtually abandoned her ambitious projects, and subordinated herself to Austria. The Olmütz Convention was followed

by conferences at Dresden towards the end of December, which lasted till the middle of May, 1851. In these debates, Prussia, under Russian influence, was induced to acknowledge the Frankfort Diet, in short, to withdraw all her novel pretensions; and thus the ancient state of things, after four years of revolution and disturbance, was re-established in the German Confederation. The Emperor of Austria now withdrew the Constitution which he had granted to his subjects, the definitive abolition of which was proclaimed January 1st, 1852.

Frederick William IV. of Prussia was at this time and till the end of his reign entirely guided by what was called the *Kreuz* party, or Party of the Cross. The chiefs of it were the Queen, Manteuffel, General Gerlach, the counsellor Niebuhr, and at this time also Herr Bismarck Schönhausen. Its organ was the *Kreuz Zeitung*, and its policy to draw closer the bonds of union between Austria and Prussia; to acquire the confidence of the smaller German Powers by moral influence; to look up to Russia as the protectress of monarchical principles; and to oppose a tacit resistance to all impulses from the Western nations. Austria, on her side, kept herself as much aloof as possible from all commerce or interchange of ideas with the rest of Germany by a prohibitive system of customs dues, by passports, a rigid censorship of the Press, and other means of the like sort. In this policy she was encouraged by Russia, and as that Power also predominated at Berlin, it may be said to have exercised at this period a sort of dictatorship in Germany. But among the more enlightened and enterprising Prussians a growing desire prevailed for the establishment of German unity under Prussian supremacy. Although now submitting to Austrian influence, Prussia was undoubtedly the more powerful State of the two. But to consolidate her power, much remained to be done. The straggling line of her dominions from the Baltic to the Rhine, flanked on all sides by independent States, was an element of weakness. Above all, she needed and coveted some good ports in order to become a naval Power. But the accomplishment of these objects awaited the master-hand of a great statesman.

The reign of Frederick William IV. may be said to have virtually ended in 1857. In July of that year he was seized with a malady at first considered trifling; but it was soon followed by congestion of the brain, and ended in mental alienation. Having no children, he transferred, in October, to his brother William, Prince of Prussia, the management of affairs; who, in October of

the following year, was declared Regent by a royal ordinance. Both Manteuffel and Bismarck, hitherto subservient to Austria, now began to oppose that Power, and the personal sentiments of the Regent himself were thought to incline that way. A scheme was at this time formed of two separate unions—one of North Germany, under Prussia, and another of the South, under Austria, which it was thought would do away with the rivalry and bickerings of those Powers. But the plan was distasteful to the minor States, as involving their subjection to one of the leading Powers. In opposition to it, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt would have preferred a union among themselves, thus forming a German Triad; and this scheme was advocated, but without result, by Von der Pfordten and Von Beust, the Bavarian and Saxon Ministers.

The affairs of Schleswick-Holstein had been again the occasion of anxiety and disturbance. A definitive peace between Denmark and the King of Prussia, in the name of the German Confederation, had been signed July 2nd, 1850, by which the Duchies were relinquished to the Danes, but the rights of the German Bund in Holstein were maintained. The Duchies, however, renewed the war on their own account, but were finally reduced to submission to the King of Denmark by the intervention of the German Confederation. In the negotiations which ensued Denmark engaged that she would do nothing towards the incorporation of Schleswick; but at the same time it was maintained that the German Diet had no right to meddle with the affairs of that duchy. Nor was any such engagement mentioned in the subsequent Treaty of London, May 8th, 1852; and therefore the treaty was not conditional upon it, though no doubt it induced Austria and Prussia to sign. By this treaty, to which were parties Austria, France, England, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, all the dominions then united under the sceptre of Denmark were to fall to Prince Christian of Schleswick-Holstein Sonderburg Glücksburg, and his issue in the male line by his marriage with Louisa, Princess of Hesse. The principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy was acknowledged by the contracting parties; but the rights of the German Confederation with regard to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg were not to be affected by the treaty. The Duke of Augustenburg relinquished, for a pecuniary satisfaction, his claim to Schleswick and Holstein.

Although Schleswick was a sovereign duchy, whilst Holstein was subject to the German Confederation, they were nevertheless

united by having the same Constitution and a common Assembly. Prussian troops had occupied Holstein while the negotiations were going on, and to get rid of them the King of Denmark explained his views regarding a Constitution. The two great German Powers deemed his plans too liberal, and Frederick was invited to give separate Constitutions to the duchies. Thus the Constitutional union between Schleswick and Holstein was to be dissolved at the instance of the Germans themselves. The new Constitution was not published till October, 1855. The four States constituting the Danish monarchy had a general Assembly, or *Rigsraad*, consisting of deputies from each. It soon, however, became evident that such a Constitution would not work, and there were constant bickerings, especially on the part of the Holsteiners. The consequences of such a state of things will appear in a subsequent chapter.

In Spain, after the ill-omened marriage of Isabella, the Government of the country seemed mainly to depend on her licentious amours. Weariness of Serrano and a new passion for Colonel Gandara led to the overthrow of Salamanca's Ministry, October 4th, 1846, and the establishment of Narvaez and the *Moderados*. Narvaez compelled Isabella to observe at least external decency, and persuaded her again to admit King Francisco to the palace. Espartero returned to Spain early in 1848 and reconciled himself with Narvaez, but retired to a country life. Narvaez and the *Moderados* were in power at the time of Louis Philippe's fall, and were on a good understanding with the Queen-mother Christina, who had returned to Spain. The French Revolution of February 1848 was followed in Spain, as in other countries, by disturbances. The *Progressistas*, or ultra democratic party, attempted an insurrection, March 23rd, and again, May 6th, but they were put down by the energy of the ministers. A suspicion that the English Government was concerned in these movements produced a temporary misunderstanding between Spain and Great Britain. After the fall of Louis Philippe, Lord Palmerston had instructed Sir H. Lytton Bulwer, the English Ambassador at Madrid, to advise the Spanish Government to adopt "a legal and constitutional system." This interference was naturally resented by the Spaniards, and after some correspondence, passports were forwarded to Sir H. L. Bulwer, May 19th, on the alleged ground that he had been privy to some plots against the Government. This quarrel was followed by a suspension of diplomatic correspondence between the two countries, which was not renewed till

August, 1850. A desultory guerilla warfare was also kept up throughout the year 1848 in the north of Spain by General Cabrera, the leader of the Carlists.

The continued success of Narvaez and the *Moderados* encouraged Queen Christina to attempt the restoration of absolutism. Narvaez was suddenly dismissed, October 18th, 1849, and General Cleonard appointed in his place; a person, however, so wholly insignificant and incompetent, that it soon became necessary to restore Narvaez. Other more secret intrigues against that minister were baffled; but a piratical attempt by the Americans in 1850 to seize Cuba led to his downfall, by showing how necessary the friendship of England was to Spain. Narvaez was dismissed January 11th, 1851, to the great grief of Isabella. Christina now ruled for some time with the new minister Bravo Murillo, but kept in the Constitutional path; till Napoleon's *coup d'état* in December, 1852, and Isabella's delivery of a healthy daughter, which seemed to secure the succession, encouraged her mother to adopt some reactionary measures. These, however, served only to unite the *Moderados* and *Progressistas;* it became necessary to recall Narvaez; but in December, 1853, Christina dismissed and banished him. The Queen-mother's thoughts were now bent on nothing but plundering the State for the benefit of her illegitimate children. Her conduct produced two or three unsuccessful revolts; but she was at length overthrown, and sent into Portugal (July 20th, 1854). Espartero and the extreme *Progressistas* having now seized the reins of government, were in turn overthrown by an insurrection of the soldiery, conducted by O'Donnell, July 16th, 1856. But O'Donnell's hold of power was but short. He was compelled to resign in October, when Christina and Narvaez once more took the helm.

Portugal, under the reign of Donna Maria da Gloria, had also been agitated by two or three insurrections, which were, however, suppressed. Queen Maria died, in child-bed, in the prime of life, November 15th, 1853, and was succeeded by her son, Don Pedro V. The new King being a minor, the Regency was assumed by his father, Ferdinand; but after spending some time in travelling, Pedro took the government into his own hands in 1855.

Meanwhile Rome continued to be occupied by the French, under the protection of whose bayonets Pius IX. returned to Rome in April, 1850, and almost seemed to enjoy his former power. Under French guardianship attention to political mat-

ters was superfluous, and the Pope's thoughts were diverted to the more congenial affairs of the Church. He employed himself in propagating Mariolatry, and in 1854 he caused a great assembly of bishops to establish the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception: a doctrine accepted by the Council of Basle in 1439, but not hitherto confirmed by the Pope. Pius IX. celebrated its establishment by crowning the image of the Virgin with a splendid diadem, December 8th, 1854. The smouldering discontent in many other parts of Italy produced during the next few years no events worth recording. The infamous oppressions of the Neapolitan Government caused the French and English Cabinets in 1856 to break off diplomatic relations with it. But the tyranny of the rulers of Italy was only preparing their own punishment.

In France, the Emperor Napoleon III. went on consolidating his power. The first great political event of his reign was the war which he waged, in conjunction with England, for the curbing of Muscovite ambition.[1] There was an ancient prophecy that in the year 1853, when four centuries would have elapsed from the taking of Constantinople, the Turkish Empire would be overthrown. Such prophecies sometimes work their own accomplishment through the superstitious hopes and fears which they excite. The conjuncture, at all events, appeared to the Russian Emperor Nicholas a favourable one for attempting a long-cherished Muscovite project. The Turkish Empire seemed in a state of irretrievable prostration, and the Czar proposed to the British Government early in 1853 a partition of the "sick man's" spoils, by which Egypt, and, perhaps, Candia, was to fall to the share of England. The offer was, of course, rejected; it was then made to France with the like result, and the two Western nations united to oppose the designs of Nicholas. The Czar explained his views at this period in an interview with Sir G. H. Seymour, the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg. Nicholas observed: "There are several things which I never will tolerate. I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians; and it shall never be held by the English, French, or any other great nation. Again, I will never permit any attempt at the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state: still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics, asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe. Rather than submit to any of these arrange-

[1] The best authority for this war is Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea.*

ments, I would go to war, and as long as I have a man or a musket I would carry it on."[1] Here the only reason which the Czar alleges against a Greek state is, that it would be powerful; that is, a bar to Muscovite ambition.

Russia seized the opportunity of a dispute respecting the use and guardianship of the Holy Places at Jerusalem and in Palestine to pick a quarrel with the Porte. Nicholas, as protector of the Greek Christians in the Holy City, complained that the Porte had, contrary to treaty, allowed undue privileges to the Latin Christians, especially by granting them a key to the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem; also one of the keys of each of the two doors of the Sacred Manger; and further permitting the French monks to place in the Sanctuary of the Nativity a silver star adorned with the French arms; while France, on the other hand, as protector of the Latin Christians, maintained that all that had been done was only in conformity with ancient usage and agreement. Such were the pretexts sought for a sanguinary war. It was desired by Napoleon, and M. de Lavalette, the French Ambassador to the Porte, is said to have been the first to use threats. The Emperor Nicholas, after mustering the Russian fleet with great ostentation at Sebastopol, as well as an army of 30,000 men, despatched Prince Menschikoff on a special embassy to Constantinople, to demand the exclusive protection of all members of the Greek Church in Turkey, and the settlement of the question respecting the Holy Places, on terms which would have left the supremacy to the Greeks. Menschikoff purposely delivered his message with marks of the greatest contempt, appearing in full Divan in his great coat and dirty boots (March 2nd, 1853). Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and M. De la Cour, the English and French Ambassadors, were unfortunately absent; but they returned in April, and on their assurance of vigorous support, the Sultan rejected the Russian demands. Lord Stratford, however, had succeeded in adjusting the question about the Holy Places, and the breach was caused by the Porte rejecting the Russian demand for the protectorate of the Greek Church in Turkey. Menschikoff, after handing in an ultimatum which was disregarded, took his departure, May 21st, with the threat that he had come in his great coat, but would return in his uniform.

The Sultan published in June a *Firman*, confirming the Christians in his Empire in all their rights, and about the same

[1] See Alison's *Europe since the Fall of Napoleon*, iii. 366.

time the English and French fleets, under Admirals Dundas and Hamelin, anchored near the entrance of the Dardanelles. Early in July the Russian army under Prince Gortschakoff crossed the Pruth, and commenced a war which the Czar wished to appear as a war of religion. The Russians, divided into two corps of about 40,000 men each, commanded by Generals Dannenberg and Lüders, exercised under this holy pretence all manner of plunder and violence in Moldavia and Wallachia, the hospodars of which principalities fled into Austria. Meanwhile the Turkish army remained on the right bank of the Danube, and the Russians during the summer contented themselves with occupying the left. It was manifestly the interest of Austria that Russia should not be allowed to increase her power south of the Danube; yet she contented herself with joining Prussia in friendly representations to the Court of St. Petersburg, and both Powers would enter into no further engagements than to co-operate in endeavouring to maintain peace. France and England, indeed, the latter under the Government of Lord Aberdeen, with Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had relieved Austria from the necessity of drawing the sword on her own behalf. The Court of Berlin displayed as usual a base servility to the Russian autocrat. Nicholas had an interview with the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph, at Olmütz, September 24th; whence he proceeded to Berlin, on a visit to his brother-in-law, Frederick William IV. He wished to form with these Sovereigns a triple alliance against the Western Powers, but succeeded only in obtaining their neutrality; and he engaged that his troops should not cross the Danube.

A declaration of war by the Porte, October 4th, in case the Russians refused to evacuate the principalities, afforded Nicholas the wished-for opportunity to proclaim himself the party attacked. He did not, however, push the war with a vigour at all proportioned to his boastful threats. The first trial of strength was in favour of the Turks. Omar Pasha, having sent 3,000 men over the Danube, this small corps, having entrenched itself at Olteniza, repulsed the attacks of 7,000 Russians (November 4th, 1853). On the 27th of the same month France and England concluded a treaty with the Porte, promising their aid in case Russia would not agree to moderate conditions of peace. But an event which occurred a few days after entirely dissipated all such hopes. Admiral Nachimoff, the Russian commander in the Black Sea, taking advantage of a fog, attacked and destroyed the Turkish

fleet under Osman Pasha, while lying at Sinope, not, however, without considerable damage to his own vessels (November 30th). As the English and French fleets had passed the Dardanelles in September, and were now at anchor in the Bosphorus, the act of Nachimoff appeared a wilful defiance of the Maritime Powers. This event excited feelings of great indignation in England; and, as was natural, still more so at Constantinople. It was now evident that the attempts of the Conference, which the four great neutral Powers, Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, had assembled in the summer at Vienna, to maintain peace, would be abortive; and, indeed, their proposals were rejected both by Russia and the Porte; by the latter, chiefly because of an article requiring a renewal of the ancient treaties between Turkey and Russia. The Emperor of the French addressed an autograph letter to the Emperor Nicholas, January 29th, 1854, to which, contrary to expectation, Nicholas replied at length, and though sophistically, with politeness. It can hardly be doubted, however, that Napoleon desired a war, with a view to secure his throne by diverting the attention of the French from domestic affairs, and dazzling them with feats of arms. A close alliance with England, moreover, would add stability to his government, and give his usurpation a sort of sanction. In February, diplomatic relations were broken off between Russia and the Western Powers; the latter declared war against the Czar, and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey, March 12th. Austria contented herself with placing a corps of observation on the Servian frontier; while Prussia, though recognizing the injustice of the Russian proceedings, declined to oppose them.

Towards the close of 1853, the Russians, under General Anrep, 50,000 strong, had attacked Kalafat, which forms a fortified *tête de pont* to Widdin, in the hope of penetrating into Servia; but they were repulsed, and suffered severe loss from the climate at that season. The Russians renewed the attempt, January 6th, 1854, but were again defeated at Citate; after which they withdrew from this quarter, on account of the Austrian army of observation. The plan to make their way to Constantinople by an insurrection of the Slavonians, Servians, Bosnians, and Bulgarians, was thus frustrated. Some of the Greeks rose, but only to commit robbery and murder; and the Court of Athens was too fearful of the Western Powers to venture on any movement.

Prince Paskiewitsch was now appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, and the attack was transferred from the

right wing to the left. A division crossed the Danube near Silistria, another lower down, near the Pruth, and having formed a junction, advanced to attack Omar Pacha, who retired to Shumla (March, 1854). With a view to draw him from this position, Paskiewitsch caused Silistria to be besieged. But Omar was too wary to fall into the trap; all the Russian assaults were repulsed, Paskiewitsch himself was wounded, and on June 21st he abandoned the siege, recrossed the Danube, and even the Pruth. The last step was taken in consequence of the attitude assumed by Austria and Prussia. Those two Powers had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, April 20th, by which they agreed to declare war against Russia if her troops should pass the Balkan, or if she should attempt to incorporate the principalities. An Austrian note, backed by Prussia, and addressed in June to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, had required the evacuation of Wallachia and Moldavia; and those principalities, by virtue of a convention with the Porte, were now occupied by the Austrians.

Meanwhile France and England were beginning to take part in the war. The allied fleets had attacked Odessa, April 22nd, and burnt a number of ships and houses, but abstained from bombarding the town. The English army under Lord Raglan, under whom served the Duke of Cambridge and other officers of distinction, had landed at Gallipoli, April 5th, where they found a portion of the French army already disembarked. Hence the allies proceeded to Varna, with the design of penetrating into the Dobrudscha; but the nature of the country and the fearful mortality among the troops, from the climate and cholera, caused the enterprise to be abandoned. To penetrate into the heart of Russia appeared impossible, and it was therefore resolved to attempt the capture of Sebastopol. The allied armies, in spite of their losses, still numbered about 50,000 men; and embarking with about 6,000 Turks, they landed without opposition near Eupatoria in the Crimea, September 14th, 1854. Nachimoff, the victor of Sinope, though he had fifty-four Russian ships at Sebastopol, ventured not to come out and attack the allied armament. The forces of Prince Menschikoff, who commanded in the Crimea, were inferior to those of the allies; but he had taken up a position on the river Alma which he deemed impregnable, and in his overweening confidence he had invited a party of ladies from Sebastopol to come and behold the destruction of the enemy. But the position was carried by the indomitable courage of the

British, September 20th; not, however, without great loss, from having to assault the position in front; while the French, under Marshal St. Arnaud, who were to turn the enemy's left wing, contributed but little to the success of the day. The allied loss amounted to 3,479 men, of which nearly three-fifths belonged to the British, although their troops were not nearly so numerous as the French. The Russian loss was estimated at about 8,000 men.

A necessary delay to bury the dead and provide for the sick and wounded deprived the allies of the opportunity to penetrate along with the enemy into Sebastopol. It was not judged practicable to take it by assault, though this might perhaps have been accomplished had it been immediately undertaken, and a siege in regular form became therefore necessary. Marshal St. Arnaud was compelled by the state of his health to resign the command to General Canrobert soon after the battle of the Alma. He died in his passage to Constantinople. The English army now took up a position at the Bay of Balaclava, the French at that of Kamiesch, and began to open trenches on the plateau on the south side of Sebastopol. The allies opened their fire on the town, October 17th. Sebastopol was also bombarded by the fleets, which, however, suffered so severely that they were compelled to desist. The Russians attacked the English position at Balaclava, October 25th, but were repulsed; a battle rendered memorable by the gallant but rash and fatal charge of the British cavalry, when, by some mistake in the delivery of orders, nearly two-thirds of the light brigade were uselessly sacrificed. This battle was soon followed by that of Inkermann, November 5th, when the Russians, with very superior forces, and in the presence of the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, again attacked the British position, and were once more repulsed with dreadful loss. The British were most gallantly supported by their French allies. During this campaign, Admiral Napier, with the British fleet, accompanied by a French squadron, proceeded into the Baltic, where, however, little was effected. Cronstadt was found too strong to be attacked; the Russian fleet kept in port, and the British admiral was forced to content himself with capturing some merchant vessels, and burning timber and other stores. Some English ships also penetrated into the White Sea, blockaded Archangel, and destroyed the port of Kola. A detachment of French troops under General Baraguay d'Hilliers captured Bomarsund in the Aland Isles, August 15th; after which exploit the allied fleet quitted the Baltic.

Austria concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the two Western Powers, December 2nd, 1854, but lent them no assistance. Russia pretended to enter into negotiations for a peace at Vienna, only with a view to gain time, and if possible to separate the allies. A more active and gallant ally than Austria, though without the same interest in the dispute, was the King of Sardinia; who, in January, 1855, joined the Western Powers and sent an army of 15,000 men, under General La Marmora, into the Crimea. The allied armies had passed a most dreadful winter in their encampments. The British soldiers especially died by hundreds of cold, disease, and privation, while the clothing, stores, and medicines, which might have averted these calamities, were, through the almost incredible bungling and mismanagement of the commissariat department, lying unpacked at Balaclava. The just and violent indignation felt in England at this state of things produced the fall of the Aberdeen Ministry in February, 1855. Lord Aberdeen was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Palmerston.

The Russians made an ineffectual attempt on Eupatoria, February 16th. The sudden and unexpected death of the Emperor Nicholas, March 2nd, seemed to open a prospect for peace. His successor, Alexander II., was more pacifically disposed than his father, and the conferences at Vienna were reopened. The recall of Prince Menschikoff from the Crimea, who was succeeded by Prince Gortschakoff, seemed also a concession to public opinion. The reduction of Sebastopol appeared, however, to the allies, and especially to Napoleon III., to be a necessary satisfaction for military honour. The bombardment of Sebastopol was, after a long preparation, reopened by the allies, April 6th, 1855; but the fire of the place still proved superior. A naval expedition, under Admirals Lyons and Bruat, proceeded to the Sea of Azof, took Kertsch, Yenikale, Mariapol, Taganrog, and other places, and destroyed vast quantities of provisions and stores which served to supply Sebastopol. A grand assault delivered by the allies on that city, June 18th, was repulsed with great loss to the assailants. A change in the command of both the allied armies took place about this time. By the death of Lord Raglan, June 28th, General Simpson succeeded to the command of the English force, while the French General Canrobert had resigned a little previously in favour of Pelissier. Austria this month virtually withdrew from an alliance which she had never materially assisted, and by discharging great part

of her troops enabled Russia to despatch to the Crimea several regiments which she had been obliged to keep in Poland.

In the Baltic, Admiral Dundas, who had been substituted for Napier, found himself unable to effect more than had been accomplished by his predecessor the year before. His operations were confined to the burning of a few Russian harbours and an ineffectual attempt to bombard Sveaborg. But under their reverses the allied Powers drew still closer the *entente cordiale*. Napoleon with his consort had visited London in the spring, and in August his visit was returned by Queen Victoria. A meeting of both the Sovereigns at the tomb of Napoleon the First seemed calculated to obliterate for ever any remains of national animosity.

The valour and perseverance of the allies were at length to triumph over all difficulties. An attack on the allied position by the Russians from the Tschernaja was repulsed with great loss, August 16th, and on the following day a terrible bombardment of Sebastopol was commenced. By September 8th, the fortifications had been reduced almost to a heap of rubbish, and it was determined to assault the place. The French succeeded in capturing the Malakof Tower, while the British penetrated into the Redan, but were unable to hold it. The south side of Sebastopol was, however, no longer tenable after the capture of the Malakof; and in the night Prince Gortschakoff evacuated it, passing over the arm of the sea which separates it from the north side by means of a bridge of boats. Previously to their departure the Russians sunk all their ships in the harbour with the exception of a steamer. The success of the allies was not, however, decisive. They made one or two ineffectual sorties against Gortschakoff's new position; and even had they succeeded in driving him thence, the Crimea still remained to be conquered. With the view of effecting that conquest, the fleets had undertaken a second expedition to the Sea of Azof, where they destroyed the small fortresses of Fanagoria and Taman, as well as another against Kinburn, to the north-west of the Crimea, which was captured after a short bombardment. But it was found impossible to take Perekop, and thus, by obtaining command of the Isthmus, compel Gortschakoff to retreat.

During this period a war had been also raging between the Turks and Russians in the Trans-Caucasian provinces, which our limits permit us not to describe. This year the remains of the Turkish army in this quarter were dispersed by the Russian

general Muravief. The English general Williams distinguished himself by the defence of Kars, repulsing repeated assaults of the Russians; but famine at length compelled him to surrender the city, November 7th, 1855.

The capture of Kars seemed a compensation to Russian military honour for the loss of Sebastopol, and facilitated the opening of negotiations for a peace. Austria now intervened; Prince Esterhazy was despatched to St. Petersburg, and on January 16th, 1856, signed with Count Nesselrode a protocol containing the bases of negotiation. These were: the abolition of the Russian protectorate in the Danubian Principalities, the freedom of the Danube and its mouths, the neutralization of the Black Sea, which was to be open to the commerce of all nations, but closed to ships of war; no military or naval arsenals to be maintained there; the immunities of the Rayah, or Christian, subjects of the Porte to be preserved. In order to deprive Russia of any pretence for interference with regard to this last point, the Porte accepted ten days later twenty-one propositions with regard to it made by the Western Powers and Austria, which included reforms of the tribunals, police, mode of taxation, &c. After the arrangement of these matters Conferences for a peace were opened at Paris, February 26th, when an armistice was agreed upon to last till March 31st. The Conference consisted of the representatives of Great Britain, Austria, France, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey. Prussia, having taken no part in the war, was at first excluded from the Congress, but by persevering importunity, obtained admission, March 11th. The definitive PEACE OF PARIS was signed on the conditions before mentioned, March 30th. Russia engaged to restore Kars to the Porte, and the Allied Powers to evacuate Sebastopol and all their other conquests in the Crimea. The integrity of the Turkish Empire was guaranteed, and the Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of European public law and concert. A Firman which the Porte had published in favour of the Christians was not to give other Powers a right to interfere in the internal administration of Turkey. The Black Sea was neutralized, the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan agreed not to erect or maintain any military arsenal on its coasts, and to keep only such a number of ships of war in that sea, for the maintenance of the necessary police, as might be agreed on between the two Powers. The Danubian principalities remained in the same state as before; and the Porte engaged that they should have an independent administration, with liberty of wor-

ship, legislation, &c. The Danube was declared unconditionally free, and a European Commission was appointed to superintend its navigation and police.[1] The line of the Russian and Turkish frontier was left to be arranged by delegates of the contracting Powers, and was finally determined by another Treaty of Paris, concluded between those Powers June 19th, 1857. The line in Bessarabia was laid down according to a topographical map prepared for the purpose. The islands forming the Delta of the Danube, including the Isle of Serpents, were now restored to the sovereignty of the Porte.

A fortnight after the first Treaty of Paris, a short tripartite Treaty in three Articles was executed at Paris (April 15th) by Austria, France and Great Britain, guaranteeing the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire; of which every infraction was to be considered a *casus belli*.[2]

To complete the account of these transactions must be added the Convention respecting the Danubian Principalities, signed at Paris by the six Christian Powers and the Porte, August 19th, 1858, of which the following were the chief provisions:—Moldavia and Wallachia, as united principalities, remained under the suzerainty of the Sultan; Moldavia paying an annual tribute of 1,500,000 piastres, and Wallachia 2,500,000. The principalities were to enjoy a free and independent administration. Each was to be governed by a Hospodar, elected for life, and an elective Assembly, acting with the concurrence of a Central Commission common to both, sitting at Tockshany. Individual liberty was guaranteed, and Christians of every denomination were to enjoy equal political rights.[3]

[1] Treaty in Martens, *Nouv. Recueil, Cont.* de Samwer, t. xv. p. 770 sqq.

[2] Martens, *loc. cit.*

[3] Convention in *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, vol. viii. App. p. 927.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE period which elapsed between the close of the Crimean war and the establishment of the German Empire at the beginning of 1871, may be said to contain events of more importance as regards the European system than even its reconstruction by the Congress of Vienna. These events are, besides the new Empire just mentioned, and a few minor occurrences, the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy, the absorption of the Pope's temporal power, the realization of Prussian supremacy, the decline of Austria, and the Franco-German war. In the same period occurred two events of vast moment in the history of the world: the Indian revolt and the civil war in America, which threatened at one time to break up and divide the great Republic of the Western Hemisphere; but as these have no direct bearing on our peculiar subject, the European concert, we forbear to relate them. The affairs of Italy first claim our attention, from their priority in order of time as well as in importance.[1]

The Austrian occupation of Lombardy and Venetia seemed still in the year 1858 to offer an insuperable bar to Italian unity and freedom. Whilst the possession of these provinces severed Italy, it also enabled the Austrians to introduce their forces into that country for the purpose of upholding its several governments; all of which, with the exception of Sardinia, were more or less under their influence. The sovereigns of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, were connected with the Austrian Imperial family, and leaned on it for support; whilst the Austrian Cabinet had also a powerful voice in the Neapolitan and Papal councils, and may thus be said to have dominated nearly all Italy. With-

[1] The principal works which may be consulted for the two following chapters are: Menzel, *Gesch. der neuesten Zeit*, 1856-1860; Idem. *Die wichtigsten Weltbegebenheiten*, 1860-1866; Idem. *Der deutsche Krieg im Jahre*, 1866; Becker's *Weltgeschichte;* Arnd, *Gesch. der Jahren*, 1866-1871; Rüstow, *Der italienische Krieg*, 1859; Idem. *Der Krieg von* 1866 *in Deutschland;* Idem. *Der Krieg um die Rheingrenze;* Mazade, *Vie de Cavour;* Rendu, *L'Italie de* 1847 *à* 1865; D'Azeglio, *Scritti Politici;* Vilbort, *L'Œuvre de Bismark;* Auerbach, *Das neue deutsche Reich; Tableau Historique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*, Berlin, 1871; *L'Annuaire des Deux Mondes; The Annual Register;* &c. &c.

out the expulsion of the Austrians, the views of Italian patriots could not be realized, and without foreign help they could not be expelled. The attempt had been made in 1849, and ended in disastrous failure.

Other necessary conditions for the freedom and unity of Italy were, that the Italians themselves should desire them, and be agreed as to the means for their attainment. Hence a difficulty almost as great as the presence of the Austrians. For though dissatisfaction at the existing state of things was a very prevalent feeling, opinions varied as to the remedy to be applied. The more ardent patriots desired republican institutions, but of these some would have been content with a confederation of independent commonwealths, whilst others aimed at an undivided Italian Republic. This last party, the most stirring and influential, was led by Mazzini and his sect, or society, called *La Giovine Italia*, or Young Italy; which, though itself a secret society, had now pretty well superseded others of a like nature, as the *Carbonari*, &c. Such societies have never effected a permanent revolution in any considerable state, and it may safely be affirmed that they never will. The reason is obvious. From their very nature of secrecy they can have no hold on the public mind. But to some natures to cabal and intrigue, to be Catilines of the hour, the mysterious leaders of a little knot of followers, are a supreme felicity. Those who adhered to Mazzini were dazzled by ideas, which, to a certain class of minds, are very captivating, but which have the fault of being utterly impracticable. He was for reconstructing society from its foundations, something after the fashion of Rousseau; nay, he thought that art, science, philosophy, in short everything in the world required renovation. Nor were his views confined to Italy. They embraced all Europe, and in 1834 he had drawn up a scheme of *La Giovine Europa*, "an apostolate of ideas," as he calls it, by which the whole continent was to be remodelled on the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity; but he allows that he expected no practical result.[1] Such schemes proclaim not the patriot, but the political quack and the professional revolutionist.

A few men of wiser and more statesmanlike views saw that the only hope for Italy lay in the suppression of such conspirators, who were not only abortive disturbers of the public peace at home, but also disposed European opinion against Italian freedom: for these politicians also saw that the emancipation of Italy from

[1] See Mazzini's *Life and Writings*, vol. iii. p. 30 sqq.

a foreign yoke was simply impossible without help from abroad. This school, as was natural, had its origin in Piedmont, the only constitutional Italian State; and probably their plans for Italian unity were not unmixed with some desire for the aggrandizement of their native country. At the head of them must be placed Count Massimo D'Azeglio, and a few of his friends, as Balbo, Gioberti, and others. D'Azeglio's leading idea was, that no revolutionary attempts could succeed but such as were conducted in open day.[1] To the success of his plans the formation of a sound public opinion was necessary, and with this view he had undertaken in 1845 a journey through great part of Italy in order to ascertain the sentiments of the people; when he discovered that all persons of sense and respectability were disgusted with the absurdities and tricks of the Mazzinians, and desirous of a new path. His views were approved by King Charles Albert, who encouraged him to publish them. Such was the origin of his political writings. After the defeat and abdication of that sovereign in 1849 (*supra*, p. 455), D'Azeglio became the Prime Minister of his son and successor, Victor Emanuel II., a post which he held till 1852, when he was succeeded by Count Cavour.

Without this change Italian independence and unity would probably not have been achieved. With all his talent and good sense, D'Azeglio lacked the energy, perhaps also we may say the unscrupulous boldness, without which great revolutions cannot be effected. Of a generous temper, and devoted to literature and art, he was somewhat inactive and unpractical. Cavour, on the contrary, was eminently a man of action, and from the time of his taking office, he may be said to have held the fate of Italy in his hands. A main part of his policy was to obtain for it the good opinion of Europe. Hence his commercial treaties with France, England, Belgium, and Switzerland; hence also the seemingly inexplicable part which he took in the Crimean war. It was, in fact, a well considered blow at Austria. Sardinia appeared among the European Powers at the Congress of Paris in 1856, and her envoy sat side by side with the Austrian Minister, Count Buol; before whose face he denounced the dangerous state of Italy through foreign occupation.

Cavour, though enterprising, was cautious, and awaited his opportunity. He appears to have early contemplated the establishment of a northern Italian kingdom by means of French inter-

[1] Una cospiratione al chiaro sole.—*I miei Ricordi*, t. ii. p. 466.

vention, and he prepared for future events by strengthening Alessandria, Casale, and Valenza, and by creating a great naval arsenal at Spezia. With regard to home policy, he loudly denounced the revolutionists and republicans. A national opinion, fostered by the means to which we have adverted, was now beginning to prevail over the sects, and the "National Society," organized by La Farina, served to recall many from Mazzinian affiliations. The last insurrectionary attempt of Mazzini, at Genoa, proved a miserable failure. With like views, Cavour conciliated Daniel Manin, the Venetian patriot. Manin repudiated like him the plots of conspirators and the daggers of assassins, and pressed Mazzini to retire from a scene where he was only an obstacle to Italian progress.

Cavour thought that he might securely reckon on the help of Napoleon III., the insurgent in Romagna in 1831 for Italian independence, when a detestable act seemed to shatter his hopes. As the French Emperor and Empress were proceeding to the opera on the 14th of January, 1858, one Orsini, who after the Roman revolution had taken refuge in England, and hatched there his diabolical plot, discharged at the Imperial carriages a so-called "infernal machine," consisting of a number of gun-barrels, fired simultaneously by a train of powder. Fortunately neither the Emperor nor Empress was hit, but several of their suite, as well as bystanders, were killed or wounded. England was denounced at Paris as having hatched the conspiracy, and Count Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, addressed a remonstrance, couched in moderate terms, to the British Cabinet. It was of course an absurd suspicion that the English nation or government should abet assassination, but the French had some grounds for it. In the preceding year three Italians had gone from London to Paris, with the design of taking the Emperor's life, but were arrested and convicted. Mazzini was proved to have inspired this plot,[1] and a member of the British Cabinet, Mr. Stansfeld, was his professed admirer and correspondent. The threats of some French colonels occasioned in England the establishment of the volunteers, and the whole affair a change of ministry, Lord Palmerston giving place to Lord Derby. By moderation on both sides, however, the rupture of the French and English alliance was averted, and the visit of Queen Victoria to the French Emperor at Cherbourg, on the reopening of that port

[1] *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, t. viii. p. 93. Mr. Stansfeld was in consequence obliged to resign.

in August, 1858, seemed to disperse the clouds which had gathered on the political horizon.

Strangely enough, an event which threatened to upset all Cavour's plans served eventually to forward them. That Minister having loudly denounced in the Sardinian parliament the crime of political assassination, some confidential communications from Napoleon followed, and soon after a letter, inspired by him, containing the embryo scheme of an alliance between France and Piedmont. Cavour in consequence, ostensibly on a pleasure trip, procured an interview with Napoleon at Plombières, July 20th, 1858, where the terms of the projected alliance were arranged. They comprised the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy by the French and Italian arms; the erection of a Northern Italian kingdom of some eleven million souls in favour of Victor Emanuel, and in return the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. A marriage was also agreed upon between the Emperor's cousin, Napoleon, son of King Jerome, and Clotilda, daughter of the King of Sardinia.

Napoleon, who had much of the conspirator in his nature, had formed this plot, for such it must be called, without the knowledge of his ministers. There was no legitimate cause of quarrel between France and Austria. The pretext put forth was Austrian misgovernment in Italy; Napoleon's real motive, it can hardly be doubted, was to add strength and lustre to his dynasty by the aggrandizement of France. Piedmont also had not for the moment any valid plea for a war with Austria. But her case was very different from that of France. The occupation of Lombardy by the Austrians was a constant threat to her safety and independence, as well as the chief bar to Italian unity.

Napoleon displayed his intentions on receiving the diplomatic circle on January 1st, 1859, when he expressed his regret to M. Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador, that his relations with his master, Francis Joseph, were not cordial. Such an announcement so suddenly and openly made filled all Europe with astonishment and alarm. Suspicion had however prevailed in some quarters of an approaching rupture. In the preceding year, Piedmont had ostentatiously displayed her enmity towards Austria, and reports of French military preparations had been rife in diplomatic circles. Not only the Sardinian official press, but the Chambers also had attacked the right of Austria to her Italian possessions, whilst she, on her side, had redoubled her military precautions, and renewed her ancient treaties with

Italian States. Already before Napoleon's declaration, the Austrian troops, which had been largely reinforced, had taken up a threatening position on the Ticino.

Victor Emanuel's speech on opening the Chambers at Turin, January 10th, 1859, taken in connection with Napoleon's declaration, was calculated to remove any remaining doubt as to the true nature of the crisis. He exhorted the Parliament to meet coming events with resolution; he bade them remark the credit which the country had acquired in the councils of Europe, but that such a situation was not without danger, for if on the one hand treaties were to be respected, on the other, they could not be insensible to the cries of anguish directed towards them from every part of Italy. The marriage of Prince Napoleon and Princess Clotilda, January 30th, threw further light on the situation.

Napoleon's views were set forth in a pamphlet published early in February, entitled "Napoléon III. et l'Italie;" which, though written by M. de La Guéronnière, was well known to have been inspired by the Emperor. It insisted on the necessity of reorganizing Italy, freeing it from foreign domination, and reconstituting it on the base of a federative union. Treaties were spoken of with levity as no longer answering the needs of the time, and it was proposed to submit the whole question to the judgment of Europe—Napoleon's favourite resort in difficult emergencies, or when he wanted to act the first part with a show of moderation. His speech, indeed, on opening the French Chambers, February 7th, seemed to breathe of peace. He affected astonishment at the uneasiness which had been shown; reminded the Assembly of his declaration, *L'Empire c'est la paix*, and in mentioning Austria, adverted only to some difficulties about the Danubian Principalities, as if they had been the occasion of his New Year's declaration. When touching on the abnormal state of Italy, where order could be maintained only by foreign troops, he observed that it was not a sufficient motive for anticipating a war. And he concluded by solemnly declaring that his first impulses, as well as his last judges, were God, his conscience, and posterity.

But in spite of this declaration all Europe was convinced that war was imminent. England especially took the alarm and made some impotent attempts at mediation, which were answered only with rebuffs both at Vienna and Turin. In March, Russia suddenly proposed a Congress, and some negotiations on the subject

ensued, when a hasty step on the part of Austria rendered war inevitable. She refused to admit Sardinia to the Congress, and required, as a condition of her own acceptance of it, that that power should immediately disarm; and on the 23rd of April she sent to Turin an ultimatum to that effect, allowing only three days for a reply.

Although Cavour ardently desired a war, his position was embarrassing. He knew that Napoleon III.'s character was fickle; that his policy had encountered great opposition in France, especially among the Church party; that Count Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, was not only opposed to a war, but even personally hostile to himself. On the other hand, the attitude of the rest of Europe was encouraging. Although no active help could be expected from England, her sympathy and moral support might be relied on. Russia was then unfavourably disposed towards Austria, and on friendly terms with the French Emperor, who had made advances to her after the Crimean war. The Prussian Regent, influenced by England and by the attitude of Russia, perhaps also by ancient jealousy of Austria, had refused to interfere in the matter, and denied that it concerned the German Confederation. The South German States, however, supported Austria, and ultimately, when war was no longer doubtful, the Prussian Minister at the Diet carried a resolution that the Confederate troops should be held in readiness, and orders to that effect were given for the Prussian contingent, but solely as a measure of precaution and defense.

On receipt of the Austrian ultimatum, the Sardinian government demanded from Napoleon III. an immediate succour of 50,000 men. A small body already assembled in the south of France was at once embarked for Genoa, while others took the road to Turin by the Col di Susa. The Austrians, who had in Italy about 200,000 men, under the command of Count Giulay, crossed the Ticino, April 29th, though it had been notified to them that France would regard such a step as a declaration of war. By so doing they abrogated the treaties of 1815, and put themselves in the wrong with the public opinion of Europe. They occupied Vigevano, Novara, Vercelli, and two or three other towns without opposition, and with due diligence it would have been easy for them to seize Turin, an open town, and to crush the small, and as yet unsupported Piedmontese army. But though they had displayed so much precipitation in their diplomacy, their military operations seemed struck with sudden

paralysis. Giulay showed the greatest indecision, changed his plans every three days, advanced sometimes on the right, sometimes on the left, bank of the Po, seemed to stand on his defence rather than to take the offensive. Thus time was lost till May 10th, when the allies had assembled in force.

Cavour had made the most active preparations, and he accepted the help of the revolutionary party, except only the Mazzinians, whom he threatened to fire upon if they stirred. These irregular forces consisted of three regiments called *Cacciatori degli Alpi*, or Riflemen of the Alps, led by Garibaldi. The Sardinian army, amounting to about 80,000 men, was commanded by the King, having at his side General La Marmora. Napoleon III. took the command of the French army. Before starting to join it he published a proclamation denouncing the Austrian aggression, and declaring that Italy must be liberated as far as the Adriatic. He was visited at Genoa by Victor Emanuel, and next day, May 14th, he established his head-quarters at Alexandria. The Franco-Sardinian army now amounted to about 200,000 men.

We can give only the main outline of the campaign.[1] On the advance of the allies, Giulay retreated to Pavia. In order to ascertain the position of the enemy, he directed a reconnoissance in force on Carteggio, May 20th. The Austrians having been beaten in an affair at Genestrello, retired to Montebello, whence they were expelled the same day, after an obstinate and bloody fight. Expecting to be attacked on the Po, Giulay had weakened his force in the neighbourhood of Lago Maggiore; and Garibaldi took advantage of that circumstance to seize Varese, the Austrians retiring on Como, May 23rd. Four days after Como also was entered. The Piedmontese, under the King, crossed the Sesia, and attacked the Austrians at Palestro, at first with doubtful success, but, being supported by a French Zouave regiment, completely defeated them.

The attack in this quarter was intended to mask the advance of the French. Giulay continued his retreat to an elbow formed by the junction of the Ticino with the Po. On the 1st of June General Niel entered Novara, after a slight engagement; and on the 3rd the French began to cross the Ticino. On the 4th they gained the victory of Magenta, chiefly by a skilful manœuvre of McMahon, which procured for him on the field a marshal's bâton, and the title of Duke of Magenta. In this battle the Austrians

[1] It is fully described by Rüstow, *Der Italienische Krieg*, Zürich, 1860. With plans.

are said to have lost 20,000 men. Their haste in evacuating Milan, without carrying off or even spiking their guns, revealed to the inhabitants that their masters had received a disastrous defeat. The municipality, except the Podestà, who fled, formed themselves into a temporary government, and sent a deputation to Victor Emanuel, to announce their annexation to Sardinia. On the 8th of June, that Sovereign, accompanied by the French Emperor, triumphantly entered the Lombard capital. Hence Napoleon addressed a proclamation to the Italians in general, calling on them to take up arms for the liberation of their country.

On the same day that the Emperor entered Milan, the French defeated the Austrians at Melegnano (anciently Marignano), who now crossed the Mincio, deeming their position impregnable through the so-called Quadrilateral, formed by the fortresses of Lonato, Peschiera, Mantua, and Verona. Here they were joined by the Emperor Francis Joseph; and, on the night of the 23rd of June, they recrossed the Mincio, to give battle to the allies. Both sides were unaware of the position of their opponents. The BATTLE OF SOLFERINO which ensued was a kind of haphazard affair, gained by sheer fighting (June 24th). All three Sovereigns were present at this battle, and displayed great personal courage. Early in the day the Piedmontese on the left wing had experienced several repulses, but after the taking of Solferino by the French, drove the Austrians from positions which were become untenable. The loss on both sides, and especially the Austrian, was enormous. By the 1st of July the allies had effected the passage of the Mincio, and the Austrians retired into Verona.

And now when the French Emperor seemed to be on the point of completing his programme, when the hopes of the Italians were excited to the highest pitch, and when all Europe was wrapt in expectation, Napoleon suddenly stopped short in his victorious career. On July 7th he despatched General Fleury to the Austrian camp, with proposals for an armistice, and on the 11th, after an interview with the Austrian Emperor, the preliminaries of a peace were signed at Villafranca.

Napoleon's conduct has been variously accounted for. His apologists allege his age—a little past fifty, the heat of the weather, the sight of so much carnage, and the loss of so many men. He is also said to have received news of the probable intervention of Prussia; but, though some Prussian corps had been marched towards the Rhine, they were not intended to take the offensive. Austria, apparently from latent suspicions, had declined

Prussia's offer of an armed mediation, and called upon her for immediate action, for which Prussia was not inclined. What chiefly weighed with Napoleon were probably two circumstances, both of which might have been foreseen. One of these was the strength of the Quadrilateral, and the necessity for some tedious sieges. Another was the enthusiasm displayed in the Italian duchies for annexation to Piedmont. This formed no part of Napoleon's plan; and lest the French should take alarm at some dictatorships which had been erected in the duchies by Victor Emanuel, he was careful to inform them in an official note in the "Moniteur," June 23rd, that they were only provisional and temporary. But here it will be necessary to cast a glance at the proceedings in these States.

The news of approaching hostilities had agitated the Italian duchies. In Tuscany, the government of the Grand Duke, Leopold II., was not oppressive; but he was bound to the Austrian court by kinship, as well as by treaties, which, to the disgust of the Florentines, he was now called upon to fulfil. Leopold had just made a journey to Rome and Naples, undertaken, no doubt, with a view to concert measures of common safety; and his return was marked by a more rigorous Austrian policy. Many young men of the best Florentine families now set off for Piedmont, to offer their swords to Victor Emanuel; and a meeting of the principal citizens addressed a paper to the Grand Duke, expressing a wish for the independence of the different Italian States, and their union in a Confederation. Finding himself no longer master of his actions, Leopold quitted Florence for Vienna. A provisional government established in the Palazzo Vecchio now besought Victor Emanuel to appoint a governor of Tuscany, and Signor Buoncompagni, the Sardinian Minister at the Tuscan court, was ultimately made Royal Commissary. He formed a ministry of which Baron Ricasoli was one of the most distinguished members—a man of austere and resolute character, but of moderate political views. In the revolution of 1848 he had supported the Grand Duke; but, on his entering Florence, on his return from Gaëta, with an Austrian escort, Ricasoli, in disgust, renounced his connection with the Court, and retired to his domain of Brolio, near Siena, where he watched with interest the progress of Piedmontese policy. The Tuscans formed an army of nearly 20,000 men; but before they could join the allies the Peace of Villafranca had been concluded.

Duke Ferdinand V. of Modena was also connected with the

Austrian imperial house. His government was despotic and tyrannical, especially at Carrara, where the Austrian major, Widerkhern, enforced martial law. Some of the inhabitants had been put to death, hundreds condemned to imprisonment or the galleys. The movement in Tuscany excited an insurrection in Massa and Carrara. The Duke fled to the fortress of Brescello, carrying off with him a large sum of money, the crown jewels, and the most precious articles from the public museums and libraries. He also brought away eighty political convicts, and cast them into the dungeons of Mantua. The Piedmontese government proclaimed the annexation of Massa and Carrara, May 20th; and after the battle of Magenta Duke Francis retired into Austrian territory. The tricolor was now hoisted, Victor Emanuel II. proclaimed, and the historian, Farini, appointed Piedmontese Commissary at Modena.

The mild and indulgent government of Parma, by the Duchess Louisa Maria of Bourbon, as Regent for her minor son, Duke Robert I., presents an agreeable contrast to that of Modena. She desired to preserve a strict neutrality in the war, but such a course was impossible in a small State situated like Parma. Notwithstanding the comparatively popular government, the movement in Tuscany caused a corresponding one in Parma. Towards the end of April a provisional junta was formed, in the name of the King of Sardinia, and the Regent proceeded with her son to Mantua. She was shortly afterwards recalled, but her restoration lasted little more than a month. Finding herself compelled either to take part in the war, or to violate her engagements with Austria, she retired into Switzerland, June 9th. The municipal government, after the evacuation of Piacenza by the Austrians, proclaimed annexation with Sardinia, when M. Pallieri was appointed Governor of the Duchy. The further history of these States, and of Romagna, will be resumed after describing the PEACE OF VILLAFRANCA.

By the preliminaries the two Emperors engaged to promote an Italian Confederation, with the Pope as honorary president. Austria was to cede her possessions in Lombardy, except Mantua, Peschiera, and the territory east of the Mincio, to the Emperor of the French, who would transfer them to the King of Sardinia. Venetia, though still under the Austrian sceptre, was to form part of the new Confederation. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena were to re-enter their dominions on giving a general amnesty. The two Emperors would demand from the Holy

Father some indispensable reforms.[1] The preliminaries of Villafranca were completed by the Treaties of Zürich, signed November 10th. The most notable difference is in the 19th Article of the Treaty of Peace between France and Austria, regarding the duchies.[2] It is there stated that, as the boundaries of these States cannot be altered without the concurrence of the Powers who presided at their formation, the rights of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, of the Duke of Modena, and the Duke of Parma (now mentioned for the first time) are *expressly reserved* by the high contracting parties. This is a variation from the engagement that they should re-enter their States.

Zara and Venice threatened by French fleets, disturbances in Hungary, and the defeats and losses which she had suffered in the war, seem to have been Austria's motives for making a peace which involved so considerable a sacrifice. Nevertheless, the campaign must be pronounced a failure on the part of Napoleon. He had not carried out his agreement with Cavour, and could not, therefore, claim the stipulated reward. The Lombards excepted, who had obtained their freedom, nobody was satisfied with the result. It excited great discontent in France; and the address of the Emperor to the Legislature (July 19th) betrayed an uneasy consciousness that he had but half performed the task which he had undertaken in the face of Europe. Cavour's disappointment was bitter indeed. An Italian confederation under Papal presidency, with Austria as a member of it, and retaining a footing in Italy, still left Francis Joseph master of the situation. When informed of the peace by Victor Emanuel, Cavour's rage was ungovernable. He immediately resigned, and was succeeded by General La Marmora and Ratazzi.

The revolted duchies showed no inclination for the return of their former masters. Of all the central provinces, Romagna, which had also joined the revolt as soon as the Austrians had been compelled by defeats to withdraw their troops from Bologna and Ancona, most dreaded the restoration of its former government. The Papal administration was, indeed, about the worst of all those misgoverned States. Hundreds of persons had been condemned to fine or imprisonment for what were called erroneous political ideas, a liking for innovation, want of attachment to the government, &c. The disaffection was almost universal, and shared by the highest class, including the Marquis Pepoli, grandson of Murat, and cousin of Napoleon III. An Assembly of an aristo-

[1] Document in *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, t. ix. App. p. 978. [2] *Ibid.* p. 994.

cratic caste, elected by universal suffrage, unanimously voted the abrogation of the rule of the Holy See, and annexation to Sardinia. But Victor Emanuel hesitated to accept the proferred dictatorship. Romagna was in a different situation from the duchies, and the question of the Pope's temporal authority might involve many diplomatic complications. But the King sent d'Azeglio as Commissary Extraordinary, who organized a government. Soon after, Farini being offered by the Assembly the direction of affairs, took the title of Governor-general; and, on the 1st of January, 1860, he united the three governments which he held, viz. Romagna, Modena, and Parma, to which last he had been appointed after the peace of Villafranca, under the ancient title of Æmilia. The Pope, compensated himself for the impotence of his temporal weapons by resorting to his spiritual ones, and the singular prerogative which he enjoys of consigning his enemies to everlasting perdition. He fulminated in open consistory a Bull of Excommunication against all the promoters, abettors, and adherents of the usurpation (March 30th), which would include the French Emperor as well as Victor Emanuel; but nobody was named. The Bull was placarded in Rome; but it was necessary to post *gendarmes* to protect it.

With regard to Tuscany, Ferdinand, Leopold's son—who had fought with the Austrians at Solferino, and was now become sovereign by the abdication extorted from his father—proclaimed that he would adopt the national colours, uphold the Constitution, and recognize the popular rights. But the Tuscan municipalities voted the deposition of the House of Lorraine by a large majority. Buoncompagni was recalled in order that the proceedings of the people might appear entirely free, and on the 1st of August he handed over his authority to Ricasoli, President of the Ministry, who firmly repressed all insurrectionary attempts. A newly-elected Assembly confirmed the deposition of the dynasty, and unanimously voted annexation to Sardinia. A military League was formed between the central Italian States, including an agreement to prevent pontifical restoration in Romagna. The army of the League was placed under the Piedmontese general Fanti, and Garibaldi contented himself with the command of the Tuscan division.

The turn events had taken was a source of much anxiety to the Sardinian government, and of very grave embarrassment to Napoleon III. He began to see that his idea of an Italian confederation under the Pope was simply impossible; that even the

temporal power of the Holy See, which he was pledged to maintain, was in danger. The provisional governments, also, established in the duchies were of course only temporary, and it became every day more necessary that something decisive should be done. To relieve himself from this difficulty he proposed a Congress of the Powers which had been parties to the Treaties of Vienna: the proposal was accepted, and it was agreed that the Congress should meet at Paris in January, 1860. But Napoleon was fond of dabbling in pen and ink. Towards the end of the year he published a pamphlet entitled *Le Pape et le Congrès*, which rendered the assembly impossible. It contained some very absurd ideas. Rome was to be converted into a sort of large monastery under the Pope; and though the citizens were to be without political interests or passions, each of them would be able to say, "Civis Romanus sum!" Pio Nono was urged to acquiesce in the independence of Romagna, to make large political reforms in his remaining States, and to content himself with a nominal sovereignty at Rome. It was maintained very truly, but hardly in accordance with the keeping of French troops at Rome, that the less territory the Holy Father had to govern the less would his spiritual authority be exposed to vicissitudes. This line of argument raised a storm throughout Europe, and put an end to the Congress. The French Emperor followed up his views in a letter to the Pope, December 31st, in which he was advised to place the legations, which could be recovered only by force, under the vicariate of Victor Emanuel, and Europe would then guarantee him in his other possessions. But such views suited not Pio Nono nor his adviser, Cardinal Antonelli. About the same time, by replacing Walewski as Foreign Minister by Thouvenel, Napoleon proclaimed the end of all hostile diplomacy towards Italy. Indeed, between the signing of the preliminaries of Villafranca and the execution of the Treaties of Zürich his views had already begun to waver. In a letter to Victor Emanuel (October 20th) he had proposed several variations from the Villafranca programme, though the idea of restoring the sovereigns was preserved in the main. In the same letter he still adhered to his scheme of a federative union under the Pope; from which also before the end of the year he began to vary. Such was the wisdom and consistency of these *idées Napoléoniennes!*

The ministry of La Marmora and Ratazzi, which had become unpopular, seemed unequal to the importance of the crisis, and on the 20th of January, 1860, Cavour accepted a recall to power.

The vacillation of Napoleon encouraged him to attempt annexation of the central provinces. Napoleon now withdrew from the responsibility of the situation which he had himself created. He recalled the French army of occupation from Lombardy, and left Cavour to proceed at his own risk; only stipulating that in case the annexation of the duchies to Piedmont should be effected, France was to receive Savoy and Nice as the price. A clear breach of the stipulations of Villafranca. There could be no doubt as to the wishes of the population of the central provinces, and to please Napoleon Cavour adopted his favourite method of a *plébiscite*. It was held with a favourable result on the 11th of March, and a week afterwards Tuscany and Æmilia were declared, by a royal decree, annexed to Piedmont. Elections were then held throughout the newly-constituted State for the first Italian Parliament. This assembly confirmed the annexations, but not without violent though ineffectual opposition, led by Ratazzi, to the cession of Nice and Savoy. By the cession of Nice, Garibaldi's birth-place, Cavour incurred his implacable hatred. The English cabinet, with Lord Palmerston at the head, made some abortive attempts to prevent the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. Even Austria refused to interfere, and, apparently from domestic difficulties, quietly acquiesced in the flagrant violation of treaties.

Thus the French Emperor obtained his share of the Plombières programme by means which he had neither contemplated, approved, nor promoted; whilst Cavour saw indeed the Piedmontese kingdom enlarged beyond his expectations, but with the annoying circumstance that Napoleon had not fairly earned the ceded provinces. For the present, however, he was prepared to acquiesce in what had been done, and to leave the completion of his plans to some future opportunity, when an unexpected enterprise of Garibaldi's—which, but for its success, would have been deemed one of the rashest and most foolish ever undertaken—opened out to him the prospect of a kingdom more extensive than he had ever dreamt of, even that of all united Italy.

The population of Sicily was dissatisfied with the government, and ripe for revolt. On the 17th of April a Sicilian deputation had requested Victor Emanuel, then at Florence, to take possession of the island, which, under present circumstances, he declined to do. But Garibaldi saw before him a magnificent field of enterprise. With the help of Mazzini he collected at Genoa a band of volunteers called the "Thousand," and on the night of the 5th of May he embarked them on board two steamers which he had

forcibly seized. He landed at Marsala without opposition, though two Neapolitan frigates were cruising in the neighbourhood. As he marched towards Palermo his little force was increased by insurgents and by deserters from the Neapolitan army. After some skirmishes at Monreale and Calatafimi, Palermo was entered almost without opposition, although there were more than 20,000 regular troops in the city and neighbourhood. The commandant signed a capitulation on board an English man-of-war. Garibaldi's progress was now easy. The royal troops, though far outnumbering his, retired into Messina, after making a last stand at Melazzo.

Cavour was alarmed as well as surprised at Garibaldi's rapid success. The hatred which Garibaldi entertained for him, had prevented any concert between them; but Cavour, though aware of the enterprise, did nothing to arrest it. He would have preferred a federal union between North and South Italy to annexation; but when he saw that Garibaldi would pretty certainly succeed, he directed Admiral Persano to help him with the Italian fleet. The state of the Neapolitan dominions promised an easy triumph. Francis II., who had recently succeeded to the crown on the death of his father, Ferdinand II. (May 22nd, 1860), had contrived in two or three months to alienate the affection of his subjects by puerile reactionary attempts. Garibaldi, crossing the Straits early in August, marched upon Naples without striking a blow. Francis betrayed helpless irresolution. Instead of opposing the invader, he tried conciliation by granting a constitution, offered to join Victor Emanuel against Austria, appealed to France and England for help, and on Garibaldi's approach retired to Capua with 50,000 men!

It now became necessary for Cavour to take some decisive step. Garibaldi, elated by his wonderful success, seemed to consider himself Dictator of all Italy, a title which he had already assumed with regard to Sicily and Naples. He talked openly of going to Rome and Venice; steps which would necessarily produce a collision with either France or Austria, perhaps with both. He wrote to Victor Emanuel demanding the dismissal of Cavour and Farini. Cavour knew that Garibaldi did not share the views of Mazzini and the republicans, though he had many of them in his ranks, and that he sincerely desired Italian unity under the sceptre of Victor Emanuel. Cavour let him know that the King and his government confided in him, but at the same

time resolved to take the movement out of his hands.[1] To facilitate matters, he is said to have tampered with and bribed several of Francis II.'s officers and councillors, and even members of the Royal family itself.

Garibaldi's progress could be arrested only by force, for he was deaf to all considerations of policy. But to use force it would be necessary to violate international law, by marching an army through the Papal States. Fortunately, the Pope, or rather his counsellor, Antonelli, had afforded a pretext for such a step. Rome dreamt of nothing less than reconquering Romagna, and with that view had formed a legion of adventurers of all nations, of whom the distinguished French general, Lamoricière, an enthusiast for the Pope, accepted the command. This force, which amounted to about 10,000 men, was a menace to Piedmont, threatening to crush the new Italian kingdom between itself and the Austrians posted on the Po. Antonelli having refused to dismiss it, Cavour seized the pretext to despatch an army through the Marches to arrest Garibaldi's progress. Napoleon had been previously consulted, who, as in the case of the annexations, left Cavour to act on his own responsibility. A large Piedmontese force, under Generals Cialdini and Fanti, defeated Lamoricière, September 18th, at Castelfidardo, near Ancona, into which city the French general retired; but as the Italian fleet, under Persano, began to bombard it, he was obliged to capitulate.

Fortunately, Francis II., by disputing Garibaldi's passage of the Volturno, October 1st, had arrested his march, and thus unwittingly aided Cavour's policy by giving the Italian army time to come up. Victor Emanuel had now joined Cialdini and accompanied his march. They fell in with Garibaldi at Teano, when the King gave him his hand, with the laconic address, "*Grazie*" (I thank you). Their united forces now marched to Naples, which the King and the Dictator entered in the same carriage. Garibaldi had exchanged his characteristic red shirt for a uniform, but he declined the offer of a field-marshal's bâton.

Garibaldi, disappointed and disgusted, retired soon after to Caprera. Before doing so, in his capacity of Neapolitan Dictator, he proclaimed Victor Emanuel "King of Italy." But it was determined that the Two Sicilies should choose their own sovereign by a *plébiscite;* and, due precautions being taken, Victor Emanuel was elected at the end of October. He declined, however, to

[1] Cavour writes at this time: "Il s'agit de sauver l'Italie des étrangers, des mauvais principes, et des fous;" that is, the Austrians, the Mazzinians, and the Garibaldians.

assume that title till it should be conferred on him by a National Assembly. The first parliament of the now almost united Italy, assembled at Turin, proclaimed Victor Emanuel as its Sovereign, March 14th, 1861. Francis II. had already surrendered. He had retired with the remnant of his forces into Gaeta, where he was besieged by the Piedmontese army united with the Garibaldians. The siege was protracted through the equivocal conduct of the French fleet, which seemed at first disposed to protect the town. This proceeding, which has been ascribed to various motives on the part of Napoleon III., was probably caused by irresolution. It is certain that he disliked the annexation of the Two Sicilies to Piedmont, but he hesitated to strike a blow to prevent it. On the withdrawal of the French fleet, and consequent bombardment of the town by that of Persano, it capitulated, February 13th. It had made an heroic defence, during which the Neapolitan Queen, Maria of Bavaria, displayed remarkable courage. Francis II. and his consort then retired to Rome. Messina, the last place which held out for the Royal cause, surrendered March 13th.

Thus Cavour's policy had succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations. Instead of a kingdom of 11,000,000 souls, he had realized one of double that number. His success in North Italy was, indeed, of a very different kind from that in the South, but both showed the versatility of his talent. The kingdom of North Italy was the calculated result of a long chain of policy; in the annexation of South Italy, his merit lies not in any preconcerted plan, but in his knowing how to use and direct the daring, but thoughtless, adventurer who had brought it about without his foreknowledge, and even perhaps, at first, against his will. The state of Europe favoured the operation, which was approved by some Powers and seriously opposed by none. They regarded the Neapolitan revolution as a *fait accompli*, the conduct of which was at all events better in the hands of a constitutional king than in those of republicans and anarchists. Napoleon, indeed, when appealed to by the Pope, made some show of displeasure, and for a time recalled his Ambassador from Turin; an example which was followed by Russia and Prussia. Austria, whose domestic troubles prevented her from interfering, contented herself with protesting. The British Cabinet was not averse to the aggrandizement of Italy, and was satisfied with Cavour's engagement not to attack Austria, and to make no more cessions to France. Francis Joseph could obtain no promise of aid either from Prussia or Russia. The Italian cause was favourably viewed in North

Germany. On the accession of the Regent William to the Prussian throne on the death of his brother, January 2nd, 1861, Cavour sent General La Marmora to Berlin to represent that the interests of the two countries were identical—the establishment of national hegemony.[1] But Bismarck had not yet appeared as protagonist on the political scene, and Prussian views on that point were not clearly defined.

Cavour had achieved much, but a great deal still remained to be done. Italian unity was not complete while Venetia and Rome held out; and their annexation promised to be a work of much greater difficulty than that of the other provinces. The Piedmontese rule remained to be consolidated in South Italy, where it was far from popular. When Victor Emanuel visited Sicily, his reception was the reverse of flattering. Great part of the Southern Italians were Garibaldians or Mazzinians. On the Fête of the Nativity at Naples, the *bambino*, or infant Christ, was dressed in Garibaldian costume. Frequent risings took place in the provinces, which were encouraged by the ex-King Francis II. at Rome, and by the priests, who sometimes led them. The French garrison at Rome also indirectly encouraged, or at all events countenanced, the half robber, half royalist bands, which disturbed the Neapolitan dominions.

Of the Venetian and the Roman questions, the latter was by far the more difficult one. The liberation of Venice concerned only one foreign Power, and must be left to opportunities. The annexation of Rome touched the views and interests of all Catholic States, and involved the formidable opposition of the Church. The more ardent Ultramontanists maintained that the independence and sovereignty of the Pope were necessary to his spiritual security; that he must be free not only at home from the domination of popular assemblies, but also abroad from the dictation of foreign Powers; and that for these ends the possession of sovereign temporal power was indispensable.[2] The first of these postulates would make the Pope an absolute and irresponsible despot; the second is absurd and impossible. To make it feasible, the Pontiff should be the greatest of all military potentates, for so long as there is a greater he may be liable to dictation. And, as a matter of fact, he had not been able for many years to hold his own territories without the help of foreign bayonets. The

[1] On this point Cavour remarked: "L'alliance de la Prusse avec le Piedmont agrandi est écrite dans le livre futur de l'histoire." Mazade, *Vie de Cavour*, p. 468. A remarkable prediction.

[2] See *La Souveraineté Pontificale*, par Monseigneur Dupanloup, Evêque d'Orléans, p. 30 sqq.

Austrians had held Romagna for him since 1848, and as soon as they evacuated it, the population threw off his yoke. At the present moment he was maintained in his own episcopal city only by a French garrison. These evils were incurred through his temporal power; without which his spiritual authority would have been greater and more respected. His temporal sovereignty was a relic of the dark ages, a political solecism in modern Europe, and utterly opposed to the most cherished principles of modern society. The views still entertained by the Roman Court are shown in the Encyclic known as *Quanta Cura*, drawn up by the Jesuit Perrone, and with the annexed *Syllabus*, or list of errors, published in December, 1864. Liberty of conscience and of worship are treated as hallucinations; the independence of the civil power, the liberty of teaching and of the press, together with many other things which more enlightened nations regard as their dearest privileges are forbidden.

Cavour's religious views were liberal, but free from that morbid hatred of the Church which characterized most of the revolutionists. His maxim was *Libera Chiesa in libero Stato*—a free Church in a free State, in accordance with which he held that the Pope's temporal power must fall. He suppressed some of the more useless monastic Orders, but he retained such as did good by teaching or by charitable acts, as the *Sœurs de Charité* and others. He had at first hoped to conciliate the Pope by friendly negotiations, which proved fruitless. They were renewed, with the privity of the French Emperor, after the march of the Sardinian army through the Papal territories. Pio Nono was offered a large patrimony, absolute property in the Vatican and other palaces, the maintenance of his sovereign rights, prerogatives, and inviolability, with freedom from State interference in the affairs of the Church. Antonelli affected for a while to listen, perhaps to get at the bottom of the Piedmontese plans, then suddenly broke off the negotiations.

To effect the legislative and administrative assimilation of so many very different provinces; to reorganize the army of the new kingdom; to fuse into a single budget those of six or seven States, while embarrassed at the outset by a deficit of 500 million francs (20 millions sterling); to allay the disturbances caused by Garibaldians, Mazzinians, and Neapolitan Royalists—such were the gigantic tasks to be undertaken in consolidating united Italy. It was necessary to dissolve Garibaldi's army, which was done as gently as possible. Some of the chiefs were

made generals, while many of the officers accepted commissions in the national army. Garibaldi foamed with rage at Caprera. He overwhelmed Cavour and the moderate liberals with abuse as traitors, and demanded a national arming. Ricasoli now stepped in, and in an eloquent speech in the Chamber denounced Garibaldi; pretending, however, to believe that the abuse ascribed to him of Cavour and the majority of the Parliament must be a calumny. Garibaldi appeared in the Chamber, April 18th, in his red shirt and American cloak, and amidst violent uproar accused Cavour of fomenting fratricidal war. But he failed to shake the firm and constant mind of the great Minister, who persisted in his resolution to dismiss the volunteers. The King brought about an interview between them at the palace, and there was an apparent reconciliation. Cavour carried his point, and Garibaldi returned to Caprera.

This hand-to-hand fight with the popular, but unreflecting, hero, gave a rude and fatal shock to Cavour's health, already undermined by the multiplicity of his cares and labours. On the night of May 29th he was seized with a violent illness. Bleeding, the favourite Italian practice, seemed at first to relieve him; but he soon grew delirious, and on the 6th of June he died. There will be few dissentient voices as to his merits. He was essentially the founder of the kingdom of Italy.

Ricasoli, a declared enemy of the priests, now for a time became Prime Minister. Napoleon made him promise to undertake nothing against Rome, and French intrigues used the democratic faction, animated by Mazzini and led by Ratazzi, to overthrow him. Ratazzi then occupied his post. Garibaldi, meanwhile ill at ease in his retirement, was plotting the seizure of Venice and Rome. He held a great democratic Congress at Genoa, in March, 1862, and assembled volunteer corps at Bergamo and Brescia, with intent to invade Venetia, but Ratazzi caused the greater part of them to be disarmed. In the following June, Garibaldi, relying on the hatred of the Neapolitans and Sicilians for the Sardinian government, attempted another insurrection in that quarter, with the view of marching on Rome. He landed in Sicily and passed over to Calabria with some 1,200 men. But General Cialdini, who had been despatched with some troops to arrest his progress, caught him at Aspromonte as it were in a trap. His men were dispersed, he himself wounded in the foot, and carried to Spezia.

The repression of Garibaldi's attempt showed Victor Emanuel

strong enough to maintain order, and on the strength of it he claimed to be put in possession of Rome, when he engaged to guarantee the Pope's spiritual headship. This demand offended Napoleon III., and occasioned a change both in the French and Italian Ministry. At Paris, Thouvenel was replaced by Drouyn de Lhuys, who was more favourable to the Pope; at Turin, Ratazzi was succeeded by Farini. It was the policy of Napoleon to keep Victor Emanuel weak in South Italy, and so dependent on him. With the same view apparently, the French garrison at Rome continued to connive at secret armings in favour of Francis II., and during two years there were constant skirmishes in the mountains, attended not only with much bloodshed, but also with the most horrible atrocities. Robbery, rape, murder, nay torture with barbarous refinements of cruelty, were the order of the day.

At length, in the autumn of 1864, a suspected new coalition among the northern Powers induced Napoleon to alter his views. The evacuation of Rome would, it was thought, conciliate England and sow dissension among the new allies—Protestant Prussia, schismatic Russia, and Catholic Austria. There was at that time some misunderstanding between the French and English Cabinets. England had given a flat refusal to Napoleon's proposal of a Congress in November, 1863, while the enthusiastic reception of Garibaldi in England in the spring of 1864 had caused the Italian government much embarrassment. On the 15th of September of that year a definitive Convention was concluded between France and Italy on the subject of Rome. Victor Emanuel undertook not to attack the Pope's dominions, and to protect them from all *external* assaults, while Napoleon on his side agreed to the gradual withdrawal of his troops from Rome, to be completed within two years. The formation of a papal army, recruited from various countries, sufficient to maintain the Pope's authority without menacing Italy, was allowed. As the French Emperor demanded some material guarantee, the removal of the Italian capital from Turin to Florence within six months was arranged by a protocol appended to the Convention.[1] The news of the change of capital caused a riot at Turin, accompanied with considerable loss of life. To appease these disturbances the ministry was dismissed, and La Marmora, of Piedmontese origin, made President of the Council. The riots, however, were renewed in January, 1865; it is supposed at the instigation of

[1] Text of the Convention in *Annuaire*, xiii. App. p. 958.

Mazzini. There were cries of "*Abasso il re,*" and on the 3rd of February Victor Emanuel left Turin for Florence.

Italy was now gradually taking her place among the great European Powers. By the end of 1865 she had been recognized by most of them. In the autumn of 1864 Austria herself had proposed to do so on the base of *uti possidetis,* on the sole condition that she should not be attacked for a certain number of years. Thus, for the sake of her material interests, she was prepared to abandon not only her allies the Italian potentates, but even the Holy Father himself. But public opinion in Italy would not have allowed the formal relinquishment of Venice. The internal unity of Italy was confirmed January 1st, 1866, when the new codes of law came into operation throughout the annexed provinces. The principal features of them were civil marriages —a blow at the clergy—and the equal division of property among children of both sexes—a blow at the aristocracy. In the foreign policy of the newly-created nation the first most remarkable features are her treaties with Prussia, first by joining the *Zollverein* towards the end of 1865, and on the 10th of April of the next year by that momentous alliance which was attended with such prodigious effects for both countries. But to explain these matters we must take a retrospect of German affairs, which we have brought down in the preceding chapter to the establishment of the Prussian Regency in 1858.

The internal troubles of Austria already adverted to—one of the principal causes of the loss of Lombardy—became after that catastrophe matter for serious consideration with the imperial Cabinet. Financial affairs, chiefly intrusted to Jews, were badly managed, and the debt continually increased. The army, administered by incompetent persons, daily deteriorated. The superior officers adopted a brutal tone towards their subalterns, called the "Russian manner," and these again used the cane unsparingly on the men. An open contempt was displayed for religion, and profanity became the tone of the Court. To these sources of weakness and decay were added open discontent, and even rebellion, in some of the various provinces constituting the ill-cemented Austrian empire.

These latter evils were the most pressing. To meet them reforms were made in the various provincial *Landstage,* or parliaments, and a new constitution was framed for the whole empire, which was proclaimed February 26th, 1861. The Emperor opened the new *Reichstag,* or imperial parliament, May 1st. It

consisted of an Upper and Lower House, the first-named for life by the Emperor, while the second was composed of 343 delegates from the different provincial *Landstage*. Toleration was held out for Protestants, which pleased many of the Hungarians, but the Archbishops, who commonly obeyed in silence, ventured to express a hope that the Catholic character of the monarchy would not be destroyed; and the Tyrolese, who are bigoted papists, refused to carry out the new regulations.

It soon became evident that the new constitution would not work. The Hungarians and Croats refused to recognize it, and sent no delegates to the *Reichstag*. Bohemia quietly enjoyed these quarrels, while the Magyars, under Deak's leadership, resolved to recover the national rights which they had lost by their rebellion in 1849; but, for fear of Russia, they offered only a passive resistance. Kossuth, indeed, in London, and Garibaldi in Italy, agitated for an insurrection in Venetia and Dalmatia, to be followed by a rising in Hungary, but without effect. General Benedek, a Hungarian by birth, was sent to conciliate his fellow-countrymen, but neither his persuasions nor his threats had any result. Addresses poured in demanding the constitution of 1848, and Francis Joseph at length consented to the assembling of a Hungarian Parliament, which was opened April 2nd, 1861.

The programme of the constitutional party was that Hungary was no Austrian province, but a substantive kingdom, having only a personal union with Austria; that the abdicated Emperor Ferdinand, now residing at Prague, their lawful king, was not justified in having transferred the crown of St. Stephen to his nephew without the consent of the Hungarian nation; but if he would declare his abdication, and if Francis Joseph would submit to be crowned after the ancient fashion, no further resistance would be offered. The Emperor would not listen to these conditions. He dismissed the Assembly, sent large bodies of troops into Hungary, and collected the taxes by force. The result will be seen in the following chapter.

Whilst Austria thus presented all the symptoms of decay, Prussia, her younger and more vigorous rival, was preparing for the struggle for supremacy. Under the weak reign of Frederick William IV., and the administration of what was called the *Kreuz* party, she had considerably retrograded. The accession of the Prince of Prussia to the Regency threw somewhat more vigour into the counsels of the Berlin Cabinet. But some years were still to elapse during which Prussia submitted, for the most part, to

follow in the wake of Austria. The programme of the Regent and of the new Ministry under Prince Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, a puisne prince of the royal house, was to discountenance all liberal revolutions, to respect Roman Catholic rights, but, at the same time, to cherish the evangelical union, to patronize learning and science, and, above all, to bestow especial care upon the army. The accession of the Regent to the Prussian throne, by the death of his brother, January 2nd, 1861, and the deaths in the same year of General Von Gerlach and Privy Councillor Stahl, two of the leaders of the *Kreuz* party, did not at first cause much alteration in the policy of the Berlin Cabinet. William I. was deeply imbued with feudal notions, and the idea of sovereignty by the grace of God. Although of the seven preceding kings of his house, the first only, Frederick I., had been crowned, William celebrated his coronation with great pomp at Königsberg, October 18th. Taking the crown from the altar, he placed it on his own head, and then on his queen's. In his address to the Parliament, he observed: "The rulers of Prussia receive their crown from God; therein lies its holiness, which is unassailable." But he failed not to intimate that he would listen to their advice. This speech, taken in connection with some measures of the Cabinet, was regarded by the Liberals as reactionary, and threatening a return to absolutism. That party had a majority in the Parliament which assembled in January, 1862, and offered so violent an opposition that Prince Hohenzollern retired in favour of Prince Hohenlohe Ingelfingen. A new Parliament proved equally refractory. The *Fortschritt* party, as it was called, or Party of Progress, was, indeed, pleased with the recognition of Italy, and with the treaty between the *Zollverein* and France, effected in March, 1862; but, in other respects, the parliamentary opposition was just as violent as before. The new Ministry was in turn compelled to retire, when the King named Herr Bismarck Schönhausen President of the Council, or Prime Minister, who from this moment may be said to have guided the destinies of Germany as Cavour had previously done those of Italy. But before describing his administration, it will be necessary to take a brief view of Germany, and the relations of the two great rival Powers.

To compare Bismarck with Cavour implies that their work was a good deal alike; and, indeed, the state of Germany at this time bore considerable resemblance to that of Italy. It presents the picture of a struggle for national unity achieved at last, as in

Italy, by its chief military Power, under the guidance of a remarkable statesman. In both countries these Powers were ruled by patriotic and energetic sovereigns, soldiers by profession. But some differences must be observed. Germany had already a federative union, and was not made up, like Italy, of a number of wholly independent States. In Germany, again, the struggle was entirely national. There was no foreigner to be expelled, no need of foreign aid. But the most striking point of difference is that Germany contained two great military Powers, by whose rivalry and collision, and the ultimate ascendancy of one of them, unity was effected. Besides these two Powers, there was a number of middling and minor States, fearful of losing the prerogatives conferred upon them by the treaties of Vienna, and as they could not stand alone, for the most part satellites of Austria. But their safety chiefly lay in keeping both Austria and Prussia from becoming predominant, and in fomenting the mutual hatred and jealousy of those Powers. Hence these middle States were the chief obstruction to German unity. At one time, as we have said, under the leadership of Von Beust, the Saxon Minister, they entertained the idea of effecting a union among themselves, and thus forming a German Triad, which would have made confusion worse confounded. During the period under review, therefore, the interest of German history centres in the disputes between Austria and Prussia. These concerned, of course, questions relating to the Confederation, such as the fortifying and garrisoning of federal fortresses, like Ulm and Rastadt, the government of electoral Hesse, and questions of the like nature. These have now lost all interest for the general reader, and we therefore pass them over.

The war in Italy and peace of Villafranca had much influence on German affairs. They not only widened the breach between Austria and Prussia—the former Power complaining that she had been shamefully abandoned—but also caused a great national movement, by having displayed the impotence of the Confederation. One of their first effects was the foundation of the *Nationalverein*, or National Association, formed at Eisenach towards the end of July, 1859, by the radical Hanoverian, Baron Benigsen, and Herr Metz, of Darmstadt, and patronized by Duke Ernest II. of Saxe Coburg Gotha. Its programme was to substitute for the *Bund* the German Constitution of 1848—a German Parliament constituent and sovereign, and Germany united under the hegemony of Prussia, with Austria excluded. This association was

soon after opposed by another, called the *Reformverein*, founded in 1862 by what was called the Great German Party. The national interests were the watchword of both; but the first was for Prussia, the second for Austria. Neither of them, however, did anything but talk.

The history of the German *Bund*, as Professor Von Sybel has remarked, is the history of a protracted malady, which began with its birth in 1815. By means of its Diet, a Congress of Princes, manipulated with consummate skill by Metternich, Austria and the reactionary party had triumphed for a long series of years, and even at Berlin. Bismarck himself, though a Prussian *Junker*, had been, as we have said, a member of the *Kreuz* party, and an advocate of Austrian supremacy. His experience as Prussian envoy at the Diet, and subsequent ambassadorships to Paris and St. Petersburg, altered and extended his views. He saw that Germany, to be strong, must be reconstructed, that Prussia alone was equal to the task, but not before she had been strengthened. Soon after his accession to power, he is said to have remarked that the questions which agitated the German Fatherland could not be decided by speeches and votes, but by blood and iron. With this view, assisted by Von Roon, the Minister at War, he reformed and increased the army. Hence the parliamentary opposition to which we have alluded. The democrats hated nothing so much as a strong government, and Bismarck was assailed with the most virulent abuse. But he persisted in his plans, in which he was supported by King William I., who declared in the Chamber that the reformation of the army was his own work, that he was proud of it, and would carry it through.

The *Zollverein*, or Customs Union, formed by Prussia, enabled her to speak with authority. Austria was excluded from the treaty with France already mentioned, and to the minor States she intimated that if they would not join it they must quit the *Zollverein*. The demand of Austria for admittance was supported by these States, who threatened to quit the *Zollverein* in case of refusal. But Prussia persisted, well knowing that the benefits which they derived from it were greater than anything that Austria could offer to them. This of course inflamed the quarrel between the two great Powers. Austria now proposed to several of the States a separate Parliament for general affairs, to sit side by side with the Diet. The proposal was supported by the four German Kings and several Princes. Bismarck now adopted a high tone. He declared that Prussia would not bow to a majority

of the Diet, and was not bound to do so by the Federal Constitution. Austria was further incensed by a remark ascribed to Bismarck, that she should remove her capital to Ofen ; which, indeed, would have been more central for her dominions.

The unpopularity of the home government of Prussia seemed to offer an opportunity for attack. After some secret negotiations, Austria invited the minor German Sovereigns to a *Fürstentag* at Frankfort, August, 1863. William I. was kept in the dark till the last hour, and refused to attend. In this Assembly, Austria proposed a new constitution, which, as it never came to anything, we need not detail. Its main features were, a sort of Directory of five Princes, with the Austrian Emperor as President, superior to the *Bund;* a confederate tribunal and a national parliament, but of a very circumscribed sort, in which Prussia was sure to be outvoted. This, it was thought, if carried into effect, would tie Prussia's hands ; if she rejected it, she might be denounced as the enemy of German unity. Prussia steadily rejected the importunities of the minor Sovereigns to attend the meeting, and the project came to nothing.

Austria now changed her front. Count Rechberg, her Minister, determined on conciliating Prussia. This unexpected union of the two Powers staggered the middle States, neutralized the power of the Diet, and paralyzed the patriotic associations. But the *Nationalverein* had already abandoned the cause of Prussia on account of the defensive treaty which she had made with Russia (February 8th, 1863), on the breaking out of the Polish insurrection. The German democrats represented this treaty as an offensive one, and the *Nationalverein* resolved to abandon its former Gotha programme so long as Bismarck should be Minister. The Prussian Chamber displayed the most violent animosity towards the Ministry, and the historian, Von Sybel, took a leading part in the attacks upon it. The President of the Assembly sometimes prevented the Ministers from speaking, who declared that they would not again enter the House unless freedom of speech were guaranteed to them. And, supported by the King, they set at defiance the contumacious opposition of the Chamber.

The POLISH INSURRECTION just adverted to broke out at the beginning of 1863. Grave symptoms of discontent had manifested themselves in Poland a year or two before on the occasion of the police having interfered with an anniversary celebration of the Polish victory over the Russians at Grochow in 1831. Some lives were lost in the riot which ensued ; this rankled in the minds

of the Poles; a general mourning was adopted, even by the women, and other tokens of discontent were displayed. The insurrection came at a very inopportune moment for Russia. She was again looking after the "sick man's" property, and had been stirring up revolt in the Christian provinces of Turkey, which was to break out in 1863, but did not take effect. Great quantities of arms had been sent into Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia; the Herzegovina and Montenegro were in open insurrection; and in Greece the revolution was preparing which hurled Otho from the throne.[1] In these circumstances an attempt was made to conciliate the Poles. For this purpose the Emperor Alexander sent his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, to Warsaw, in June, 1862. Constantine had been recalled from his travels in the preceding year on account of some disturbances in Russia, and particularly at St. Petersburg. He was bold and energetic, and the partisan of a vigorous autocracy in Russia, which he thought alone compatible with its condition; but at the same time, by his travels in France and England, he had imbibed many of the liberal ideas of the time, and a taste for progress. He was accompanied to Warsaw by the Marquis Wielopolski, a native Pole, who was made chief of the Polish Council. Wielopolski entertained the impracticable idea of reconciling the Poles and Russians, and uniting them in the Panslavist interest.

In Russia itself much discontent existed, principally excited by the emancipation of the serfs, begun in 1857. Alexander II. has received great credit for his humanity in this measure, but it appears rather to have been dictated by policy, with a view to break the power of the nobles. The alliance of despotism with extreme democracy and the lowest classes of society is a fact that has been often illustrated in our own time. Alexander's principal design was to withdraw the serfs from the influence of their masters, the *boyars*, and place them under his own. The measure caused great discontent among the nobles and educated classes, who now saw no barrier between the throne and themselves. There were demands for a Constitution and a Parliament, and the discontent was manifested by incendiarism in most of the great towns, including St. Petersburg. Nor was the condition of the serf improved. He was still attached to the soil and to his *horde*, or community, which spared him less than the landed proprietor had done. Similar measures, with the like views, were contemplated for Poland.

The state of that country under Russian despotism may be in-

[1] February 16th, 1863. He was succeeded by George of Denmark in October.

ferred from the fact that in the first half of the year 1862, nearly 15,000 persons, or about one-fifth of the whole male population of Warsaw, had been thrown into the dungeons of that city. Count Andrew Zamoyski, selected to represent the national sentiments to the Czar, was seized, carried to St. Petersburg, and thence into exile. Alexander II. was for some time doubtful what course to pursue. There were two sets of counsellors. The old Russian, or Muscovite party, to which Prince Gortschakoff belonged, followed the traditional policy of the Emperor Nicholas, and was for mild and conciliatory measures, with certain reforms. On the other hand, the German, or "Young Russia" party, incited by Prussia, was for using the greatest severity. Their counsels prevailed, and war to revolutionists became the order of the day.

There can be no doubt that the Polish insurrection was purposely excited by Russia. The method adopted was an illegal conscription. Lists were made out of young men of the noble and burgher classes, the most troublesome to Russia, who were to be pressed into the army, while the peasants were left untouched. Thus one of two objects would be attained: either the disaffected would be rendered powerless, or, what was both more probable and more agreeable to Russian policy, a rebellion would ensue.

The measure was executed in the most brutal manner. On the night of January 15th, 1863, Warsaw seemed to be suddenly converted into a town taken by assault. The conscripts marked out by the police were seized in their beds; where they could not be found, their kinsmen, old men and boys, were dragged in their stead to the citadel. A few days after, the Russian official journal announced, with a cynical irony, that the conscription had been peaceably effected! Insult added to injury was too much for human nature to bear, and the insurrection sprung at once into life. Many marked for conscription had escaped into the country, and were soon joined by others from different quarters. Before the end of January the insurrection was regularly organized with a central anonymous committee at Warsaw.

We cannot enter into the details of this disastrous struggle, in which the Poles displayed the greatest heroism. The spirit which animated them is illustrated by a combat at Wengrow. The Polish main body having been defeated by a superior Russian force, a body of 200 youths, mostly nobles, to cover the retreat of their comrades, made a desperate charge up to the Russian guns, and were killed to a man. The warfare was of the guerilla kind. It was at first endeavoured to give the insurgents a more regular organization, and with this view, Langiewicz, who had served

under Garibaldi, was made Dictator. He collected some 12,000 men, and established his head-quarters at Radom. But he was interfered with by the Polish Committee in London, and by their *protégé* Microslawsky, who wanted the chief command, and thwarted all his plans. Langiewicz was defeated by the Russians, March 19th, and his army dispersed. He himself escaped into Galicia, and was favourably received by the Austrian authorities.

Austria at first ostensibly favoured the Poles. The Vienna and St. Petersburg Cabinets were at that time far from friendly. Austria suspected and feared the Russian plots to excite rebellion in Turkey, which could not but be prejudicial to her interests. Russia, the foremost advocate of passive and slavish obedience, scruples not, when it suits her plans, to foment rebellion among her neighbours. Bismarck had endeavoured to draw Austria on the side of Russia. The treaty with Russia before mentioned made the question a European one. It has not been published; but the chief feature of it seems to have been to allow the Russians to pursue the Poles into Prussian territory. When the Western Powers interfered, Bismarck attempted to disavow it; but practically it was carried into effect. The French people sympathized with the Poles; but the Germans, who were averse to them, stood like a wall between them and France. Napoleon III. was at that time well disposed towards the Czar, and unwilling to compromise one of the first of Continental alliances. He observed in his speech on opening the Chambers in November, that Alexander II. had faithfully supported him during the war in Italy and the annexation of Savoy and Nice. France, therefore, did not proceed beyond diplomatic action, in which she was joined by England and Austria. Lord John Russell drew up some pedantic notes in which he lectured Russia on the treaties of 1815. Those treaties had indeed secured for Poland many rights which might now be sought in vain—religious freedom, liberty of the press, equality before the law, the sole use of the Polish tongue in public affairs, the filling of all posts, both civil and military, by Poles alone, a national representation of two Chambers, and several more. But of all these they had been deprived after the extinction of their rebellion in 1831 (above, p. 409 sqq.), and to invoke them now was like calling spirits from the vasty deep. The Russians, of course, only laughed in their sleeves, and more especially, perhaps, at the appeals which the notes contained to Russian magnanimity and

clemency. Gortschakoff made a semi-serious reply. Austria cared little for the Poles. Her chief anxiety was for her province of Galicia, though probably she was not displeased with an opportunity to spite Russia. Gortschakoff's answer to her note was short and dry; to France he replied with protestations of goodwill, intermingled with sarcastic remarks about the dangers of revolutionary principles. In June the three Powers followed up their notes by a joint one, in which, on the suggestion of the English Cabinet, the following six points were laid down as the basis of a pacification:—1. A complete and general amnesty. 2. National representation. 3. Public offices to be filled by Poles. 4. Perfect religious liberty. 5. The Polish language to be the official one. 6. A legal system of recruiting. A suspension of arms was also demanded, and a Congress of the five great Powers to settle the matter. Gortschakoff replied that the Czar had already made concessions which were contemned by the Poles; asserted that the centre of the insurrection was to be sought in the revolutionary committees in London and Paris, and refused a suspension of arms. The suggestion of a conference was contemptuously met in the reply to Austria by a counter one for a conference of the three Powers which had divided Poland; thus intimating that the Western Powers had no business to interfere. Russia came victorious out of the diplomatic contest. She knew her own will, while the counsels of the three Powers were divided and irresolute. The French and English ambassadors at St. Petersburg let fall, indeed, some obscure threats, and on the 3rd of August the three Powers renewed their representations. But the season was now too far advanced for naval operations in the Baltic. Early next month Gortschakoff announced that the discussion was closed.

Meanwhile the war had proceeded with increased intensity. After the defeat of Langiewicz, the Central Committee gave up the idea of another Dictatorship, and guerilla warfare was resumed, for which the numerous woods afforded great facilities. It was marked by extreme barbarity on the part of the Russians. All Polish officers captured were shot or hanged. Towns and villages were burnt, their inhabitants massacred, prisoners put to death; rape, robbery, and murder were the order of the day. Several Russian officers committed suicide rather than carry out their barbarous instructions, among them Colonel Korf, who declared that he could not reconcile his orders with his duties as an officer and man of honour. In the midst of these horrors, the

Central Committee conducted its business with wonderful secrecy, under the very eyes of the Russian authorities. It exercised all the functions of a regular government, raised taxes, granted passports, and even passed sentences of death. Its commands were implicitly obeyed, though nobody knew whence they came. Once a treacherous workman betrayed to the Russians the chamber in which the proclamations and other papers of the Committee were printed. The house was surrounded, the chamber searched; only a large chest was found, and in it the corpse of the traitor!

The insurrection had been propagated in Lithuania and the Russo-Polish provinces, but not in those belonging to Austria and Prussia, for fear of bringing those Powers into the field. The mission of General Muravief into Lithuania with dictatorial power, was a sort of answer and defiance to the Western Powers. His methods were death or Siberia and confiscation. Immediately after his arrival he shot or hanged some of the chief landed proprietors of the province, as well as several priests and abbés. He emancipated the Lithuanian peasants, incited them against their masters, whose lands he promised them. He is computed to have driven at least a quarter of a million Lithuanians into the Steppes of Orenburg. His fury was particularly directed against women and priests; women, indeed, were the soul of the insurrection. Ladies of the best Polish families carried under their crinolines letters, newspapers, and other packets for the secret Committee. If suspected, they were stopped in the streets, stripped, searched, and subjected to the most brutal treatment. The schismatical Church of Russia has always displayed the utmost intolerance and hatred towards the Roman Catholics. The clergy were subjected to heavy contributions, and decimated by arrests. Within the year 183 priests were apprehended. Colonel Moller, Russian commandant in Wilkomir, said in a circular, "I attribute all the disturbances in Poland to the inclination of the Romish clergy for brigandage and rebellion, which is common to them with Pio IX. and his Cardinals." He compelled priests to march against the rebels with crucifixes in their hands, and told them that if they were shot he would procure their speedy canonization.

The Grand Duke Constantine, who had not acted with the expected vigour, quitted Warsaw in August. General De Berg now assumed dictatorial power, and imitated the example of Muravief at Wilna. He discovered some members of the secret government, hanged five of them, and condemned sixteen others,

including four ladies, to hard labour in the Siberian mines. The insurrection lasted through the winter; but enough has been said to show its character, and we shall pursue no further its disgusting details. Its whole course had been marked by many bloody fights, without any general engagement. Austria gave a death-blow to it, and at the same time reconciled herself with Russia, by proclaiming martial law in Galicia. One of the last brutalities of the Russians was the destruction of Ibiany, in the government of Kowno, in May, 1864, which had distinguished itself in the insurrection. The principal inhabitants were put to death, the rest were transported into remote provinces, and their lands distributed among *Rascolniks*, or old orthodox Russians, the town was razed, its very name effaced, and the new colony was called "Nicholas." By a decree of the Czar, March 2nd, 1864, the lands of the Polish nobles were given to the peasants, with only a nominal compensation. Polish officials who did not speak Russian were dismissed, and the Russian tongue was introduced into all schools. The children of the poor were forcibly baptized by Russian popes; the rich had to pay for the privilege of Catholic baptism. Muravief was rewarded by Alexander II. for his atrocities with the cross of St. Andrew! The same policy was pursued in subsequent years. In July, 1869, the Polish university of Warsaw was converted into a Russian one, and all lectures were to be in that tongue. Shopkeepers and innkeepers were forbidden to answer an address in Polish; the speaking of that language aloud in the streets was prohibited; nay, fathers and mothers were forbidden to teach it to their children! A German author has truly remarked, that though some of the tyrants of antiquity turned whole populations out of their lands and homes, and sent them into strange lands, there is no instance of their having deprived them of the use of their mother tongue.[1]

Thus Russia stamped out the Polish nation, regardless alike of treaties, of the rights of property, nay, of all feelings of humanity, and the plainest laws of civilized nations.

[1] Arnd, *Gesch. der Jahre*, 1867-1871, B. i. S. 352.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE attention of Europe was diverted from unhappy Poland by other scenes of injustice, though not of equal atrocity—the German war against Denmark, and mutilation of that kingdom. The Danish constitution of 1855 was a source of constant disputes with Germany, but we shall pass them over till the year 1863, when they were brought to a crisis. With the view of getting rid of German interference, Holstein, a member of the German *Bund*, was declared, by a Danish ordinance of March 23rd, to be autonomous and only personally united with Denmark. This measure, it was stated in the preamble, was in accordance with the demands of the German *Bund*, but not to be considered definitive. In fact, however, the Germans wanted something more. They desired that Schleswick, as well as Holstein, should be autonomous, and that the two duchies should be united; and they asserted that in thus separating their constitutions, it was the purpose of Denmark to annex Schleswick. Nor was this charge without some colour. In the preceding January the Danish States, or *Rigsdag*, had voted an address to the King that he should persist in his endeavours to draw Schleswick to Denmark, to which probably he was not disinclined. And the marriage of Alexandra, daughter of Christian of Glücksburg, who, by the Treaty of London, 1852, had been recognized as heir to the Danish throne, to the Prince of Wales (March 10th, 1863), may have encouraged the aspirations of the Danish court by the hopes of a strong alliance.

In the following August Austria and Prussia demanded that the Danish constitution of 1855 should be abrogated; that the project of a new constitution should be submitted to an assembly of the four Danish States, viz. Denmark proper, Schleswick, Holstein, and Lauenburg; and that all four assemblies should be on a footing of equality. A manifest injustice; since Lauenburg, with its population of 50,000 souls, would thus become equal to Denmark. And they further demanded that the mixed Danish

and German populations of Schleswick should be put on the same footing as before 1848.

Negotiations ensued which came to nothing. On the 1st October the *Bund* resolved on federal execution in Holstein, and Denmark was summoned to withdraw the March ordinance within a month. But Denmark was proceeding in a contrary direction. On the 13th of November the *Rigsraad* passed a law for a new Assembly, to consist of deputies from Denmark and Schleswick only, to the exclusion of Holstein and Lauenburg. This certainly tended to the incorporation of Schleswick, but was not actually such, as both States were to preserve their particular constitutions.

The question entered into a new phase by the death of the weak and incapable King Frederick VII., November 15th, only two days after the passing of the new law. He was succeeded by Christian IX., the Protocol King, as he was called, of the Treaty of London. But the duchies were claimed by Prince Frederick of Schleswick-Holstein Sonderburg Augustenburg, a major in the Prussian army, though, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 469), his father had renounced all claim to them, both for himself and children. But the Prince maintained that he was not bound by this renunciation; the Holsteiners recognized him, and the majority of the German *Bund* supported him. Austria and Prussia, which had signed the London Protocol, could not openly join this movement, so they affected the part of mediators. But the Prussian Parliament addressed the king to disregard the Protocol and recognize Augustenburg, who was also supported by the *Nationalverein*, the *Gross Deutschland Reformverein*, and the *Particularists*, as they were called, or opponents of unity, who wanted a *Triad*, and would have been glad to see another State added. The more outspoken Germans confessed that they were moved by interested views, for the Danish dominions contained some fine ports which they coveted.

Christian IX. being summoned by the *Bund* to withdraw the law of November 13th, requested time, as a constitutional sovereign, to assemble and consult the Danish *Rigsraad;* but this was unreasonably refused, and it was resolved to proceed to federal execution. Austria and Prussia, in a joint letter to the Diet, December 5th, stated that they could not violate the Treaty of London, "so long as they recognized its validity;" and as that Treaty protected Schleswick, they recommended the Diet to confine themselves to execution in Holstein, while they would

take the case of Schleswick into their own consideration. This unexpected agreement of the two great Powers excited much surprise, and at first sight, indeed, appears strange enough. But we have already seen that Austria, at this period governed by Count Rechberg, whom Bismarck had fascinated, was bent on conciliating Prussia. She wanted also to watch over and control Prussia, and to prevent her from enjoying alone the fruits of victory. On the other hand, though Prussian interests coincided with those of Germany, the democrats in the Prussian Parliament accused the Government of returning to the policy of Olmütz, and refused a grant for the war.

By order of the Diet, at the instigation of Austria and Prussia, 12,000 Saxon and Hanoverian troops, forming the army for federal execution, entered Holstein, December 23rd. This was a clear breach of the Treaty of London by the kings of Saxony and Hanover; for those sovereigns, as well as the King of Würtemberg, had acceded to the Treaty, though the German *Bund* had not. At the same time Austrian and Prussian troops were posted on the Danish frontier as a reserve. The Danes evacuated Holstein, by advice of the neutral Powers; Duke Frederick VIII., of Augustenburg, was proclaimed there, and joined the army of the *Bund* at Kiel. Prussia connived at this illegal proceeding, though Austria protested. Those Powers had now rejected the Treaty of London, which they had recognized at the beginning of December. On the 14th of January, 1864, they moved the Diet that Denmark should be required to suspend the November constitution within forty-eight hours, and that in case of refusal Schleswick should be occupied as a pledge. England and Russia advised the revocation, but Christian IX. again pleaded that he must await the sanction of his *Rigsraad*. Hereupon it was proposed by the neutral Powers that a Protocol should be made in the names of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, recording the intention of the Danish Government to make the required concession; but this was also refused by the German Powers, on the ground that if they should stop short after preparing to invade Schleswick, they would be exposed to disturbance and revolution in Germany. In short, they were already resolved to appropriate Schleswick. Bismarck, on being asked whether his Government still adhered to the Treaty of London, gave a vague and equivocating answer. The view in Berlin was that if Schleswick resisted it would lead to war, and that war put an end to treaties. So that a strong Power may release herself from her engagements

by making an unprovoked and unjustifiable aggression. For Bismarck himself had declared in the Prussian Chambers, in April, 1849, that the war then prosecuted against Denmark was a highly unjust, frivolous, and disastrous one, to support an entirely groundless revolution.[1]

The affairs of Denmark had long engaged the attention of the British Cabinet. Lord John Russell, then Foreign Minister, had protested, in 1860, against the interference of the Germans in Schleswick. In January, 1862, he had energetically reproved the proceedings of Prussia, but in the summer of that year he accompanied the Queen to Gotha, the centre of the German Schleswick-Holstein agitation, where his opinions seem to have undergone a change. In the autumn he charged the Danish Government with neglecting their engagements as to Schleswick, and proposed to them a new constitution, which would have tended to the dissolution of the monarchy. It is unnecessary to describe it, as Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, pronounced it impracticable. In the autumn of 1863, when matters threatened an open rupture, Lord Russell, who seems again to have changed his views, addressed notes to the Frankfort Diet, intimating, in a haughty tone, that Great Britain could not remain an indifferent spectator of German pretensions. On the 28th of December the English Cabinet sent a copy of the Treaty of London to the Frankfort Diet, and invited the European Powers to a Congress, to discuss the Danish question. France at once declined. Only a little before England had rejected Napoleon's proposal for a Congress about Polish affairs. That refusal was no doubt a wise one, for the French Emperor proposed to open up the Treaties of 1815, and consequently the whole state of Europe, which would have caused endless debate and confusion. But the abrupt style of the reply, which the French characterized as *brutal*, had given as much offence as the refusal itself. The conduct of France, however, throughout this Danish business was very equivocal, and the key of it must be sought in some disclosures made by Bismarck in 1870. Napoleon III. had formed the project of playing the same game with the Prussian Minister as he had done with Cavour, and of getting an accession of French territory by helping Prussia in the same way. With this view a Secret Treaty between France and Prussia had been drawn up by Count Benedetti, the

[1] ". . . ein höchst ungerechtes, frivoles und verderbliches Unternehmen, zur Unterstützung einer ganz unmotivirten Revolution."—*Rev. des Deux Mondes*, Sept. 15, 1868, p. 380.

French Minister, which Bismarck neither accepted nor positively rejected.[1] In fact, he played the political jilt, and led on Napoleon with false hopes till such a course no longer served his purposes. Thus Denmark, a little State of less than four million souls, was left alone face to face with her gigantic adversaries; for Russia, employed in stamping out the embers of the Polish revolt, naturally had no compunction for her, nay, may have even felt a secret satisfaction that the acts of the Germans afforded some countenance to her own conduct towards Poland.

Lord Russell renewed his applications to France in January, 1864, and proposed material aid, and at the same time he addressed threatening notes to the minor German Powers. Drouyn de l'Huys, the French Minister at War, contented himself in reply with recommending "benevolent" counsels at Vienna and Berlin. Von Beust, the Saxon Minister, told Lord Russell that no foreign Power had a right to interfere between the *Bund* and Holstein, one of its States; and that the threats he had used were only calculated to make a people mindful of its honour look with indifference on any consequences which might ensue from the performance of a duty.

The two great German Powers did not scruple to extend their operations beyond Holstein. The Prussian army, under General Wrangel, entered Schleswick, February 1st. By the 19th they had seized Kolding. To the remonstrances of the English Cabinet Bismarck replied, with cold and contemptuous insolence, that this had been done without orders, but nevertheless the occupation would be continued. The Danes had extended and strengthened the celebrated rampart called the *Dannevirke*, which stretched forty English miles from the mouth of the Schlei to Friedrichstadt, having the town of Schleswick for its centre. Behind this fortification the Danish army, 50,000 or 60,000 strong, under De Meza, was posted. The Prussians, under Gablenz, having been repulsed in an assault, it was determined to turn the position. Their right wing, under Prince Frederick Charles, took Eckernforde, crossed the Schlei at Arnis, and having thus gotten into De Meza's rear, he was forced to abandon the *Dannevirke*, with sixty guns, and retire by Flensborg to Düppel. For this unavoidable act he was superseded by General von Gerlach. Düppel, also a strong place, after a long and brave defence was taken by

[1] See Bismarck's own account in the *Tableau Historique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*, p. 385 sqq.

assault, April 18th. Meanwhile the Austrians had occupied the northern parts of Schleswick, and Duke Frederick was proclaimed there as he had been in Holstein.

In consequence of the German victories a Conference of the Great Powers had been summoned to meet at London, and was opened under the presidency of Lord John Russell, April 25th. Napoleon had insisted that the *Bund* should be represented, though it had been no party to the Treaty of London, and Von Beust was appointed to represent it. A month's truce was obtained, May 12th. Prussia required that the duchies should be separated from Denmark, leaving open the question of a personal union. As the Danes would not consent, Prussia joined Austria and Saxony in demanding the duchies for Duke Frederick of Augustenburg. Lord Russell now declared that, in order to satisfy Germany, it would be necessary to separate Holstein, Lauenburg, and the southern part of Schleswick from Denmark, and he proposed a line from the *Dannevirke* and the mouth of the Schlei, the rest of Denmark to be guaranteed by Europe. France assented, with the proviso that the Schleswickers should choose their own sovereign by a *plébiscite*, which was afterwards modified to a vote of the communities. Denmark accepted this line, but Austria and Prussia claimed a more northerly one, from Apenrade to Tondern, and on this point the Conference failed. Thus England tore up the Treaty of 1852, and agreed to the dismemberment of Denmark.

And now that the question was reduced to a strip of land containing some 125,000 or 130,000 souls, Lord Russell proposed to France that they should go to war to maintain the line he had laid down. Drouyn de l'Huys asked, very sensibly, whether, after suffering Denmark to be disintegrated, it would be worth while to go to war now for so trifling an object; and he observed that though only a naval demonstration was proposed, such a course affected France and England very differently, for the French frontier would be endangered, while England would run no risk of the sort. Was Lord Russell prepared to give France unlimited support? He seemed to think that a threat would suffice, but such a calculation might fail. Before the deplorable result of the Polish business, the authority of the two Powers had not been lowered, but now words without blows would be fatal to their dignity.[1] It must be allowed that this of itself was a sufficient and statesmanlike answer to the English proposal; but

[1] Despatch of Drouyn de l'Huys, *Annuaire*, t. xiii. App. p. 969.

France, as we have already mentioned, had also other secret motives for the policy she adopted.

Denmark had accepted a fortnight's prolongation of the armistice, although she had the best of the naval war, on the understanding that England would adhere to the line of demarcation which she had laid down. But Lord Russell, after he had failed in his application to France, proposed to refer it to arbitration! Bishop Monrad, President of the Lower House of the Danish *Rigsraad*, said in his place: "I cannot explain how this proposal was consistent with Earl Russell's promise."[1] It is indeed very difficult of explanation, except as a means of escaping from an embarrassing position.

The abortive Conference broke up June 25th, with a painful scene. Von Quaade, the Danish Plenipotentiary, reproached the English Ministers with abandoning Denmark after having encouraged her to resist. Lord Clarendon replied that England had promised nothing, which was no doubt literally true; yet all her conduct had been such as to inspire the Danes with the expectation that she would help them. It is a sad chapter in England's history. War is a dreadful thing and to be avoided if possible; even the doctrine of peace at any price is intelligible, if accepted with its consequences—isolation, contempt, at last probably absorption by some more warlike Power. But to be determined on peace, and yet to attempt dictation, is as absurd as it is dangerous. Mr. Cobden, the consistent representative of the Manchester school, applauded the policy of keeping aloof; but he complained that the want of sagacity of the Foreign Minister had exposed him to rebuffs and the country to humiliation. Apologists of the Ministry allege that the inaction of England was in a large measure due to the fact that English statesmen and public writers found, when they looked into the matter, that the Danes were substantially in the wrong.[2] If this be so, it makes the matter worse, for the Ministry must have been treating the subject some years without having looked into it; and in this happy state of ignorance they, at the very last moment, brought the country to the brink of a war about it! Perhaps a better apology for them may be, that they seem to have been embarrassed by the pacific policy of the Peelite section of the Cabinet, led by Mr. Gladstone. England, as a French writer observes, in spite of splendid budgets, was made bankrupt in reputation.[3] In the debates

[1] *Annual Register*, p. 233.
[2] Dr. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 426, note (ed. 1876).
[3] *Annuaire*, t. xiii. p. 382.

which ensued on the subject in Parliament, the Ministry were beaten in the Lords, and escaped in the Commons only by a majority of eighteen. We now return to the war.

The allies overran Jutland, but refrained from crossing over to Funen. Christian IX. was now compelled to sue for peace, and preliminaries were signed at Vienna, August 1st. Christian, as rightful heir, ceded Holstein and Schleswick to Austria and Prussia, yet at the London Conference they had demanded them for Duke Augustenburg! Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse-Darmstadt demanded that Schleswick should be incorporated with the German Confederation; but the claims of the *Bund* were contemptuously set aside. Austria and Prussia had used it as a stalking-horse, and permitted it to appear at the London Conference; but when the booty was to be divided the phantom disappeared. Bismarck, who has a fine talent for irony, instructed the Prussian Ambassador in London to express a hope that the British Government would recognize the moderation and placability of the two German Powers, which had no wish to dismember the ancient and venerable Danish monarchy, but merely to separate from it parts with which further union was impossible. Lord Russell condescended to answer this appeal, observing at the same time he should have preferred to be silent, which would indeed have been better. He despatched a very just and well-written remonstrance; at which of course Bismarck only laughed. On the 1st of December Austria and Prussia, in a joint note, summoned the *Bund* to withdraw from countries which belonged to them by right of conquest; and the Hanoverian and Saxon troops evacuated Holstein.

Thus the one-headed and two-headed eagles had seized their prey, but they were soon to quarrel about the division of the spoil. At first they held joint possession, and in January, 1865, they established in the town of Schleswick a Government in common for both duchies. But such a state of things could of course only be provisory. Austria, having little or no interest in those distant countries, would willingly have traded on the situation to get an extension of territory at the expense of Bavaria, and overtures were made to Bismarck to that effect; who, however, did not entertain them. He felt himself to be master of the situation. Austria feared to break with him. For, besides her internal troubles, she dreaded the resentment of Russia about the Polish business; the Venetian question threatened an alliance between Prussia and Italy, and the friendship of France was ill-

assured. Prussia soon began to show the cloven foot, but at first under modest pretensions. She only required to be put in possession of so much territory as would enable her to protect the coast and harbours. But for this purpose, the military system of the duchies must be an integral part of that of Prussia. She must have a military road through Holstein, and the soldiery must take an oath to King William I. The duchies were to be admitted into the *Zollverein*, from which Austria was excluded. Rendsborg was indeed to be a federal fortress, garrisoned by Austrians and Prussians; but, on the other hand, the important port of Kiel was to be exclusively Prussian. All this was virtually little less than annexation. Prussia indeed added that the Duke of Augustenburg, or any other Sovereign whom the *Bund* might prefer, should govern the duchies as independently as any other German Prince; another fine stroke of irony both for the Duke and the other German Princes!

Thus little account was taken of the people themselves in whose interests the conquest had been ostensibly made; and not only the Schleswickers but the Holsteiners also, began to regret their former connection with Denmark. In December, 1864, the inhabitants of Schleswick, in a farewell address to Christian IX., expressed their sorrow at being separated from "the mild rule of the Danish Kings."[1] The Prussians do not appear to have mitigated the acerbity of their political pretensions by conciliatory manners. When they entered Jutland they had not only amerced it in a heavy contribution and the supply of necessaries for the army, but also demanded luxuries for the officers, as wine, cigars, tobacco, &c. A kind of secret government under the Duke of Augustenburg was formed at Kiel, which was protected by Austria and supported by the German democrats with money as well as noisy demonstrations. But in the midst of the hubbub, Prussia quietly took possession of Kiel, March 24th, 1865.

Austria had begun to perceive that she was being made a cat's paw. The unpopularity of the Prussian Government seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for resisting their pretensions. The Prussian Lower House opposed all Bismarck's measures, refused to pay the costs of the Prussian victories, and assailed him with the coarsest personal abuse. A new Assembly followed the same course. Austria now supported in the Diet the Duke of Augustenburg; while Prussia brought forward the claims of the Duke

[1] The old song of "Schleswig-Holstein" was altered as follows:—

"Schleswig-Holstein stammverwandt,
Schmeisst die Preussen aus dem Land."

of Oldenburg, and even revived some obsolete ones of her own. Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse Darmstadt, moved the Diet that the question of a ruler should be decided by a general representative Assembly of the duchies freely elected. But, well aware that the public feeling there was averse to Prussia, Bismarck declared that he would adhere to the Treaty of Vienna, and that, if the States were convoked, they must do homage to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia. He perceived that Austria must again be hoodwinked. The King of Prussia met the Emperor of Austria at Bad Gastein, and after some negotiations the Convention of Gastein was effected, August 14th. It was nothing but a prolonged provisorium. Holstein was to be administered by Austria, Schleswick by Prussia, Lauenburg was made over to Prussia, she paying Austria 2½ millions Danish rix-dollars. Cheap! says a French writer;[1] being only fifty dollars a head. But though the Lauenburgers had consented to the transfer, it does not appear what right Austria had to sell them. The other articles were conformable to the Prussian demands already mentioned, except that Kiel was to be a federal port. The King of Prussia was invested with the sovereignty of Lauenburg at Ratzeburg, September 27th, on which occasion Bismarck was made a Count.

This Convention has been justly styled the Austrian Olmütz. It is said to have had secret articles, by which Austria was to have a slice of Bavaria if she remained true to the Prussian alliance. The allies let the Diet know that all future negotiations about Schleswick-Holstein would be conducted without their participation. The Duke of Augustenburg entered into some mean negotiations with the Prussian Government with the view of retaining his sovereignty. But Bismarck had obtained from the Prussian crown lawyers a decision that his right, if it had ever existed, was abrogated by the Peace of Vienna. Thus he had been by turns opposed, upheld, and deserted by Prussia, as it suited her views. Both the French and English Foreign Ministers denounced the Gastein Convention in unmeasured terms, the former calling it worthy of the darkest epochs of history. But to what purpose this scolding? The Convention was a natural consequence of French and English policy. The *Nationalverein* also protested, and the Frankfort Deputies branded the acts of Austria and Prussia as unworthy of civilized nations. It was at Gastein, while professing friendship to Austria, that Bismarck began his negotiations with Italy.

[1] Vilbort, *L'Œuvre de Bismark*, p. 86.

Austria was in a false position. She sought to circumvent Prussia by making herself popular in the duchies. Gablenz, her governor in Holstein, was much more loved than Manteuffel, the Prussian governor of Schleswick. With the same view she encouraged the pretensions of Augustenburg; though this was clearly contrary to the Treaty of Vienna and the Convention of Gastein, by which alone she had a footing in Holstein. And to prepare for the inevitable struggle—for it was evident that the present arrangements could not last—she began to set her own affairs in order.

The most material point was to conciliate the Hungarians. Francis Joseph went to Pesth in July, and as a pledge of his good intentions made some changes in the ministry. The unpopular imperial constitution was suspended by a decree of September 20th. At the reopening of the *Reichstag* in November, 1864, which had been intermitted during the Danish war, the Bohemians absented themselves, as well as the Hungarians and Croats. The empire was now divided into two portions east and west of the Leitha, Count Mailath being set over the former, and Count Belcredi over the latter. But this plan gave even less satisfaction than that which it superseded, and was opposed by all the provinces except Tyrol. The Hungarians addressed the Emperor for the restoration of their ancient constitution, with only a personal union; demands which he would not then concede. To conciliate the Venetians, a general amnesty was granted, and exiles were permitted to return (January 1st, 1866). The Italians looked on these concessions as a sign of weakness, for war between Austria and Prussia was beginning to appear inevitable.

It is hardly worth while to inquire which Power was the actual aggressor. Prussia appears to have opened the diplomatic correspondence which ended in war; but Austria gave the occasion for it. She had allowed a great popular meeting at Altona in favour of Augustenburg, which demanded the assembling of the Holstein States. Prussia regarded this as a traitorous act, and Bismarck addressed a note to Vienna (January 26th), in which he accused Austria of promoting demagogic anarchy and of being aggressive and revolutionary! Austria declared she would not be dictated to as to her government of Holstein. Bismarck had observed in the Diet in the preceding August that whoever had Schleswick must have Holstein also; and he carried out his policy of annexation amidst the most violent opposition from the Lower

Chamber, and in spite of the fears of the King and Court. So unpopular was he become with the democrats that an attempt was made on his life.

Both Powers began to arm. In the middle of March Austria sent large bodies of Hungarians into Bohemia on the pretext of disturbances there, and in a circular called on the minor States to prepare themselves for war. Prussia, on her side, armed the Silesian fortresses, and sounded the middle States whether they would be inclined to side with her. She found but few adherents among them. They were in favour of *particularismus*, and dreaded her absorbing tendencies and warlike propensities. Bismarck must therefore look abroad for allies. In the preceding summer he had made a commercial treaty between the *Zollverein* and Italy. While still negotiating with Austria he assured her, April 5th, that nothing was further from his intentions than an attack on Italy, and on the 8th he signed an alliance with Victor Emanuel! General Govone had arrived in Berlin in the middle of March to arrange it. But it had been concocted long before. In opening the new Italian legislature, November 18th, 1865, the King had hinted at an approaching change, which would permit Italy to complete her destinies. Bismarck now began to show his hand more openly. On April 9th, only a day after signing the Italian treaty, Prussia demanded in the Frankfort Diet a Parliament elected by universal suffrage to discuss federal reform.

In May, Napoleon III. renewed his secret negotiations with Prussia, proposing to help her with 300,000 men against Austria, and to procure for her additional territories comprising from six to eight million souls, in return for certain cessions on the Rhine. But Bismarck, fortified by the Italian alliance, thought that he might attain his ends without the help of France. He seems now to have definitely dismissed Napoleon's suit, and to have told him, like another male jilt of antiquity, "Haud hæc in fœdera veni." The history is somewhat obscure; but the French Emperor seems now to have turned his attentions towards Austria, and to have made a secret treaty with that Power, which, among other things, included the cession of Venetia to France.[1] Thus baffled by Prussia, Napoleon resorted to his familiar scheme of proposing a Conference of all the great Powers; but Austria would not con-

[1] This does not appear to have been published; but another, which Napoleon proposed to Austria in the following year, has been revealed. The main feature of it is, that after Prussia should have been defeated by France and Austria, the former should have Saarbrück, Saarlouis, and Saarburg; the latter, the southern part of Silesia.—*Tableau Historique*, p. 494.

sent to any discussion of boundaries, and so the project came to nothing.

More negotiations went on between Austria and Prussia, containing wonderful insults on both sides: "Very instructive," says Rüstow, "for populations that would learn something." Among these amenities was a circular of Bismarck's accusing Austria of provoking a war with a view to help her finances either by Prussian contributions or an honourable bankruptcy! This circular was occasioned by Austria having preferred in the Diet, June 1st, a string of accusations against Prussia; declaring at the same time that she was ready to submit the decision of the Schleswick-Holstein question to that assembly, and stating that she had directed the Governor of Holstein to summon the States, that so the wishes of the people might be known. Bismarck denied the competence of the Diet, as at present constituted, to decide the question, and denounced Austria's appeal to it, and the assembling of the Holstein States, as breaches of the Gastein Convention. In an extraordinary sitting of the Diet, June 11th, Austria, on her side, denounced Prussia as having violated that Convention, and demanded that the Federal Army, with the exception of the Prussian contingent, should be mobilized within a fortnight. Before the Diet had resolved on a definitive answer, Bismarck proposed to the different German Governments a scheme of federal reform, of which the principal features were that Austria and the Netherlands should be excluded from the *Bund*, and that the federal troops should be divided into a northern and a southern army, the first to be commanded by the King of Prussia, the second by the King of Bavaria. But the *coup de maître* was that the constitution of the new *Bund* was to be settled by a Parliament elected by universal suffrage! The Conservative Minister who had lately denounced the milder proceedings of Austria as democratic and anarchical, assumed the national cockade, adopted the programme of the *Nationalverein*, substituted for the vote of an Assembly of sovereign princes that of the populace, and proposed to make feudal William I., king by the grace of God, head of Germany, by the will of the people! Thus both Powers displayed the grossest inconsistencies. Bismarck, whilst advocating a democratic Constitution for Germany, showed at Berlin his contempt for the Prussian people and for the Parliament, refused to allow in the duchies any other right but that of conquest, and forbade the convening of the Holstein States to settle their own government; whilst Austria, which had ignored the *Bund*, in the

Treaties of Vienna and Gastein, now appealed to its decisions, and supported the pretensions of the Duke of Augustenburg, which she had repudiated in those treaties as well as in that of London!

Meanwhile matters were coming to a practical issue. Gablenz, the Austrian Governor of Holstein, called an assembly of the States for June 11th, whilst Manteuffel, the Prussian Governor of Schleswick, was directed, if such an assembly were summoned, to enter Holstein with his troops, supported by the Prussian fleet. Manteuffel invaded Holstein, June 8th, and the Austrians, being too weak to resist, retired through Hamburg and Harburg into Hanover. Augustenburg fled, and Prussia then appointed Von Scheel Plessen Governor of Schleswick-Holstein.

The definitive answer of the Diet to Austria's demand for mobilization was given June 14th, when there appeared to be nine votes for Austria and six for Prussia. Those for Prussia were the Netherlands, all the free towns except Frankfort, and the rest were minor duchies. Hereupon the Prussian envoy, after stating his case against Austria, declared the *Bund* dissolved, and signifying Prussia's readiness to form a new *Bund* with States so inclined, left the Assembly. Such was the end of the Confederation of 1815. Next day the war broke out. Prussia sent her ultimatum to Saxony, Hanover, and Electoral Hesse, which had voted against her, giving them twelve hours to answer; and as her proposals were not accepted, war was declared. There was no formal declaration of war against Austria.

Austria had regarded Prussia with contempt; such also was the feeling in France, and perhaps throughout Europe. The Prussian army was looked upon as a mere *Landwehr*, or militia, totally unfit for offensive warfare. But Bismarck had long been preparing for the conflict. In spite of persistent parliamentary opposition, Prussia had a fund of thirty million thalers in specie to begin the war. Every other preparation had been carefully made. The service of the railroads and telegraphs had been completely organized. The troops were armed with the new needle-gun, which enabled them to fire four or five times for the enemy's once. Accurate maps had been made of the future theatre of war, which were in possession of all the officers; so that a Frenchman who accompanied the Prussian army describes them as manœuvring on the enemy's territory as on a parade ground.[1] The Prussian railways were more numerous and convenient than the Austrian. Add that the Prussian troops were concentrated, while

[1] Vilbort, *L'Œuvre de Bismark*, p. 146.

the Austrians were scattered; that they consisted wholly of Germans animated with patriotism, whilst the Austrian army was for the greater part composed of Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians, Croats, &c., many of whom served unwillingly. For the sake of security the various regiments had been intermixed, though none of the privates and few of the officers could understand one another. Nothing had been done to improve the army, which was on the old and obsolete footing, though the artillery was the finest in Europe. Austria, too, as Bismarck was well aware, was ill prepared, and embarrassed by financial and other difficulties. She had sent 164,000 of her best troops to defend Venetia, and the Italians had delared war almost simultaneously with Prussia.

A fortnight after mobilization had been ordered, Prussia had 326,000 men under arms. Of the extraordinary campaign which followed, the military reader will, of course, seek the details in the proper authorities;[1] we can here give only the general outlines. Some 60,000 men, under Von Falkenstein, were to act in Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces against the hostile States of the Confederation. The remainder of the troops, with 900 guns, under the command in chief of the King, was to be employed in Bohemia. It was in three divisions: one, under the Prince Royal, was posted in Silesia; the other two, under Prince Frederick Charles and General Herwarth, were to enter Bohemia through Saxony, and, marching eastwards, to form a junction with the Prince Royal. The whole campaign was conducted by Von Moltke. The Prussian problem was to insure the communication between their forces in the east and west, to circumscribe the two theatres of operations, and to prevent the Bavarians from forming a junction with the Austrians. The Austrian army, consisting, including the Saxons, of 240,000 men, under Field-Marshal Benedek, stretched from Cracow to Prague, through Prerau, Olmütz, and Pardubitz.

We will first cast a glance at the operations in the west. Falkenstein seized Cassel and the Elector himself, who was carried to Stettin, June 24th, while the electoral army retired to Fulda. Hanover, with its territory, was next occupied; blind King George, with his army of about 18,000 men, retreating by way of Gotha and Eisenach, with a view to join the Bavarians. Falkenstein, reinforced by Manteuffel and his Prussians from Holstein, after some manœuvring and a bloody battle at Langensalza, surrounded

[1] See especially Rüstow, *Der Krieg von* 1866.

the Hanovarians at Warza, June 29th, and obliged them to capitulate. King George was allowed to retire whither he pleased except into his own dominions; his troops were disarmed and sent home. Thus the Prussian communications were established, and the coalition disorganized.

In the east the Prussians, under Herwarth, entered Saxony, June 16th, when the Saxon army evacuated that country and joined the Austrians in Bohemia. By the 20th all Saxony was in the hands of the Prussians, and Dresden occupied by a reserve brought from Berlin. Meanwhile Benedek had remained inactive. He expected that the main attack would be from Silesia, and that only a demonstration would be made from Saxony, so he fixed his head-quarters at Josefstadt, where he was within easy march of the Silesian frontier. This mistake was fatal. To arrest the Prussian march from Saxony he had posted Clam Gallas, with only about 60,000 men, including the Saxons, at Munchengrätz, who, thus isolated, was exposed to the main Prussian force.

The Prince Royal, having the difficult task of bearing the brunt of the Austrian attack on defiling through the passes of Silesia, waited till the other two armies had entered Bohemia. These were to march to the Iser, while the Silesian army followed the right bank of the Upper Elbe; then, by a converging march on Gitschin and Königshof, the united force was to direct itself on Vienna, by Pardubitz and Brünn. The armies of Prince Frederick Charles and Herwarth entered Bohemia by Gabel and Reichenberg, both directing themselves on Munchengrätz. After one or two fights, especially at Podol, where the Austrians were literally mowed down, the two armies formed a junction. Clam Gallas, threatened by a superior force, retired from Munchengrätz towards Gitschen, but being defeated in a sanguinary battle, retreated to Königgrätz.

Benedek now saw his mistake, and resolved to recover the line of the Iser. But this design was arrested by the movements of the Prince Royal, who, having discovered Benedek's plan, after a demonstration at Neisse, entered Bohemia in three colums; the right by Landshut and Trautenau, the centre by Wunschelburg and Braunau, the left by Reinerz and Nachod. Benedek's danger now stared him in the face; yet he did nothing effectual to check the Prussian advance, and contented himself with taking up a strong position at Königinhof.

After some sanguinary battles, especially at Nachod, the Sile-

sian army forced the passes, and, advancing on Königinhof, drove the Austrians from it, June 29th. On the same day Clam Gallas was compelled to evacuate Gitschin. In the evening the armies of the Prince Royal and of Prince Frederick Charles formed a junction on the Upper Elbe. Herwarth also came up, and the three united armies formed a line of battle of three leagues, facing that part of the Elbe which runs from Josefstadt to Königgrätz. Benedek had concentrated his troops before the latter place. A great battle was now inevitable. The King of Prussia had arrived, and fixed his head-quarters at Gitschin. On the 2nd of July was fought the BATTLE OF SADOWA. The Austrians were completely defeated, and fled towards the Elbe; the bridges sufficed not for their passage; thousands were drowned, while the Prussian artillery, playing on them from the heights, destroyed thousands more. King William and Bismarck, as a *landwehr* cuirassier, personally took part in the battle. The Austrians lost 4,861 killed, 13,920 wounded, about 20,000 prisoners, 7 colours, and 160 guns. The Prussian loss was not much more than half that number. Benedek retreated, first to Olmütz, then to Presburg, followed by the Prince Royal. Gablenz's corps and the Austrian cavalry retreated towards Vienna by Brün, pursued by the other two Prussian armies.

The Archduke Albert, the victor of Custozza, had been hastily recalled from Italy to take command of all the Austrian forces, which he stationed on the left bank of the Danube. By the 18th of July the King of Prussia had advanced his head-quarters to Nikolsburg, within ten miles of Vienna; so much had the Prussians achieved in twenty-five days after entering Bohemia. The French Emperor had offered his mediation, which was accepted on condition of an armistice, during which the preliminaries of a peace should be arranged. These were signed at Nikolsburg, July 26th, on the following bases: Austria was to leave the German Confederation, to recognize Prussia's acquisitions in the North, and the new constitution which she meant to propose for the *Bund;* but she consented to no cessions, except Venetia, and required that Saxony, the only State that had given her any material aid, should be restored in her integrity. Prussia undertook that Italy should adhere to the peace, after she was put in possession of Venetia.

Meanwhile in the West, Falkenstein, after defeating the Bavarians and Hessians in several little battles, entered Frankfort, July 16th, which Prince Alexander of Hesse had abandoned.

Falkenstein took possession of this ancient city, as well as of Nassau and Upper Hesse, in the name of King William I. The Prussians had long owed the Frankforters a grudge; the rich bankers and merchants of the free city had been used to speak with contempt of the poverty-stricken squireens of the North. The Prussian exactions were terrible, and made in the most arrogant and brutal manner. They were repeated by Manteuffel, who succeeded Falkenstein at Frankfort. The burgomaster is said to have committed suicide. Manteuffel continued the war, and defeated the Bavarians on the Tauber, July 25th. On the 27th Marienberg was attacked, and the citadel blown up. The Prussians had also achieved other successes in this quarter, and before they heard of the armistice, were in possession of Darmstadt, and had entered Würtemberg.

The definitive Peace of Prague, signed August 23rd, confirmed the preliminaries of Nikolsburg. Besides the articles mentioned, the Emperor of Austria transferred to the King of Prussia his claims on Schleswick-Holstein, with the reserve that the inhabitants of North Schleswick were to be retransferred to Denmark if they expressed such a wish by a free vote. Prussia confirmed the existence of the Kingdom of Saxony, but it was to belong to the new Northern *Bund*, on conditions to be arranged by special treaty. The clause respecting the retransfer of the North-Schleswickers, as well as the imaginary division of Germany into two parts, north and south of the Main, appear to have been inserted in the preliminaries through the French mediation. But Bismarck ultimately evaded the execution of the retransfer, and in the negotiations with Denmark on the subject, maintained that he was not bound to her, as she had not signed the Treaty of Prague, but solely to Austria!

Bismarck had received the plenipotentiaries of the Middle States with great *hauteur* at Nikolsburg. He would treat with them only separately. With Von Beust, the Saxon Minister, who was highly disagreeable to the Prussian Court, Bismarck would not treat at all, and he was obliged to resign. The Prussian treaty with Saxony left her little more than a geographical integrity and a nominal autonomy. Prussia was to direct her military organization; the Saxon garrisons were to be of mixed troops, but that of Königstein entirely Prussian. Saxon diplomacy at foreign courts was also to be placed under Prussian control. She, as well as Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse, had to pay heavy indemnities. Bavaria had also to cede districts near Orb in the

Spessart and Kaulsdorf, and an *enclave* near Ziegenrück. Hesse Darmstadt ceded the landgraviate of Hesse Homburg, with pieces of territory to complete Prussian communications with Wetzler. The districts of Hesse Cassel, north of the Main, were to form part of the new northern Confederation.

Ad interim treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, were signed between Prussia and the States that were to form the new Northern *Bund*, till its constitution should be definitely settled. A Congress for that purpose was opened at Berlin, December 15th, and the new federal Pact was signed, February 8th, 1867. The subscribing States were, besides Prussia and Lauenburg, Saxony, Mecklenburg Schwerin, Mecklenburg Strelitz, Saxe Weimar, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Saxe Meiningen, Saxe Altenburg, Saxe Coburg Gotha, Anhalt, Schwarzburg, Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg Sondershausen, Waldeck, the two Reuss, Schaumburg Lippe, Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, and Grand Ducal Hesse north of the Main; Luxembourg and Limburg were left out. Saxony, the only State likely to offer opposition, was militarily occupied by Prussia, and King John came to see his new ally at Berlin. The States of the Confederation retained their domestic autonomy; but, for federal purposes, such as military organization and imposts, they were subject to the decision of the Diet, or Parliament. The legislative power was vested in that body, and a federal Council composed of representatives from the different States. The number of votes in the Council was forty-three, of which Prussia had seventeen, or more than a third. The King of Prussia, as President of the Council, had the executive power, and also commanded the army of the *Bund*. Bismarck was made its Chancellor.

Prussia also sought to extend her influence over the southern States, and alarmed them into treaties with her by representing the probable demands of France, who had, indeed, shown her teeth. Secret offensive and defensive treaties were signed with Baden, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, for the reciprocal guarantee of territories, and in case of war, Prussia was to have the command of their armies. They were also bound to her by the *Zollverein*.

The results of the war for Prussia were the undivided hegemony of North Germany, her supremacy throughout the nation by the overthrow of Austria and her exclusion from the Confederation, the military command of South Germany, and the ground laid for future economical direction. The material advantages

were the annexation of Schleswick-Holstein, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, Frankfort, and some minor territories, increasing her population to 24,000,000, to which must be added, in a military point of view, 5,000,000 in the northern *Bund*, and about 9,000,000 in the southern States belonging to the *Zollverein*. Her territory was rendered more coherent and compact; she had received 60,000,000 thalers in indemnities, and she had obtained possession of military ports, which rendered maritime development possible. King William gained some popularity by soliciting from the Prussian Parliament a Bill of Indemnity for the unconstitutional measures he had adopted, to insure his success and Prussia's aggrandizement.

The first parliament under the new federal constitution was opened September 10th, 1867. Seven permanent committees were appointed for the affairs of the Confederation, such as war, finance, justice, &c. As regards military arrangements, every citizen from the age of seventeen to forty-two was subject to serve in the army. This was divided into three bodies—the standing army, the *Landwehr*, and the *Landsturm*. The army is recruited by conscription, from which there is no exemption. Conscripts, and those voluntarily enlisted serve seven years in the standing army, viz., three with the colours and four in the reserve. They then pass into the *Landwehr* for five years, and afterwards into the *Landsturm*, till they attain the age of forty-two. In time of war the *Landwehr* may be called out for active service; the *Landsturm* only in case of national danger. The total force was computed at 300,000 for the standing army, 450,000 for the *Landwehr*, and 360,000 for the *Landsturm*. The armies of the southern States were estimated at 150,000 men in active service, and 42,000 *Landwehr*. As the total force was under the command of the King of Prussia, and as the southern States were members of the *Zollverein*, all Germany may be said to have been *Prussianized*.

Thus Napoleon III., baffled, if not deluded, saw by the sudden and unexpected success of Prussia, Germany reconstructed against his will, as he had seen Italy before. When, after the rupture between Austria and Prussia, Napoleon III. changed his secret alliance with Prussia for one with Austria, his plan[1] was to look on till some decisive victories, which were expected to be on the side of Austria, should threaten the European equilibrium, when,

[1] As explained in his letter to M. Drouyn de l'Huys, June 11th, 1866, cited by Klaczko, *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, Oct. 1, 1868, p. 528 sq.

at the proper moment, he would intervene, and recast the German Confederation. His "ideas" were to take Silesia from Prussia, and give it to Austria, in return for Venice, ceded to Italy. In compensation for Silesia and the Catholic provinces of the Rhine, which would, of course, become French, Prussia was to receive large Protestant territories on the Elbe and Baltic, by which she would become more compact, and a bulwark against Russia. The combination, says Klaczko,[1] was profound and vast; it had only one fault, but that was a fatal one—it did not contemplate the possibility of a Prussian victory. It was to be achieved by moral force, without drawing sword. Had Napoleon placed 100,000 men on the Rhine, Prussia's scheme might have been modified, if not overthrown. But the whole thing was too sudden for much reflection, and he had confidently relied on Austria being victorious. Baffled in his main scheme, Napoleon wanted at least to get something, however small; and having, it is said, made some secret demands at Berlin, which were not attended to, he cast his eyes on Luxembourg. He was ready to buy it from the King of the Netherlands, who, on his side, was willing to sell, and get quit of the German Confederation. Austria, England, and Russia intervened, and a treaty was signed at London, by which Luxembourg was neutralized. Thus ended an affair which at first threatened to disturb the peace of Europe.

Napoleon had just experienced another mortification in the failure of his designs upon Mexico. France, England, and Spain had, in 1862, despatched a joint expedition to Mexico to obtain satisfaction for insults and injuries committed not only on their subjects, but even on diplomatic agents, by Juarez, President of the Mexican Republic. England and Spain soon withdrew after obtaining what they considered satisfactory amends. But Napoleon had formed the chimerical project of establishing in those parts a nation of Latin race, as rivals of the Anglo-Americans, and continued the war. In 1864, Mexico, with the title of Emperor, was offered to, and accepted by the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, and a French army of 25,000 men was sent to support him, which took possession of the capital. But quarrels soon arose between Maximilian and his protectors; the Americans, quit of civil war, began to show hostility towards the new State; public opinion in France pronounced itself against this distant, expensive, and ill-judged enterprise, and in 1866 Napoleon recalled his troops.

[1] *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, Oct. 1, 1868, p. 555.

Austria, taught wisdom by misfortune, granted to Hungary, in 1867, the constitutional independence she had so long demanded. The reconciliation appeared to be complete, and on the 8th of June Francis Joseph, after swearing to maintain the ancient Hungarian Constitution, was crowned in the cathedral of Buda with the crown of St. Stephen. At the same time a separate ministry was constituted for Hungary under the presidency of Count Andrassy. These measures, the work of Von Beust, the *çi-devant* Saxon Minister, who had succeeded to the place of Belcredi in the Austrian councils, were accompanied with reforms in the western, or Cis-leithan, provinces of the Empire, and with changes in the method of administration to suit the altered circumstances.

It is now time to revert to the affairs of Italy. As soon as the Prussian alliance was completed, preparations were made for immediate war. The King, with La Marmora at his side, took the command in chief; Garibaldi was at the head of the irregular forces, which flocked to him in great numbers. Napoleon III. called upon the Italians to disarm, but did not press his objection, and contented himself with declaring that Italy must take the consequences of her act. La Marmora felt secure. The Milanese was in a manner guaranteed by France, and by the Prussian Treaty both Powers had engaged not to make a separate peace. Hence Italy felt bound to decline the secret offer of Austria before the war broke out to cede Venetia to her if she would renounce the Prussian alliance.

Victor Emanuel passed the Mincio, June 23rd, 1866. Cialdini was to cross the Po, and operate in the rear of the quadrilateral; Garibaldi was to seize the Trentino, while Persano, with the fleet, threatened Venice. Before these diversions were effected, General Durando, with only five divisions, ventured a front attack, was easily defeated by the Archduke Albert at Custozza, June 24th, and compelled to recross the Mincio. Garibaldi had also been checked at Monte Suello, in Tyrol. But Austria, as before related, now recalled her army from Italy, and ceded Venetia to Napoleon III. The Italians would willingly have done something to retrieve their military honour. After the withdrawal of the Archduke, the Austrians retired into the fortresses of the quadrilateral, when Cialdini overran Venetia without meeting an enemy, and occupied Rovigo and Padua. Persano was defeated off Lissa by the Austrian admiral, Tegethof, with a much smaller force; for which Persano was deprived of his rank. The Italians now accepted the

armistice arranged at Nikolsburg. Cialdini was directed to retire behind the Tagliamento, and Garibaldi was obliged to evacuate the Trentino. A clamour was raised against the ministry, and La Marmora found it necessary to resign.

After the Peace of Prague Marshal Lebœuf took possession of Venetia in the name of Napoleon III. The PEACE OF VIENNA between Italy and Austria was signed October 3rd. Austria restored the ancient iron crown of Lombardy; Italy, at the dictation of France, abandoned the Trentino. According to the favourite practice of the French Emperor, the Venetians were to decide by a *plébiscite* for annexation to Italy; and the Italians had to endure the humiliation of withdrawing their troops lest they should influence the votes. Annexation was voted almost unanimously, October 22nd.

Ricasoli, who succeeded La Marmora, governed with moderation. He was not a rabid enemy of the Church, but he was for utilizing Church property and suppressing convents. A law for that purpose excited a revolt in Sicily, chiefly led by the Benedictines, who possessed many rich convents in that island. The rising, however, was soon put down. Ricasoli was overthrown for having attempted to suppress public meetings, and was succeeded by the more violent Ratazzi. This minister carried out his predecessor's plans with respect to the Church. It was decided, July, 1867, that ecclesiastical property should be sold, and the produce administered by the State, the clergy receiving a fixed salary. The property of the Church in Italy was estimated at 2,000 million francs (about £80,000,000 sterling); out of the proceeds were to be compensated some 5,000 monks, distributed in 1,724 convents.

Ratazzi indulged in some underhand attempts to get possession of Rome. Agreeably to the Convention of September 15th, 1864 (*supra*, p. 503), the French garrison had been withdrawn from Rome before the end of 1866; but their place had in some degree been supplied by what was called the Antibes Legion, which had been raised for the Pope's protection. This was virtually a violation of the Convention; for the Legion was mostly composed of Frenchmen, who retained their position in the French army. They were, however, ill-content with the service and the climate, and desertion became frequent. General Dumont, a bigoted Papist, who had formed the Legion, was sent to Rome to restore order, when, putting on the French uniform, he made an harangue to the soldiers, interlarded with abuse of the Italian Government.

Ratazzi did not openly respond to the call of the Chambers to repulse foreign intervention at all risks, but he winked at the assembling of insurrectionary committees, and did not sufficiently provide for the safety of the Pope. Garibaldi appeared once more on the scene, organized a rising at Geneva, and had got as far as Arezzo on his way to Rome when Ratazzi caused him to be arrested. He was sent to Alexandria, where the garrison gave him an ovation; while at Florence the streets resounded with cries of "Death to Ratazzi!" who was obliged to shut himself up in his house. Garibaldi was dismissed to Caprera. When the French Government remonstrated against his conduct, he made many false and evasive replies. A few of the insurgents, among them Garibaldi's son Menotti, entered the Papal States, but were easily repulsed by the Pope's troops.

Some more indirect attempts of Ratazzi against Rome, by permitting Italian troops to cross the frontier in contravention of the understanding with France, led to such serious remonstrances from Napoleon that Ratazzi was dismissed, and General Menabrea became Minister, with a Cabinet more agreeable to the Emperor. Meanwhile Garibaldi had again escaped, and Napoleon, advised of the anxiety of Pio Nono and Cardinal Antonelli, ordered his fleet to proceed to Cività Vecchia. Garibaldi was favourably received in the places on his line of march; the Papal colours were pulled down, and the Italian ones substituted. He defeated the Pontifical troops at Monte Rotondo (October 25th), which commands Rome on the north; but before he could enter it French troops had arrived from Cività Vecchia, who joined the Papal troops in pursuit of the now retreating Garibaldi, and inflicted on him a severe defeat at Mentana. Garibaldi, on gaining Italian territory, surrendered himself to General Ricotti; and after a few weeks' detention, he was again dismissed to Caprera.

The affair at Mentana converted the cooling sympathies of the Italians for France into hatred. The French, indeed, evacuated Rome, but only retired to Cività Vecchia, as if to secure a constant entrance. But the time was fast approaching when Rome, like a ripe pear, would fall of itself into Victor Emanuel's mouth. Italy was still full of disorder. There were many conspiracies and risings of Red Republicans and clerical and Bourbon reactionaries. The state of the finances necessitated increased taxation; payment was in some cases resisted, and had to be enforced by the military.

Italian history presents nothing more of importance till the

breaking out of the war between France and Prussia, and the overthrow of Napoleon in 1870, which we shall presently have to relate. Italy declared her neutrality, July 24th, and the Government, foreseeing that the war must have a decisive effect on the Roman question, concentrated troops on the Papal frontier. The French, having need of their troops at Cività Vecchia, withdrew them in August; and after their fatal defeat at Gravelotte, Victor Emanuel notified to Pio IX. that his army must enter the pontifical dominions to preserve order and protect the Pope himself against revolutionists. The advance of the Italians, under General Cadorna, was opposed only in a few skirmishes. When they arrived at Rome, the garrison was summoned. As the reply was not prompt, a few breaches were made in the walls, when the Pope ordered a surrender, and the Italians entered Rome, September 20th. The people voted annexation to Italy by a great majority, October 2nd. Pio IX. fulminated the major excommunication, but without naming the King. He had in vain applied to Austria and Spain. The latter country had just accepted a sovereign of his opponent's family.

The destruction of the Pope's temporal rule passed almost unnoticed, overshadowed by the portentous struggle in France. A new parliament, including deputies from the Papal States, voted their incorporation with Italy, December 29th, and the removal of the seat of government to Rome was fixed for the following June. As if to compensate the Pope for the loss of his temporal power, a great addition was made about this time to his spiritual dignity. A General Council, the last since that of Trent, voted the Pope's infallibility by a large majority, July 13th, 1870. The idea seems to have been suggested by some Jesuits. It had often been debated whether a Pope or a Council were superior. To accept infallibility at the hands of a Council seemed an acknowledgment of its superiority; but to this it was replied, in a way which savoured of the Council's origin, that it was not called to confer infallibility, but merely to declare it. The decree was opposed by many foreign bishops, some of them the most strenuous upholders of the temporal power, as Monseigneur Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, and the Austrian Dr. Döllinger.

The war between France and Prussia is connected with the affairs of Spain, which we must briefly retrace. The recent history of that country consists mostly of domestic dissensions, and those of an ignoble kind. There were, indeed, many parties, as the Pan-liberals, the Progresistas, the Democrats or Republicans, the

Moderados, the Clerical party, &c.; but all, with the exception of the Republicans, who were few in number and without influence, disputed only about the choice of a sovereign or a minister. There were many sudden revolutions, led by military men, but none for any great principle. Centuries of bigotry and clerical rule, the result of Philip II.'s policy and of the Inquisition, had extinguished all public opinion, every noble aspiration; hence their endurance of Isabella II., a woman abandoned to the shameless indulgence of sensuality.

But though Isabella was nominally sovereign, she did not reign; that was the function of her Prime Ministers, and hence a continual struggle for the post. O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuan, of Irish descent, was the best of these mayors of the palace. Ostensibly of the Pan-liberal party, he made one of his own out of the rest. Arrived at power in 1854 through Espartero, whom he ousted, he was in turn driven out by Narvaez, but regained his post in 1858, and retained it till 1863. His fall was occasioned by the withdrawal of Spain from the Mexican expedition, which displeased Napoleon III. He was succeeded for a short time by Miraflores, and then by Narvaez, whose reactionary policy caused O'Donnell's recall in 1865. Isabella's favourite at this time was Marfori, a domestic of the palace, and she, like her mother, sent large sums abroad to support the fruits of her illicit connections.

One of O'Donnell's first acts after returning to power was, as already mentioned, to recognize Italy, thus throwing over the queen's kinsmen, the sovereigns of Naples and Parma, and insulting the Pope. O'Donnell was not liked at Court, and having made himself unpopular by many executions after a foolish insurrection at Madrid, Narvaez again seized the helm in July, 1866. His policy was retrograde. By a *coup d'état*, December 30th, he dissolved the Cortes, arrested 123 Members, and caused the President, Rosas, and thirty-five others to be transported.

Narvaez died suddenly in April, 1868, and was succeeded by Gonzales Bravo, also an Absolutist. O'Donnell had also died suddenly at Biarritz, in November, 1867. Bravo transported several military chiefs, including Marshal Serrano; but he, as well as the Queen, were soon overthrown. In September, 1868, Admiral Tapete had prepared an insurrection at Cadiz, where he was joined by Prim. Their programme was the sovereignty of the people. Serrano and other banished generals contrived to return, and proclaimed universal suffrage as the panacea for Spain's ills. Revolutionary juntas were established in several towns; that at

Seville first demanded the fall of the reigning dynasty. Isabella, then at St. Sebastian, dismissed Bravo, who fled to France, and appointed General Concha in his place. But the Royalists were defeated by Serrano at the bridge of Alcolea, on the Guadalquiver, and a Provisional Government was established at Madrid, with Serrano at its head, and Prim Minister at War. Barcelona, Saragossa, and other towns rose against the Queen, who fled to France. Napoleon III. lent her the château of Pau, but declared himself neutral. A new constitution was promulgated in June, 1869, and Serrano was elected Regent. He expelled the Jesuits, dissolved many religious communities, and proclaimed liberty of conscience; but the Pope's Nuncio still remained at Madrid, with a Spanish stipend.

The problem was, to find a candidate for the throne; for Serrano and his party had no notion of a Republic. Don Carlos, the rightful heir, had been defeated, in 1860, in an attempt to regain the crown, and compelled to renounce it by an oath. In 1865 arose what was called the "Iberian" party, which wished to unite the whole Iberian peninsula under Dom Luis, King of Portugal; but the Portuguese were averse to such a union, and Luis declined the offer. After the renunciation of Don Carlos, Don John, his younger brother, had claimed the crown; and when Isabella fled, he transferred his pretensions to his son, Don Carlos, Duke of Madrid, who was proclaimed by his party as Charles VII. But he found few adherents. The Duke of Montpensier, Isabella's brother-in-law, proposed by some, was not approved of by the victorious generals. Espartero declined the proffered crown. It was then offered to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, and his acceptance of it, though afterwards withdrawn, occasioned the fatal war between France and Prussia, under circumstances to be presently related. During that war Spain declared her neutrality, and was one of the first Powers to recognize the French Republic, by which it was followed. At length, in November, 1870, the Cortes elected the Duke of Aosta, second son of Victor Emanuel, who assumed the crown he had once refused, and with it the title of Amadeo I.

The Franco-German war of 1870 was the result of Napoleon III.'s political situation. The events of the year 1866 had occasioned great discontent in France. A strong opposition, led by M. Thiers and M. Jules Favre, made damaging attacks upon the imperial government. It was charged with dangers incurred abroad from the establishment of Italian unity and of the North

German Confederation, which were attributed to Napoleon's undecided policy, and to the principle of substituting nationalities for the ancient theory of the balance of power. Other grounds of complaint were the abortive mediations in Poland and Denmark, and between Italy and the Pope; the congresses so often proposed in vain; the frustration of the Mexican business, and of the designs upon Belgium and Luxembourg; the meddling with Eastern policy, and the net of intrigues all over the world. At home was objected the glaring contradiction between theory and practice. Napoleon was become so despotic that for some time he would not allow the debates to be published. The finances were in the greatest disorder, yet 900 million francs had been spent in reconstructing and embellishing Paris. Personally the Emperor had lost much of his former energy, owing probably to his bad state of health. It was evident that personal rule could not last much longer, and that even a successful war, though it might check, could not avert its fall.

The years 1867 and 1868, however, passed over without any very striking events. Napoleon perceived the necessity for some changes. The Ministers who could not before appear in the Chambers were henceforward authorized to take part sometimes in the debates (January, 1867). As if prescient of the approaching struggle, considerable reforms were made in the army. In Paris and the larger towns the elections of 1869 were adverse to Imperialism. In July a new, but short-lived, Ministry was formed, on the principle of parliamentary responsibility. The murder of Le Noir by Prince Peter Bonaparte added to the unpopularity of the Imperial Court. To disarm increasing opposition, a revised Constitution was sanctioned by a *plébiscite*, May 8th, and a clause in it enabled the Emperor to adopt that method to settle any disputed questions. But it was ominous that 50,000 soldiers had voted "No." A new Ministry was now appointed, with the exception of Ollivier, who retained office. Count Daru was succeeded by the Duke of Gramont, a pliant courtier, and Marshal Niel was replaced by the incapable Marshal Lebœuf.

Sensible of the change of public opinion, except among that ignorant multitude to whom he loved to appeal, Napoleon III. felt the necessity for some brilliant deed to retrieve the drooping prestige of his dynasty; and the acceptance of the Spanish crown by a prince of the House of Hohenzollern offered an opportunity to fix a quarrel on the Power which had principally overshadowed his own glory. Prince Leopold was no member of the Royal

Prussian house, though the offspring of a common ancestor many centuries ago. He had been selected by General Prim for the Spanish crown, as possessing the requisite qualifications of belonging to a princely family, of being a Roman Catholic, and of age. As a Prussian subject and distant kinsman, Prince Leopold had requested and obtained from King William I. permission to accept the proffered dignity; but had withdrawn his acceptance when it was found to be opposed by the French Emperor. Napoleon III.'s grudge against Prussia had been aggravated by the prompt and decided refusal of Bismarck in the spring of 1869 to help him in the acquisition of Luxembourg and Belgium, on his allowing Prussia a free hand in Germany. It is said, indeed, that Napoleon himself was not desirous of war, and his practices to obtain territory without incurring that risk, corroborate this opinion. But he was surrounded by persons who urged him on, the chief of whom were the Empress, the Duke of Gramont, and Marshal Lebœuf. The French Cabinet was ill informed as to the state of Germany. Their envoys had reported a general dislike of Prussia in the Southern States, and the probability of their supporting a French invasion. The Emperor had also been deceived about the condition of his own army, which Lebœuf had neglected, though he falsely represented its efficiency.

The French Cabinet, not content with the withdrawal of Prince Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, required King William I. to pledge himself that he would never sanction his candidateship for the Spanish crown, if renewed; and the French Ambassador, Benedetti, rudely accosted the King with this demand on the public promenade at Ems. It was of course refused, for there was no alternative but humiliation. France declared war at Berlin, July 19th, 1870. The new German Constitution was now brought to the test. The Northern *Bund* voted 120 million thalers (18 millions sterling) towards the expenses; the Southern States, instead of the anticipated lukewarmness, or even hostility towards the North, announced with alacrity their intention to take part in the war. A French aggression was indeed precisely the thing to inspire Germany with but one feeling, and to consolidate its unity. The Germans were divided into three armies. Two, composed of North Germans, consisted of 61,000 men under General Steinmetz, and 206,000 men, including the Saxon corps, under Prince Frederick Charles. The South German army, under the Prince Royal, amounted to 180,000 men, mixed with

Prussians; total 447,000 men, with a reserve of 112,000. The whole was under the command-in-chief of the King of Prussia, assisted by Von Moltke and Von Roon. The King arrived at his head-quarters at Coblenz, August 2nd. All the European Powers had declared their neutrality. England alone had offered mediation, which was declined by both parties.

The French were earlier in the field. Their army consisted of about 300,000 men, and was commanded by the Emperor in person, with Marshal Lebœuf as chief of the staff. Eugénie was made Regent during the Emperor's absence. The French plan is said to have been to assemble 150,000 men at Metz, 100,000 at Strasburg; and after uniting the two armies, to cross the Rhine between Rastatt and Germersheim, and to invade Baden, while Canrobert covered the French frontier with 50,000 men. Had this plan been carried out before the Germans assembled in force, the war might have taken a totally different turn; but Napoleon lost a fortnight in unaccountable inaction. His delay has been variously accounted for. Some ascribe it to bodily and mental weakness; others say that his army was not in a fit state to advance, and that the commissariat broke down. However this may be, a defensive attitude, so repulsive to French troops, demoralized the army. Napoleon made a show of taking the offensive by a futile attack on Saarbrück, August 3rd, which the Germans did not mean to defend. Young Prince Napoleon was present with his father at what was called his "baptism of fire." It was a mere piece of stage effect. On the following day the defeat of the French under McMahon at Weissemburg, by the Prince Royal, initiated an almost uninterrupted series of German victories. McMahon was again completely defeated at Wörth, August 6th, where he was wounded. On the same day, the army under Prince Frederick Charles carried the heights of Spicheren. Both French wings being now compromised, they retired into French territory in the direction of the Moselle.

We have only space to record the main features of this extraordinary campaign.[1] By the middle of August the Germans had got into Lorraine. Lunéville, Nancy, and other towns surrendered to small detachments of cavalry. The command of the French army was disorganized, Napoleon, still nominal chief, seemed paralyzed. Lebœuf retired and was succeeded by Bazaine, who

[1] For a full account of it see *The Franco-German War*, 1870-1871. Translated from the German official account by Capt. F. C. Clarke, R.A. With plans. London, 1874. See also *Tableau Historique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*, Berlin, 1871.

made Metz his centre of operations. McMahon, who had retreated to Châlons, and Trochu, who had also a corps at that place, were to join him there; but the plan was frustrated by a manœuvre of Von Moltke. Napoleon and his son had retired first to Verdun, and then to Châlons; whence, being coldly received by the troops there, he went to Courcelles, near Reims. In a military view he was now become a cipher. At Paris demands had been made for his abdication, and he was probably afraid to go there, though it might have been better for his dynasty.

The BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTE, August 18th, the bloodiest of the war, may be said to have decided the campaign. The Prussians gained the victory chiefly by their artillery, Von Moltke having united eighty-four guns in one battery. But there was a loss of about 20,000 men on each side. Bazaine now threw himself into Metz, where he was blockaded by the army of Prince Frederick Charles. Von Moltke directed the army of the Crown Prince, with the Saxons, to march upon Paris. McMahon, who was at Reims with 100,000 men, should now have marched to Paris, united all the French forces before it, and given battle there; but the Emperor directed him, against his better judgment, to relieve Metz, and accompanied his march. Being overtaken by the enemy's advanced guard, several combats ensued, and especially one at Beaumont, near Sedan, August 30th, in which the French were defeated, and their passage through the Ardennes cut off. Next day they were surrounded in a sort of amphitheatre, the heights of which were occupied by the German artillery. The German army numbered about 200,000 men; McMahon's, diminished by the previous fights, counted only about 112,000. On the 1st of September was fought the BATTLE OF SEDAN. The French made a brave resistance; but a wound, which obliged McMahon to resign the command, was fatal to their chances. The German batteries closed in upon them, while their own had been demolished. Whole regiments of French were made prisoners, or fled in confusion into Sedan; among these last was the Emperor, who had been present at the battle. In the evening the Germans began to bombard the town. In a Council of War, all the French generals declared that resistance was useless. Napoleon wrote to the King of Prussia, surrendering himself a prisoner; and on September 2nd the town capitulated. The French soldiers were disarmed and made prisoners, the officers dismissed on parole. Napoleon, after an interview with William I., was escorted to the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, assigned to him as a residence.

The news of this disaster occasioned great uproar at Paris. The Empress fled to England, and, on the 4th of September, the deputies, coerced by the National Guard and a mob, decreed the fall of the imperial dynasty, and the establishment of a Republic. Gambetta, a young advocate, who had signalized himself by a violent attack on the Emperor, now took the lead, and became Minister of the Interior, with Jules Favre as Foreign Minister. The deputies of Paris constituted themselves a Provisional Government; and General Trochu, made governor of Paris by the Empress Regent, turned with fortune, and retained his post under the Republic. Thiers, who had no post in the Government, undertook a bootless mission to London, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Florence, to solicit help.

After the fall of Sedan, Prince Frederick Charles blockaded Bazaine in Metz, while the rest of the German army resumed the march to Paris. That capital was invested September 19th, and, on October 5th, King William established his head-quarters at Versailles. Part of the French Government retired to Tours, whither also Gambetta proceeded, after escaping from Paris in a balloon. He organized the defence of France with indomitable energy and resolution, though, after the fall of Metz, the case was clearly hopeless. Marshal Bazaine was compelled to surrender that place through want of provisions, October 27th, when 145,000 efficient soldiers, besides 30,000 men in hospital, became prisoners of war. There were now prisoners in Germany, after a war of three months, besides the Emperor, four French marshals, 140 general officers, 10,000 officers of lower rank, and 340,000 soldiers. Marshals Lebœuf, Canrobert, and Changarnier were in Metz.

The Germans had also been successful in other quarters. Strasburg had surrendered, September 28th, after a damaging bombardment. Dijon was several times won and lost. Gambetta, by extraordinary efforts, had organized what was called the "Army of the Loire," of some 150,000 men, under the command of Aurelle de Paladine. But this general was at last completely defeated at Beaune la Rolande, November 28th. The Tours Government accepted the services of Garibaldi, who seems to have been actuated by the spirit of adventure rather than by any liking for the French. He collected a band of followers of all nations at Besançon, but effected little or nothing.

Meanwhile the state of Paris was growing daily worse. To the miseries of the siege was added domestic sedition. The *Commune*,

headed by Flourens, seized Trochu, Favre, and Arago, the leading members of the Government, but they were rescued by the National Guard. Among several fruitless sallies, one of the most important was that of November 30th, led by General Ducrot, when the French, issuing out in two columns, each of 30,000 men, overthrew the Würtembergers and Saxons, and got possession of several villages on the Marne; but the attack was not properly supported, and, on the 2nd of December, the French were driven back. Want was now growing into actual famine. By the end of October, butchers' meat had entirely failed. Resort was then had to the flesh of horses and asses, and ultimately to more disgusting aliments. At the beginning of 1871 the famine was become almost unendurable. Small portions of horse-flesh, and of bread made of bran, were distributed. A rat cost three or four francs. The winter nights were dark and cheerless; no gas, few fires, no public entertainments were to be found in that gay and luxurious city, where amusement is a want. Many of the poorer sort died of cold and hunger. The bombardment, though not causing much damage, kept the citizens in continual fear. Yet the Parisians, accustomed to all the luxuries of life, bore their privations and dangers with wonderful fortitude. There was no talk of surrender. Men of the higher classes served on the ramparts as common soldiers, and encouraged the rest by their example.

A last sally with 100,000 men, in the direction of Versailles, made on the 19th of January, seemed at first to promise success, but was ultimately repulsed with great loss. Trochu now resigned his governorship. At this time all the places in the east of France, except Belfort, had capitulated; in the west the Germans had penetrated to Rouen. The French Government had retired to Bordeaux; yet Gambetta persisted in a hopeless defence. The civilians, for want of military knowledge, were more obstinate than the generals, and thus brought on their country many needless calamities. In the north, General Faidherbe, with an army of 120,000 men, first collected by General Bourbaki, was defeated by Manteuffel at Amiens, and again irretrievably by General von Göben at Beauvoir, January 18th. The Germans had taken Le Mans on the 12th, and the Army of the Loire was no longer capable of resistance.

Jules Favre went to Versailles, January 23rd, to negotiate a capitulation, but rejected Bismarck's terms as too hard. The bombardment was now redoubled, and as provisions sufficed not

for a week, it was necessary to come to terms. Preliminaries were arranged, January 26th, on the following principal conditions:—an armistice till February 19th; the garrison of Paris, except 12,000 men to keep order, to be prisoners of war; the German troops to occupy all the forts; the blockade of Paris to continue, but the city to be revictualled when arms had been delivered up; Paris to pay 200 million francs within a fortnight; a constituent Assembly to meet at Bordeaux to settle terms of peace; meanwhile the respective armies to remain *in statu quo*. The armistice applied also to the fleets, but at sea nothing worth relating had been done.

Gambetta, despite the capitulation, proclaimed resistance to the last; but Jules Favre was despatched to Bordeaux to put an end to his Dictatorship. The French army of the East of 80,000 men, being completely cut off and in miserable plight, took refuge in Switzerland at the beginning of February, and delivered up their arms to the Swiss militia. The capitulation of Belfort on the 16th was the last act of the war. It had heroically endured a siege since November 3rd, and the garrison was allowed to march out with military honours. A National Assembly at Bordeaux elected M. Thiers, who had been returned by twenty electoral circles, President of the Republic. He and Jules Favre, Foreign Minister, negotiated at Versailles the preliminaries of a definitive peace, which were signed February 26th. France was to cede Alsace (except Belfort), German Lorraine with Metz, Thionville, and Longwy; to pay an indemnity of 5,000 million francs (200 millions sterling); the German troops to remain in France till it was paid; portions of Paris to be occupied by the Germans till the National Assembly should ratify the preliminaries. Agreeably to this last condition, 40,000 German troops marched through the Barrière de l'Etoile, March 1st, and bivouacked in the Champs Elysées, but retired on the 3rd, the preliminaries having been accepted. The definitive Treaty of Frankfort was signed May 10.

Thus was terminated, in less than half a year, one of the greatest wars on record. It annihilated for a time the military power of France and her influence in the affairs of Europe. Russia eagerly seized on the occasion. Towards the end of October Prince Gortschakoff haughtily repudiated that clause in the Treaty of 1856 which prohibited Russia from having any fleets or arsenals in the Black Sea. Lord Granville protested, and Odo Russell was sent to Versailles to inquire if Russia acted with the privity of Prussia.

Hereupon Bismarck proposed a Conference, which was held in London early in 1871; but England stood alone, and suffered a somewhat ignominious defeat.

With the capitulation of Paris we terminate this history so far as France is concerned; for it forms no part of our plan to relate the internal troubles which ensued, threatening at one time to renew all the worst excesses of the first Revolution. But we must briefly advert to the effects of the war among the victors.

The wonderful success of the German arms under the conduct of Prussia raised throughout Germany an enthusiasm for that country, and a desire to revive a German Empire by placing King William at its head. The King of Bavaria intimated early in December that he had obtained the consent of the other German Sovereigns and free towns to his proposal that the King of Prussia should take the title of German Emperor. The Diet of the North German Confederation sanctioned this title, as well as a federal union with Baden, Hesse Darmstadt, Würtemberg, and Bavaria. The new Empire was solemnly proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, January 18th, 1871; on which occasion Baron Moltke was made a Count, and Count Bismarck a Prince. It was no revival of the Holy Roman Empire, which, as Voltaire somewhere remarks, was neither holy nor Roman; nor was the title of "King of the Germans" to be revived, which would have clashed with the rights of the minor German kings. The new Empire was indeed little more than an adhesion of the States of Southern Germany to the Northern Confederation as a nucleus.

Thus, in the period comprised in these two concluding chapters—little more than a decade—one large Empire rose upon the ruins of another, whilst the equilibrium of the European system was materially altered by the establishment of two powerful States in its very centre—the Italian Kingdom and the German Empire. If we compare the work of Cavour and Bismarck in founding these two States, Cavour's must be pronounced the more complete; for Italian unity is perfect under one Sovereign, whilst that of Germany consists only in a confederation of various States bound together by treaties which may not always bear a stress without breaking. It must, however, be acknowledged that Bismarck's task was the more difficult one; for Cavour was helped by the revolutionary spirit of the populations annexed, through hatred of their governments, whilst no such symptoms showed themselves in Germany, or, at all events, more rarely, and in a milder form. If we compare the characters of the two great

statesmen we discover in both the same far-sighted views, equal skill in the choice of means and instruments, the same unwavering fortitude and perseverance, the like daring combined with prudence; but of Cavour it may be said that he never changed his principles, nor used unworthy methods, which can hardly be affirmed of his rival.

If we look back on the events of this nineteenth century, we cannot congratulate ourselves on its boasted advance, so far at least as regards political morality. The nations of Europe, in their relations with one another, appear to be in the same condition as mankind in a state of nature. Wars are still waged for trivial causes, and on unjust and unholy pretexts, too often veiled under religious hypocrisy; whilst statesmen often scruple not to commit actions which in private life would banish them from decent society, but which are lauded by politicians as skilful diplomacy.

ERRATA.

		For	*Read*
Vol. ii.	p. 83, line 24	Lozenzino	Lorenzino.
Vol. iii.	p. 157, line 12	Valtellina	Valtelina.
„	Regal Table (Turkey)	Solyman III.	Solyman II.
„	„ (Poland)	John II.	John Casimir II.
„	„ (Portugal)	John III.	John V.
Vol. iv.	p. 307, line 24	censorium	sensorium.
„	p. 369, line 17	canonicates	canonries.
„	Regal Table (Sweden)	Ulrica Eleanora, 1741	Ulrica Eleanora, 1721.
Vol. v.	p. 179, line 8	1804	1806.

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